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NOTES

Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray

Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray, the last of the intellectual giants of Bengal, has passed away in Calcutta at the ripe age of 83. A Scientist of the highest order, he was also an educationist, a patriot, a social reformer. His whole life was dedicated to the cause of suffering humanity. The heart of this celebrated scientist flowed with the milk of human kindness. He lived a single life and gave away in charities whatever money he had earned. The Calcutta University was the recipient of a princely gift of over two lakhs from him. On Acharya Ray having signified his intention of vacating the Chair of Palit Professor of Chemistry on the completion of his 60th year in 1922, the Senate requested him to continue for another five years in the interests of research. He accepted the offer but desired that his salary from the above date onwards might be utilised for the expansion of the Department of Chemistry, both General and Applied. He finally retired from the Chair in 1937 and his salary for these fifteen years was funded. Scores of educational institutions owed their continued existence to his munificence and hundreds of poor students had been able to build up a career through his silent charities.

He was a patriot from his student days. While a research student at the Edinburgh University, he published a small book, *India Before and After the Mutiny*, which created quite a stir in England. The Scotsman took notice of this book by an Indian student and

admired it. This book proved to be a landmark in the life of Acharya Ray.



Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray.

Acharya Ray has proved to the world, in his *History of Hindu Chemistry*, how advanced India had been in the field of chemical research before the dawn of Christian civilisation. What Sir William Jones realised Acharya Ray proved.

He was a Sanskritist of high order. The *Rasarnavam* edited by him in 1908 was published in the Bibliotheca Indiae of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which has been cherished by students of Hindu Chemistry all the world over.

He had joined the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. There he had found the most suitable platform for throwing himself heart and soul in the social service activities. He rose to be President of the Samaj. He was a force in the Brahmo movement all through his life. He has bequeathed half of his remaining property to the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj in his last Will.

Acharya Ray's services to the cause of scientific research in India are well-known. His laboratory was a nursery for the foremost scientists of modern India. He prized the reputation of his pupils more than his own. It was his usual practice to publish research papers under the joint authorship of himself and his pupils. This proved to be a great encouragement to the young students and stimulated their spirit of research, and thus he may truly be called the Father of Scientific Research in India. At the invitation of Sir Asutosh, he had joined the University as the first University Professor of Chemistry. In 1916, after the foundation of the University College of Science, Acharya Ray was appointed Palit Professor of Chemistry. He loved the Science College, he lived in the Science College and he breathed his last at the premises of the Science College. The presence of this venerable Guru had sanctified the Temple of Science and had made it a place of pilgrimage.

Acharya Ray believed that science should be utilised as a ready handmaid to industry. To translate this idea into action, he founded the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, one of the foremost chemical manufacturing concerns of India today. He was also intimately connected with a whole host of other industrial works. Many of the industrial enterprises of Bengal had received his disinterested guidance and help in the early struggling periods of their existence. It was a purely patriotic motive that impelled him to apply his knowledge of chemistry to the cause of industry.

Acharya Ray had a dynamic personality and was a very active worker till only a few years back. During the North Bengal Flood of 1922, when he was sixty, a correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* while giving a vivid account of his relief work in the North Bengal floods, stated that he had heard a European saying: "If Mr. Gandhi had only been able to create two more Sir P. C. Rays he would have

succeeded in getting Swaraj within this year." Acharya Ray has himself said:

"If anyone were to ask what period of my life has been most active I would unhesitatingly answer: From sixty onwards. During the space of time I have toured throughout the length and breadth of this vast peninsula at least 20,000 miles in opening exhibitions, national institutions and preaching the gospel of Swadeshi Throughout the last 21 years of my life it has been my custom to spend on an average a couple of hours in the maidan in all seasons of the year which practically does away with the necessity of recouping my energies by an exodus to the hill stations." In his life the truth of Goethe's great saying has been fully realised: "Time is infinitely long, if we use it fully, most things can be got within its compass."

The New Paper Control Orders

The Paper Control (Economy) Order and the Paper Control (Distribution) Order recently promulgated and immediately brought into force, affecting all forms of paper other than newsprint would mean sheer calamity to all periodicals, presses and the book trade in India. Full two weeks after their promulgation Government have sought to justify their actions by means of an explanatory Press Note. The Government's justification for penalising the whole country in the matter of its educational activities is this:

What is sought to be discouraged and prevented is consumption of paper for purposes which have no immediate national value. For instance, a reminder in the Punjab may like to print a booklet of testimonials given to him and to his ancestors by the Viceroys or the Governor, or a politician may wish to issue a pamphlet of his statement or statements, of which summaries or the full text have already appeared in the Press.

If the Government been sincere in their desire to stop publications of this kind, they should have done so in January 1943 by means of specific orders. Nothing of that sort was done. They permitted mushroom growths both in the publishers' line and in the field of journalism. Anybody with a pull could start a new journal and anybody in touch with an unscrupulous paper dealer or mills salesman could get tons of paper for his publications. Now when the climax has been reached, all are sought to be axed—we should rather say guillotined—regardless of standing and utility.

The Press Note states that the economy measures had been under the Government's consideration since February last. It states:

The economy measures proposed in the Order have been under Government's consideration since February

and during the intervening months, officials of the Industries and Civil Supplies Department have studied the provisions of the more drastic Paper Control Order in Britain and have had informal consultation with one of the leaders of the Indian paper industry. The Order is thus the result of mature thought, and it is asserted that however irksome this be at present, any failure to implement the measures contained in it would result in four or five months in a very serious breakdown.

Not a single member of the interests and industries going to be affected by the Order had been consulted, beyond one chosen "leader of the paper industry." Mr. F. Borton, Manager of Messrs. G. Claridge & Co., one of the leading printing firms in India, observed in the course of a Press interview: "I think I am right in saying that it has also been drawn up without taking the opinion of one practical printer, publisher or businessman from the whole of India." Not to speak of any previous consultation, proprietors of periodicals and publishing and printing concerns have suddenly been confronted with a *fait accompli* which threatens their very existence. Not even adequate time for readjustment had been given.

The Orders are totally unworkable beyond all doubt. According to Mr. R. E. Hawkins of the Oxford University Press and Mr A. W. Baker of the Longmans Green & Co., the present Orders are too rigorous. *The Times of India* observed in an editorial, "While no one will deny that there must be economy in the use of paper, the drastic terms of the economy Order, even if they can be operated in their present form, must cause serious repercussions." The *Commerce*, Bombay, writes, "How drastic the provisions are can be gauged by the fact that users of all paper other than newsprint are suddenly told that they must reduce their paper consumption by as much as 70 per cent." Mr. E. C. Murphy, Manager of Messrs. Thacker & Co., told a representative of the *Bombay Chronicle* that not only publishing houses but manufacturing stationers and printing houses are affected. Illustrating the effect of the Orders on his own firm, Mr. Murphy stated that Thackers would have to work their press either for three months in the year or terminate the services of 75 per cent of their staff. Mr. Padamshey of the Padma Publications said that the Order will bring the publishing and printing trade in India to a standstill.

The Times of India and *Commerce* both consider some of the provisions of the Orders as unworkable. *The Times* declared that, "from the practical point of view, the rule that printers and publishers may use only one-twelfth of 30 per cent of their 1943 paper consumption each

month is unworkable." The *Commerce* points out: "Equally unworkable in practice is the clause relating to assignment of advertisement in the issues to be published hereafter. The authorities direct that all papers should reduce the space they assign for advertisements to 50 per cent or the average percentage of the basic period whichever is less. This may be done, but will the 30 per cent paper or any special quota allowed permit of at least this percentage of advertisement space being consumed? Our calculations go to show that it will not." No consideration has been given to the effect of this order on long-term advertisement contracts. This Order strikes at the root of the sanctity of contract and might be construed as conflicting with the Indian Contract Act. The fact that advertisements have seasonal fluctuations and are not evenly spread over throughout the year, have also been completely ignored.

An examination of the statistical position of paper supplies leads one to the inevitable conclusion that a drastic cut as the Orders impose is not at all warranted. The Press Note gives the productive position as follows:

Production now stands as low as 30% of the normal. The Order accordingly lays down that the ton-umption shall be reduced to 30%.

Before the war, production in India was about 60,000 tons yearly. War-time pressure brought it to the peak figure of 109,000 tons, but owing to shortage of fuel, transport and raw material, it is now about 70,000 tons.

The first significant fact that strikes one is that while production has fallen by 30 per cent use of paper has been cut down to 30 per cent, i.e., a 70 per cent cut has been imposed to justify a 30 per cent drop in production. India used to import 1,22,350 tons, including 50,000 tons of newsprint, which came down to about 15,600 tons in 1943. While thus the available supplies declined, the Government's requirements mounted by leaps and bounds. A not inconsiderable amount was exported on Government account. The Government's consumption of paper has increased from a pre-war 20,000 tons to 70,000 tons now. The *Commerce* says, "The Government's requirements take away practically the entire available supplies today. Thus the civilian consumption has already been virtually reduced from its pre-war consumption of 80 per cent of the country's total supplies to 18 per cent. If the public is asked to do with 30 per cent of its consumption hitherto, it means that the public has to be content with 30 per cent not of 100 per cent supplies but of just 18 per cent. In other words, it has to be content with less than 6 per cent of its pre-war consumption."

Surely, this is asking too much of any public, even in times of a total war."

The Government, and not the people, must shoulder the responsibility for the falling off in production and the decline in import. Production fell off for bungling in coal and the moving of bamboo to the Mills. As regards imports, the scandal is more glaring. Not only that no serious attempts have been made to secure more shipping space, but the *Times of India* has made a startling disclosure that the tonnage of paper allocated for export to India from Britain has not been fully taken up, not because of shortage of shipping space but due to insufficient import licenses having been issued. There yet remain sources of supply to be tapped which have not yet been properly and fully done.

Equally startling is the revelation made by Mr. Murphy of Thaker & Co. He told the *Bombay Chronicle* that the Control Order on newsprint led to the accumulation of two years' stock. The present Order, if it were brought into force, would have the same effect. No attempt whatsoever has been made to increase the production of hand-made paper by affording Government help to this industry. Some help to this industry would certainly have increased production to a substantial extent. But instead of doing anything of the kind, the Orders would seek to deal a death blow to this industry as well.

The Orders will throw thousands of people out of employment. The cut imposed would put out of action almost all the periodicals. All, excepting the very few who are able to run their journals at a heavy loss would in any case have to throw out on the streets 60 per cent of their employees. Even their pay for the notice period would mean a considerable loss to the proprietors. In any case, tens of thousands of workers and operatives, with highly specialised training would be out of work and starving. No notice has been taken of the voluntary economies imposed upon themselves by most of the responsible journals, in response to appeals made by the Mills and the Government, and as a result of the high prices and scarcity of paper. Thus a journal that has already reduced its size to below 70 per cent of its pre-war normal, would have to make a further reduction of 70 per cent, whereby its size would be only 20 per cent of the normal. This would effectively kill the journal as it would not be able to keep faith with its readers—most of whom have paid their subscriptions in advance—and would it be able to honour the contracts made with the advertisers. No consideration has been shown to the

proprietary interests, which is in sharp contrast with that shewn to the daily papers.

Opposition to Secondary Education Bill in Bengal

Towards the close of the five month session specially after the Secondary Education Bill was introduced there with the avowed object of getting the Bill passed this session, the Bengal Legislative Assembly had a stormy career. The opposition to the Bill was daily gaining in strength till the very existence of the present Ministry was threatened. With great difficulty, solely with the help of European votes, the Ministry had somehow staggered out of the first no-confidence motion, and had to face two others when all of a sudden the session was abruptly prorogued by the Governor.

Apart from the signal failure of the Ministry to provide essential food and fuel for the people within reach of their purchasing power, the Secondary Education Bill had provided the main point of contention against them. The opposition to the Bill has been systematically strong and quite in keeping with the parliamentary tactics adopted in any democratic legislature. Opposition to this Bill has been country-wide, every educationist having denounced it as being reactionary and retrograde.

Neither the present Ministry nor the present Legislature has any claim to act as representatives of the people. The foremost point to be borne in mind is that the present Legislature has been composed on a communal basis of separate electorates with the addition of weightage on favoured communities, and that it has been drafted six thousand miles away by and in the interest of a class of people whose sole object is to keep India under subjection and to stifle all progressive movements in Bengal. The recent agitation over the prorogation of the Assembly seems to use to be useless as the Constitution Act itself has been drafted to suit the purposes of the Government, and not for giving expression to public opinion in the country.

The allocation of seats have been glaringly unjust. Besides giving the Muslims undue advantage, the European seats have been allotted in the most arbitrary way. The European population in Bengal is something of the order of one in three thousand but they have been given 25 seats in a House of 250, or 10 per cent of the total. This allotment has been made with the object of enabling the European Group to hold the balance of power in the interest of the Empire. This they have faithfully done and

have all along maintained those Ministries in power who allowed themselves to be utilised as their tools. For the first time in the history of Bengal Legislature, the Huq-Syamaprasad coalition grew independent of European votes. This naturally alarmed the Imperial interests. Their downfall was brought about by means which had every appearance of being questionable. The present Ministry was finally installed in office by Sir John Herbert against whom it was openly alleged that in this respect he had acted as the Chief Whip of the European Group.

This Ministry, which is itself unrepresentative, has no title to bring in a measure in the name of the people and to claim that people desired its introduction. The undue and indecent haste with which the Secondary Education Bill was sought to be rushed led the people to think that the European Group were not sure of the stability of this ministry and wanted to deal a death blow to the educational advancement of the most progressive province within the period that their present tools remained in office.

The debate on the no-confidence motion against Mr. B. P. Pain has revealed the European attitude. Mr. Hendry, the leader of the European Group, said :

If the no-confidence motion succeeded, it would bring about the fall of the Muslim League Coalition Ministry and the creation of circumstances in which either the Opposition would be called upon to form a new Ministry or Sec. 93 would be introduced again and this time probably till the end of the war and until it was possible to hold a general election. To both of these they were strongly opposed.

Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee challenged this statement and said that Mr. Hendry had hinted that if this Ministry went out of office the Opposition would never come into power and that Sec. 93 would be applied and continued till the end of the war. The strong opposition of the European Group against the formation of a new Ministry can be well understood.

Mr. Hendry's declaration tantamounts to saying that the British vested-interests, who control the Government in this country, will never recognise the inherent right of the Parliamentary Opposition to come into office by throwing out the Ministry in office specially when that opposition consists solely of the people of the country who refuse to be utilised as tools in British hands.

The motion of no-confidence against Mr. Pain was lost by a majority of 13 votes, the Opposition having the Indian majority with them. Mr. J. N. Basu, the hoary-headed liberal leader of India who has always acted on the

dictates of his own conscience and who has for long been ill, attended the Session in a stretcher at the risk of his life, to record his vote against the Ministry. The daily organ of the British interests in this province could only make a weak comment on the vote, pleading for compromise, while this same newspaper, in its editorial on March 30 last year, commenting on a division in the Legislature in which Mr. Huq won by a majority of ten votes *independent* of the European Group, wrote : "So narrow an escape is in practice a defeat." On September 30 it characterised opposition to the Nazimuddin Ministry as "low level politics."

The Europeans, by their own actions, are hacking at the root of their own commercial interests. The politics they are playing are understood by the mass people today. It is no wonder if they range themselves some day against the British interests for which they will have nobody but themselves to thank. The utterance of Mr. Hendry betrays a very poor equipment and reflects a school of thought which today is hated all the world over. In a public meeting convened to protest against the Governor's order of prorogation, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Leader of Opposition in the Bengal Assembly and Mr. K. S. Ray, leader of the Congress Party, explained the role of the European Group in the Legislature. Mr. Huq said :

The Bengal Cabinet now consists of Ministers who are no better than noddle poodles whose only object is to save their skin and continue to be in power. It is bureaucratic officials who hold the field. Here in Bengal we have got to tackle the bond who are masquerading in the name of Ministers but who are no better than shoe bearers and bootlickers of the European in India, official and non-official, and whose sole object is to keep themselves in power at the sacrifice of every other interest but their own.

Mr. Ray said :

The British Imperialism had adopted new tactics in their colonial policy. The British colonial policy laid down that the British Government should not directly handle the affairs of the country, but would remain behind the scene and pull the strings in such a way that British vested interests were never allowed to suffer. All the dirty things must have to be done by some other agencies. That tool was for the time being the Muslim League. It was therefore the duty of every patriotic Indian to expose this imperialist game. And for that reason it had become necessary for the Congress in Bengal to take part in parliamentary affairs.

Sir Nazimuddin on European Seats

Speaking in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Sir Nazimuddin, the Chief Minister, made a startling statement on June 23. In reply to the charge that his Ministry was dependent on

European votes, he said, "If they were not here, we would have another 25 Muslims."

This gross mis-statement calls for a reply. Seats in the Bengal Legislature were allocated on an arbitrarily weighted communal basis, not in proportion to population. Muslims were given 120 seats in a House of 250 and Hindus only 80. If the distribution were made in proportion to population, the Hindus, even on a weighted 45 to 55 basis, would have got 99 against 120. The Europeans got 25 seats although in respect of population they were one in 3000. If the 25 European seats were filled up by the people of this province, even on the present arbitrary basis, the Muslims cannot claim more than 15, leaving at least 10 for the Hindus. For argument's sake, even granting the 25 seats to Muslims, Sir Nazimuddin cannot claim them all for his Party. Beginning from the general elections in 1937, the League Party could never pull more than 50 Muslim members within its fold out of 120. The position is still the same today. Almost half the Muslim members even today are in the opposition. Again, Sir Nazimuddin should not be so obdurate as to overlook the fact that in spite of their demand for a 55 per cent majority, and in spite of the British Government's desire to back them up in this demand in payment for services rendered through disruptive activities, they were granted 120 out of a total 250 seats, so that Muslims by themselves could never form an absolute majority.

Deterioration in Civil Services

Presiding over a Conference of tenants and people of Sunderbans, Mr. Bijay Bihari Mukherji, Advocate, Calcutta High Court and retired Director of Land Records and Surveys of Bengal, discussed the progressive deterioration in the quality and character of the services in the Civil Administration. The following is an extract from his Presidential Address :

The administrative machinery 'ante-diluvion' in 1917 is still more out of time and tune to-day. If proof were needed the tragedy of the Bengal famine is its irrefutable prop. The machinery exists. It functions *in vacuo*. It neither impures nor draws its inspiration from the environment. If a historian has to record a verdict on India and on Bengal he must record that the most outstanding change in the 20th century was the break up of the administrative machinery. It has been corrupted, weakened, sterilised and paralysed instead of being built up, invigorated and adjusted to meet the needs of a growing and modern State. An integrated, incorruptible, efficient public administration is the minimum need for a nation to help to plan out, to work out, to execute the diverse programmes in its march onwards. The *sine qua non* of a good administrator is his knowledge of the people, a thoroughly balanced knowledge of their mental, moral, material

and psychological equipment and above all a deep sympathy with their wishes, aspirations and best ideologies and an earnest determination to work for their welfare. On the one hand, such an administration must be national and, on the other hand, must be of the finest material available in the country free from communal, sectarian and narrow prejudices, neither exploiting nor the victim of political corruption.

Mere expansion of officers and staff and increase in expenditure of money is seldom a sure index of efficiency, more often the reverse. In a poor country like India it is more than a crime to waste tax-payers' money for the provision of job-hunters.

The Coal Position

In reply to a question by Mr. K. C. Neogy, in the Central Legislative Assembly, Dr. Ambedkar had stated in March 1943 that the drop in the production of coal had been so slight that no detailed enquiry had been held into its cause. In November of the same year, in reply to another question by the same gentleman, Dr. Ambedkar admitted that during the first five months of 1943, the drop was slight, but from June onwards it has become more considerable. This proves that Heads of Departments in New Delhi are unable to look even two months ahead of what is going on just now.

Dr. Ambedkar then said : "1940 was the peak year for coal production. Since then production has fallen slightly year by year. The fall assumed serious proportions from June 1943. Compared with the corresponding months of 1942, the output in June, July and August of this year fell by about 353000 tons each month, while September showed a decrease of 299000 tons." By the end of 1943, a serious coal crisis was experienced all over the country. It was admitted on more than one occasion by Government spokesmen that raisings had dropped mainly due to shortage of labour. Other difficulties like maldistribution of wagons and step-motherly treatment were alleged by Indian mine-owners. European mine-owners complained primarily about the Excess Profits Tax and compelled the Central Government to grant concessions in this respect by means which amounted to a virtual hold up of production.

The Coal Control Scheme recently enunciated envisages (1) more production, (2) fixation of prices and (3) the distribution of the entire output through governmental organisations. These steps, both wrong and half-heartedly done, may lead to a second crisis. Prices have been fixed at a haphazard fashion without adequate considerations of all the interests concerned. Production problem can-

not be solved until a final solution of the labour problem. The small Indian owned mines, on the fringe of the coal area, had not suffered acute shortage of labour as they were nearer the villages from where miners could be brought. Their chief manufacture is domestic soft coke. It is the bungling in distribution which has seriously affected them. The first step the new Coal Commissioner, brought down here from England, did was to stop wagons to these small collieries. This unjust order has of late been modified to some extent, but it has raised an apprehension in the minds of second class mine-owners that after having increased the output of Government owned and other big European collieries to a limit of 35 million tons a year, the small mine-owners would be asked to close down on the ground that it would not be possible to transport so much coal. The distribution of coal through the existing channels should never be interfered with. More labour may surely be induced to the coal fields if higher wages are given and living conditions are made better. It has been stated that the mining labour runs away to the constructional work undertaken nearby by the Government or the Military. There is no reason why this should not be prevented by the payment of more attractive wages and terms of work. That the labourers are drawn away to other fields proves that they are willing to work but that at higher wages than what they get at the mines.

That Imperial interests were predominant in the coal affairs was proved when it was revealed that some months ago when the British coal strike was going on, the British Government granted shipping space for carrying coal to South and West India only in exchange of first class coal to be utilised for bunkering at the cost of Indian industries which consumed first class coal.

British Fertiliser Mission for India

A technical Mission from the United Kingdom headed by Mr. G. S. Gowing of the Imperial Chemical Industries, together with one other member of the same company and one of the Power-Gas Corporation, the latter representing the Association of British Chemical Plant manufacturers, will visit India to advise on the production of artificial fertilisers for increasing food supplies. The Mission, acting for the Government of India, will undertake the following :

1. Investigate and report to the Government of India on the technical problems involved in the manufacture of Sulphate of Ammonia in British India in quantities up to 350,000 tons per annum.

2. Recommend, in the light of the raw materials and power available in India, the most economic method of manufacture.

3. Indicate the approximate capital cost of the plant or plants to be installed, and calculate the approximate cost of operations and production of finished Sulphate of Ammonia.

4. Recommend the most suitable site or sites for the erection of the plants concerned, taking into account the raw materials available and the most economic distribution of the finished products.

5. Estimate the amount and approximate value of plant which it will be necessary to import from outside India making the fullest possible use of materials and labour available in India.

6. If, for any reason, it should appear that nitrogenous fertilizer in a form other than Sulphate of Ammonia can be more satisfactorily manufactured under Indian conditions generally or locally, consider and recommend from a technical point of view, the most economic method of manufacture of such alternative fertilizer.

7. Estimate the capital and operating cost of manufacture of such alternative nitrogenous fertilizer.

The Imperial Chemical Industries holds the monopoly of supplying fertilisers in India and as such it has a vested interest against any scheme of production of the commodity in India. We do not know how far their recommendations will be based on the genuine needs of this country. The Mission, as usual, is all British and does not contain any Indian Chemist in it. From a speech of Mr. Lyttleton in the House of Commons, it appears that the despatch of this Mission has been dictated more from Imperial necessity. Mr. Lyttleton said :

If we could increase the fertility of Indian agriculture at a greater rate than the fertility of India's population we should not only have conferred a benefit on India but should have created a market which would absorb some industrial products which, at this stage of her economic life, India cannot make herself.

What Congress Governments Did for Fertiliser Industry in India

Dr V. S. Dubey of the Benares Hindu University, in the course of an article published in the *Leader*, has stated in detail how energetically and systematically the Congress Governments had been trying to solve the fertiliser problem by the establishment of Fertiliser Plants in the country under expert guidance. He states :

The Congress Government as soon as it came in power realised the importance of synthetic fertiliser industry for India. The Bihar Government with Dr. Sived Mahmood as Minister for Industries was very enthusiastic about it. The U.P. Government was equally anxious. The writer was entrusted by the Bihar Government to work out details for starting this industry. A scheme was worked out with the help of Dr. Fauser of Italy, whose patents are being exploited for the manufacture of ammonia in majority of the countries of Europe and America, and who is a much higher authority than any present English expert. Details were settled and quotations obtained. Various

aspects of the problem, such as determining the best places where the industry could be started in India, the nature of fertilisers and the actual plant details were also tackled. Data relating to Bihar were published in the Large-Scale Industries Committee Report published by the Bihar Government under Congress regime, and the writer was a member of the committee.

The industry was about to be started and Dr. Syed Mahmood was actually settling the terms with the capitalists when came the resignation of the Congress ministry. The whole affair was closed and nobody cared for it again. The scheme remained in the files. But for the inefficiency of the Government which came in power after the Congress government, the industry would have been started four years ago. The scheme in Bihar was to have 200-ton per day plant or 60,000-ton capacity per annum.

Possibilities of Fertiliser Industry Analysed

Prof. Dubey, in summing up, analyses the possibilities of the industry :

The surprising thing is that the matter is quite simple and ample data exist to select out the places for each and every province in about a week's time. During last October when the writer was again approached by some capitalists to work out the plant he found that the firms like 'Bamag' from England were ready to supply the plant. A good deal of data obtained beforehand was revised. Had the freedom been given for the Indian capitalists to order the plant in October last, or had the Government been eager and anxious to tackle the problem, the question of importing the plants would have been settled months ago. But instead of that things went on very leisurely indeed, and now experts have come on the assumption that we require their guidance and do not know how to tackle the problem. I am perfectly sure that the conclusions reached by the provincial Government cannot be altered by the experts called by the Indian Government.

In U. S. A. it will not take more than eight months to erect a complete plant of 3.5 lakh tons capacity, while in India it takes 16 months to get the report, then another 16 months to get the plant and again one year for the plant to be set up. Such is the efficiency of the present Government that what the Congress Government attempted to do for this industry in one and a half years in normal times, the existing Indian Government has failed to do in this time of great stress.

And now, an all-British Mission is being imported to guide us.

Orissa Back to Autocracy

After tinkering for some months with the shadow of a false democracy, Orissa goes back to the old autocratic rule. The Governor failed to keep two out of a total of three Ministers together. The consequence of a Ministry, devoid of a definitely majority of following in the Legislature, cannot be otherwise.

Who are Absconders ?

Mr. P. D. Tandon, in a letter published by the *Leader*, says that while arresting Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, it was stated that she had

been 'absconding' since August 1942. He declares that the accusation that she was absconding was not correct. Her brother told Mr. Tandon that all these months she openly lived in Bombay, Calcutta and Patna and was regularly in touch with the Bombay Secretariat. She regularly used to write to her husband Acharya J. B. Kripalani in jail, and received letters from him. She interviewed Gandhiji during his fast in 1943 with the permission of the Bombay Government. All this must have been in the knowledge of the police and the C. I. D. as she is not an obscure person.

Very recently a similar case of 'absconding' has come to light in Calcutta. Mr. Sanat Kumar Ray Choudhury, an ex-Mayor of Calcutta, was prosecuted under the D. I. Rules in connection with a public meeting. The police obtained warrant against him on the allegation that he was absconding. Subsequently the police withdrew the charges against him and he was discharged. In discharging him, the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta observed :

On behalf of Mr. Roy Choudhury, my attention was drawn to the fact that although he (Mr. Roy Choudhury), is a well-known citizen and a permanent resident at 9, Williams Lane, on the charge sheet he was shown as absconding. Send copy of this order to the officer-in-charge of 1 Town (Muchipara P.S.) who should furnish me with a report by July 5, as to why this was done.

Gandhi-Wavell Correspondence and After

The Gandhi-Wavell correspondence has been before the public in this country for some time and it will shortly be made available to the British people as well. Gandhiji in his characteristic lucid style has made the Congress position perfectly clear. The *Quit India* resolution, which has been perverted by political hostility, has been fully explained. It merely means and meant to the people who had no motive to distort its meaning—"Leave us to ourselves to manage or mis-manage our own affairs." The *Indian Social Reformer* has pointed out that such a demand involves no reflection on anybody. A plea for freedom needs no offset of grievances.

Since his release, even in frail health, Gandhiji sought to find a way out of the present deadlock. He desired an interview with the Viceroy. Lord Wavell has turned down his request that either he should be allowed to contact the members of the Congress Working Committee or be permitted to discuss the entire question with the Viceroy with a view to convincing him and the Government of the bona-fides of his (Gandhiji's) intentions.

Asia Cannot Remain Half Free and Half Slave

Mr. Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President of the U. S. A., in a pamphlet entitled *Our Job in the Pacific*, says that the prosperity and freedom of the United States are linked with the prosperity and freedom of Asia. In his view, the whole complex situation in the Pacific must be re-examined in the light of many new factors, such as the rise of China, the new relationship of Russia and the United States, the twilight of Empire in the East, and the claim of Australia and New Zealand to a voice in Pacific affairs. He also cites two great economic changes: the drive in the East for industrialisation and the development in the West of substitutes for agricultural raw materials formerly imported from Asia. An extract from the USOWI summary of his book is given below:

"To-day the people of the East are on the march. We can date the beginning of the march from 1911, when the revolutionary movement among the Chinese, inspired by the teaching of Sun Yat-sen, overthrew the Manchu dynasty and established a republic. This was the first time in history that an Asiatic people set out courageously toward attainment of democracy—government of the people, by the people, for the people, through elective representatives of the people.

The march is continuing throughout the confusion and destruction of the present war. The 'knowledge of good and evil' has spread to all peoples. They will no longer be denied the good things. There is no turning back without disaster and safty lies in spreading the benefits of modern industrialisation with a foundation of agricultural efficiency.

"The question of colonial emancipation isn't only a question of political freedom, but also a question of economic adjustment, because of the vested interests whose economic advantages are entwined with the colonial status. Our coming victory may give us a unique opportunity to solve this kind of problem if we make it one of our guiding principles that economic measures applied to the recovery of colonial regions have as their primary aim not the restoration and rehabilitation of the old vested interests, but the creation of a sound economy beneficial to the people of the region."

The *United Press of America* reports that referring to India, Dutch East Indies, Burma, Malaya and Indo-China, Mr. Wallace asserts that Asia cannot permanently remain half free and half subject. He adds: "It is not to our advantage to perpetuate this division, but to see that an orderly process of transition takes place so that the area of free Asia will grow and that of subject Asia continually diminish... Every step taken by China towards political democracy after the war will have a tremendous effect on the political trends in other Asiatic countries and if the time comes when democratic

China can co-operate with Free India the trend towards freedom in Asia will be assured." Writing on discrimination against racial minorities, he says: "Our own country does incalculable harm to the cause of freedom in Asia. The force of example is greater than any number of righteous pronouncements. Our interest there should be a ladder of evolution upward out of colonial subjection and coolie economics to self-government economy, opportunity and reward."

Pearl Buck on War Aims

Every great mistake has a half-way moment, a split second when it can be recalled and perhaps remedied, writes Pearl Buck. She says: "We are at that moment now in this war. It may be still possible to relate the past to the present with hope of changing the future, by asking how we have failed, so far, in our war aims?" But she points out that war aims were never declared. Promises of military action, given on occasions since the Casablanca Conference, cannot properly be called war aims. She says:

It is a difficult question to answer when we consider that these war aims have never yet been stated with authority except in the very general terms of the Four Freedoms. I do not include the Atlantic Charter, for Prime Minister Churchill early limited its application to Europe, and this is a global war. I do not include the statements of Vice-President Wallace, since he does not hold primary power and since he has been so heartily contradicted both by action and lack of action. The only statement of global war aims, then, by any Western leader, has been President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms.

The Four Freedoms remain the sole statement yet given of our war aims. But I take it that it is the constant and peacetime aim of any democratic government to make secure for its own citizens freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from fear and freedom from want.

If we are fighting for these freedoms "everywhere in the world" that is for peoples who do not have them now, then we have to fight first for the basic freedom—the freedom to be free. *It was an Indian and the Indian was Gandhi, who pointed that out.* And the only country to declare itself officially for the freedom of all peoples, and equality among all has been China.

Pearl Buck emphatically asserts that without this basic equality and freedom the other four freedoms cannot be secure.

Pearl Buck on America's Role to Subject Asia

Pearl Buck continues:

We Americans have denied our own tradition of freedom in this global war. We had earlier made, it is true, an unequivocal declaration for freedom for the Philippines, and this served us well so far as it went.

But when Burma fell, because China was not accepted as an equal ally and when Cripps failed in his mission to India—both events occurred in the same month, April, 1942—we Americans failed by our very silence. We acquiesced, by our silence, in the limitation of the aims of this war to freedom for some peoples but not for others, to the four lesser freedoms, not freedom itself. Then and ever since we have evaded the true meaning of the war.

The people of China and India, and they are half the people in the world, are now forced to the conviction that we are not fighting for freedom as a principle of human life, but we are fighting to maintain ourselves with the British in a position of superiority over them.

To this conviction they have been compelled by three things: first, by our Anglo-American conduct of the war; second, by the open statements of Churchill's Government; third, by our own silence. I say not only the peoples of China and India, but all the peoples of Asia, and I do not doubt of Africa, share in this conviction, and will shape their future action upon it if the conviction cannot be changed.

She says that confidence of the Chinese in the Americans is being lost not because "they think we mean ill, but that we do not know better. They expected more of us in the way of foresight, wisdom and leadership."

Pearl Buck on Power of Gandhiji

Discussing the attitude of the peoples of Asia towards their leaders, Pearl Buck says: "They exalted our leaders beyond their worth." The Chinese, like other peoples of Asia, have always revered those whom they consider great men and have been willing to follow them. "It is one of the chief differences between East and West that we feel safest when we are guarded by cross-checked organisation, but they feel safest when they are following great men who are also good." This explains the power of Gandhiji over the Indian, she says, a power incomprehensible to so many Westerners, but perfectly sensible to the peoples of Asia. A great man who is good and wise is the natural leader for peoples.

The belief in the great and good made the peoples of Asia look to us with eagerness for leadership, not only military, but for a true leadership, toward the thing for which they thought we all were fighting, the principle of freedom for all peoples. When Churchill repudiated this principle, and when Cripps failed, then all eyes were fixed upon us. But we were silent. That silence has cost us very dear, and if it is not broken and broken soon, it will cost us far more dearly yet and will cost our children very dearly indeed. Our unwillingness to declare the true aim of this war has not made that aim less clear to the peoples of Asia. For them it is still a war for freedom and it will go on until it is now.

A determination for freedom in the world would, of course, cost us many of our prejudices. We could not assure freedom to the other peoples and keep our own Negroes in a position half slave.

It would cost us, too, the trouble of saying to England: "We really believe in the freedom of peoples but we fully realize your dependence economically upon Empire, and so we are prepared to share with you the costs of setting your subject peoples free. In order that we may have a free world of co-operative peoples. We will help you to distribute the financial loss and to set up new enterprises which will pay you equally well. That is, we will share with you the responsibility of a real democracy for the world."

It would mean that we would have to pledge our word—and keep it—to the conquered peoples of Europe including those in the Axis nations, that this time we will not withdraw and leave the mess to them while we demand our money back. It would mean that upon declaring our belief in the freedom of all peoples we would put our shoulder to the job of making freedom workable.

But the allowed determination for democracy for all peoples is the only way to win this war for democracy. At least in the East our prestige has already suffered so greatly that I do not believe any military victory will restore it. For us it was a priceless prestige, more potentially valuable to us even than England's Empire to her. Our prestige was founded on something better than Empire—it was founded on the friendship and confidence of peoples who believed in us as those who stood for the principle of freedom for mankind.

If we continue refusing to declare the true aim of this war, we shall have to reckon, when we carry the belated war into Asia, with peoples who have lost their eager enthusiastic belief in our greatness and goodness. The peoples of India and Burma, of Malaya and the South Seas, will not forget our silence on the primary freedom of peoples to be free.

To declare this war is for freedom is to call for a form of world co-operation which alone can maintain that freedom, a co-operation of all peoples who must first be free. Freedom for all peoples demands co-operation by all peoples. Freedom is compatible with and indeed dependent upon mutual co-operation in the world in the same way as it is in any local community. The Quit India resolution is nothing beyond a demand for the withdrawal of British power which denies freedom to India, and an open offer for voluntary co-operation with her on equal terms to be arranged by mutual agreement.

How Britain has Retarded India's Industrialisation

In the course of the debate on the Director's Report to the 26th International Labour Conference, Mr. Mulherkar, Adviser to the Indian Employers' Delegate, made a telling exposure of how industrialisation in India was being retarded by Britain. The full text of his speech has been published in the *Bombay Chronicle*, an extract from which is given below:

It does not deal with the effect of the British Government's war economy in India's industrial deve-

lopment, with particular reference to the establishment of key and defence industries for the manufacture of automobiles, aeroplanes, heavy chemicals, power alcohol, and construction of ships. Since we are all anxious that every possible effort should be made from now on to ensure a high level of employment in the post-war period, you will be surprised to know that the British Government's war economy has discouraged every initiative from Indian industrialists to put up modern industrial plants, to manufacture all types of industrial products. You will see from the Director's Report that it was made possible for my neighbouring country, Australia, to establish such plants enabling manufacture of two-engined bombers, ten-thousand ton merchant ships, and power alcohol, while India, in spite of all resources in men, money and material, was denied that opportunity of manufacturing these supplies, which, I am sure, would have further helped the United Nations' war effort. I think that the Report would not be complete without specific reference to the British Government's war economy on India's industrial development.

Mr. Mulhelkar pointed out that the situation was further aggravated by the introduction of financial controls by the British Government under the Dollar Requisition Order, under which the whole of India's dollar credits accruing to her as a result of her trade with the U. S. A. are put in the Empire Dollar Pool for the benefit of Empire countries. India has been a substantial contributor to this Pool, while the benefits she received in return are practically nil. The danger of such a financial policy was realised by the Americans themselves, and Mr. Mulhelkar has revealed that American manufacturers have protested against the non-utilisation of these credits for the furtherance of greater trade with India. While the continuous Indian protests for the last four years had been completely futile, the American thrust has had some effect. The British Government has now agreed to set aside from this year onward a part of the dollars accruing to India from her exports to the U. S. A.

Other obstacles have also been put against any possibility of industrial progress. Industrialists and traders from the biggest down to the lowest have been chained up with hundreds of restriction orders issued under the D. I. R. These are most rigidly applied in the case of Indian concerns, while the British firms can cut through them rather easily. Restrictions on transport, and limitation of the supplies of coal, basic chemicals and other essential raw materials have practically crippled all efforts at industrialisation. New entrants in the field have been practically shut out by means of sweeping orders. Mr. Mulhelkar would have done well to mention these drastic difficulties at the I. L. O. Conference.

Lord Hailey on Indianisation of Services

In order to impress an American audience that India is almost self-governing, Lord Hailey gave out certain figures of Indianisation of the Services in India. He said that in the Civil Service there were 632 Indians to 573 British, in the higher Judicial posts the proportion of Indian to British is 11 to 1, in the General Administration Services 8 to 1, in the Engineering Services 14 to 1, and in the higher Medical Services 30 to 1. Mr. K. M. Munshi, speaking from an inside knowledge of administration, has analysed these precious facts in the *Social Welfare*. About the I. C. S. he says :

No doubt in the Civil Service numerically there are 632 Indians and 573 British. But the Civil Service is a close governing corporation. At the head of each provincial service is a seasoned Chief Secretary. His word is law so far as the career of his subordinates is concerned. Either he is a strong Britisher, or, if the post goes to an Indian at all, he is guaranteed to be completely reliable—that is, in the language of the Secretariat, incapable of taking any independent view except one which is consistent with the highest traditions of the British bureaucracy. Juniors with an independent spirit are repressed. Indian Civilians as a rule have to be on constant guard lest their least degree of independence may bar them from higher pay prospects and pension. In practice the British civilian can be relied upon to take a strong line—may be a little displeasing to his superiors—for his pro-British *bona fides* are above suspicion. An Indian civilian trembles at the prospect of being misunderstood by his British colleagues, and is therefore more royal than the King himself.

About the Judicial Service, he says :

Judiciary is supposed to be independent. But the pivotal position is held by the Chief Justice of the High Court. More often than not he is a Britisher; two eminent Indian judges were ruled out for the job in one year. But on the whole the Judicial Services have a measure of independent outlook; that is why war legislations are more or less intended to exclude the judiciary from scrutinising its deeds and misdeeds. Did not some of the Judges of the Federal Court remark that the High Courts are the distrusted of the land? Did not the Chief Justice of U. P. declare from the bench that the Executive Ordinances have rendered him impotent?

As regards General Administration, he says taking the police for instance :

There the proportion of Indians to Europeans would be something like 500 : 1. But it is a semi-military organisation and at all key positions you will find Britishers. I am not aware as yet of an Indian Inspector General. An I.G.P. is an absolute master over the career of thousands who serve under him. When the Congress was in government we were told that we should not corrupt the police by our political bias, that they should remain neutral. When the political movements were on we knew what this 'neutrality' meant. This myth is only intended to

secure that the Dark man remains loyal to his White chief. Nothing more, nothing less.

Within my knowledge there is a case when a subordinate police officer who happened to know an Indian Home Minister for years called on the latter when he was lying ill. This action was almost high treason and was frowned upon by the superior officers even at the time when the Home Minister was in danger!

In conclusion, Mr. Munshi says that the traditions of the service are laid down by the Britisher; that the pay, prospects and pension of each individual officer depend ultimately on the good graces of the Britisher; that every member of the services is trained to conform to two standards: to win the approbation of the Foreign Chief at the top, and to do nothing which will incur his displeasure. There can be no greater badge of slavery than the unconscious moulding of a man's outlook by the corruption which the prospects of a career offer or by the imponderable fear that the career will be thwarted, if he fails to rise up to the expectations of a Foreign Chief.

Exploitation of Indian Workers in Natal

The Durban correspondent of *Bombay Chronicle* reports:

In evidence before the Judicial Commissioner the Durban Branch of the South African Trades and Labour Council made allegations about "the serious exploitation" of Indian workers in Natal.

Evidence shows that the wages paid to workers on railways and Durban municipality are far below "any civilized living standard."

The minimum wage in the Durban municipality is four pounds 18 shillings four pence and the Railways, four pounds seven shillings six pence, reached only after five years' service.

Mr. J. C. Bolton, Chairman of the Trades and Labour Council, maintains that ten pounds per month should be the minimum living wage.

"Death House"

Strong criticism was levelled against Indian Immigration Depot and the hospital was dubbed by Indians as "Death House". The "treatment meted out to Indians there is not fit for the poorest type of animal, let alone human being," said Mr. Bolton.

Mr. Pather said, in the past 25 years, Indians preferred their own doctors as proper hospital attention was not received. Allegations that the conditions in King Edward Hospital were "deplorable" were made by Mr. H. S. Singh who maintained that patients received very little treatment. If Indian nurses were employed the position would be better. Indian nurses would be attracted if salary was revised. The fact that Indian Women worked in the Red Cross organisation indicate that they were keen on work. The Indian community was the only group which had to build their own schools and then apply for grants.

Questioned by Mr. Kajee witness agrees that White supremacy must be maintained. He would be prepared to accept qualified franchise as a stepping stone but would continue work for full franchise.

Mr. Narbeth, an ex-Director of the Natal Technical College and Chairman Indian Technical Education Committee, expressed the view that Indians had made an honest attempt to reach the western standard. But they have been persistently obstructed in all their efforts to raise their standard of living. Whatever backwardness there is among the Indians there, is not their fault, but somebody else's creation over which the Indians had no hand.

British Legal System in India : Nundakumar to Barada Pain

The Indian Social Reformer writes:

Mr. Pendrel Moon quitted the Indian Civil Service for remonstrating with his official superior against the treatment accorded to a political prisoner. He went to England and wrote a book and was able to get it published. We have not seen the book but a review of it by that "friend of India" Edward Thompson in the *Observer* of London has been summarised for the Indian Press by Reuter. Mr. Thompson quotes with approval Mr. Moon's opinion that the introduction of the British legal system in India has been harmful. It has, he says, created vested interests of lawyers and the universal belief that lying is right according to the rules of the game. Are there no vested interests besides the lawyer to account for this, assuming it is true? The legal profession in India has been long an eyesore to the bureaucracy. The National Congress and other political movements have had eminent lawyers as leaders and supporters. In the districts the lawyers, not every one of them, have been the sole obstacles to the autocracy of the district officials. In the last thirty years, several laws have been passed excluding the jurisdiction of the Courts in matters within the purview of the Executive and, in several other matters, the presumption that a person is innocent until he is proved to be guilty has been either expressly or tacitly reversed. The combination of the executive and judicial functions in the magistracy, against which Indians have protested for many years, makes the Magistracy subservient to the Police and Revenue officials. This is the case in normal times. In these war days, of course, these evils have taken an aggravated form. Ordinances are daily being issued creating new offences as a rule trifling summarily.

The conflict of the executive and the judiciary is daily increasing. In the days of Warren Hastings, Executive and Judiciary were twins. Nunda Kumar was hanged because the Executive required whitewashing. Matters have improved to some extent since then, but the Executive has never let slip judicial control altogether from its hands. Separation of these two organs still remains a demand. The Judiciary has, however, within narrow limitations, tried its best to maintain its independence. In recent times, the Indian High Courts have seldom hesitated to pronounce verdicts against the Executive whenever the judges believed that the exercise of executive power had been exceeded.

us'.' It is 'the way Winston did.' But if the *Fauji Akhbar's* advice is acted upon in India, our autocratic Government will react in a different way. The man who makes himself troublesome to Government may find himself in a very uncomfortable place.

The principle of making "that fellow one of us" applies to different people with different force. Churchill succeeded, but in the case of troublesome Sir Stafford Cripps, he was made one of them only to be crushed and digested. The system has been nicely described by Gandhiji in a witty conversation with Miss Eve Caril :

"Sir Stafford Cripps is a very good man. But he has entered a bad system, the machinery of British Imperialism. He thinks he is going to improve the machinery. In the end it will be the machinery that will get the best of him."

Then, with one of his witty, irresistible smiles :

"Sir Stafford has good intentions. But Satan uses honest people for his own ends. There is hypocrisy and danger in any association with Satan. Surely, one cannot expect to improve Satan."

Permission for Two Automobile Factories in India

The Government of India have sanctioned the issue of capital for the establishment of two Automobile factories, one by the Birlas and the other by Seth Walchand Hirachand. At the beginning of the war, Seth Walchand and Sir M. Visvesvaraya had tried their level best to secure permission and co-operation of the Government of India to start a motor car factory in this country. The project was turned down. Next, an attempt was made for the establishment of the factory at Mysore, but this time also in vain. Sir M. Visvesvaraya had spent several years and a fortune in travelling to Europe and America gathering materials for starting a motor car factory in India. Sir Mokshagundam and Seth Walchand had collected the necessary capital and negotiated with an American firm to help in the earlier stages of the industry. They wanted from the Government of India two assurances : (1) the continuation of the present import duty on foreign cars and (2) the purchase of Government's requirements from the Indian concern. Government refused both. Government of India declined to admit that the establishment of this factory would help war effort. The reasons advanced by Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, then Commerce Member in the Linlithgow Administration, for turning down the scheme, convinced nobody.

The desired permission has at last been granted no doubt, but in doing so the Government have made it plain that they accept no

responsibility for the project. The future of this new industry is exceedingly doubtful unless Governmental patronage is forthcoming and the two conditions pointed out by Sir M. Visvesvaraya are fulfilled. After the war, there is every likelihood of a tremendous slump in the motor car market when lakhs of army vehicles in and out of India are released for sale.

Grow Less Cotton

In a Press Note, the C. P. Government wishes to emphasise that the reasons given in 1942 for growing less short staple cotton have even greater force today since the demand for food crops has become greater than ever while short staple cotton is wanted less and less. Meanwhile the Government of India, while calling attention to the lack of demand and the fall in price of short staple cotton, are anxious that at least 30 p.c. of last year's area under short staple cotton should be diverted to food crops in the coming season. They have given an undertaking that in case of a fall in prices—a most unlikely contingency—they would be prepared to purchase all juar and bajry which may be offered for sale at a floor price of Rs. 5-8-0 and Rs. 6 per maund respectively. In view of this promise, cultivators should have no fear in diverting their areas under short staple cotton to food-crops. At the same time the Government of India give a clear warning that they have no intention of buying short staple cotton to support the market or of providing transport if the crop is not required.

But in Bengal, growing of jute beyond the normal requirements of the market has been and is being encouraged against the wish of the growers' representatives and at a time when an increase in the production of rice is required to prevent starvation by millions and death by thousands. The cause of this distinction between the cultivations of cotton and jute is not far to seek. London has no interest in the former while cheap jute is required both by London and Washington, and cheapening processes cannot be discontinued.

Civil Liberties Non-existent at Junctions of Four Districts

The Leader writes :

During the debate in the Bengal Assembly on the Bengal Government's decision banning the Hindu Conference which was proposed to be held at Burial, Sir Nazimuddin adduced some ingenious arguments. We should like to draw attention to one of these in particular. The Home Minister was asked why he banned a Hindu conference when the Chief Minister

himself presided over and spoke at a Muslim conference at Dinajpur. Sir Nazimuddin replied, 'The hon'ble member does not realize that the Hindu Conference was to be held at a spot which is the junction of four districts.' One result of the statement will be that the sale of text-books on geography will at once increase. All Hindus living in Muslim provinces would like to know the names of places situated at the junction of four districts. Another result will be that the provisions of President Roosevelt's four freedom scheme will have to be recast. In President Roosevelt's opinion one of 'the basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems' is 'the preservation of civil liberties for all.' Having regard to what Sir Nazimuddin said it will have to be made clear that the provisions relating to civil liberties will not apply to those living at the junction of four districts. The attention of the Government was drawn to the assurances the Ministers gave when they entered upon office. One of these was that the Ministry would protect and promote civil liberties. The Chief Minister reported that the Congress ministries had made use of Section 144. We have carefully gone through the old files of the *Leader*. We find that no Congress minister in any of the provinces made a distinction against places situated at the junction of four districts.

This satirical note indicates in what esteem the present Ministers of Bengal are held outside the province.

U. S. Congress Bill for Indians

Dr. M. T. Titus, a delegate from India to the General Conference of the Methodist Church which met in Kansas City in the U. S. A. has sent the following message to India :

Bills important to the people of India have recently been introduced in the United States' Congress. These Bills would do for India what the repeal of the Chinese exclusion laws last December has done for China, that they would provide for immigration from India to America on the quota applied to most other nationalities, and would open the way for naturalization of certain groups of Indians already resident in America. That there is growing sentiment in America in favour of this legislation was evidenced recently in the quadrennial meeting of the general conference of the Methodist Church, whose 700 delegates passed unanimously a resolution pledging their support of these bills now before Congress.

This is significant in view of the fact that these delegates represent eight million Methodists in the United States.

"National Call" on Nagpur Cases

Commenting editorially on the Nagpur cases—the *Hitavada* and the *Nagpur Times* cases—the *National Call* of Delhi writes :

The entire Indian press is bound to feel alarmed at the finding of the local court in Nagpur in the case of *Hitavada* and the *Nagpur Times*, in which members of the editorial staff and a correspondent have been convicted for divulging the contents of charge sheets presented by the Government to various prisoners in the C. P. and their replies to the same. A recent ordinance has now been issued prohibiting

the dissemination of these charges or the replies of political prisoners. But so long as this ordinance was not in force, we do not see how the court could hold either that the charge sheets or the replies of prisoners were a secret document under the Official Secrets Act. The presentation of the charge sheet and the calling of a reply in the circumstances were only intended as a substitute for a regular open judicial trial. We do not think the charge sheets were presented to prisoners after taking from them an oath of secrecy. If that was not the case, then it was perfectly open to them to discuss the charges and the replies with other prisoners some of whom on their release could have with impunity, and quite legitimately, passed on the information to the press. So long as the information was not incorrect, and that was never claimed by the prosecution, the papers were perfectly within their rights, and in our opinion were certainly acting within the law as it existed then in publishing such bonafide reports provided these reports did not infringe the Bombay Agreement.

Liability of Members of the Editorial Staff

In the same article, commenting on the liability of individual members of the editorial staff, the *National Call* writes :

Even more alarming to the press is the attitude taken up by the court against individual members of the editorial staff, who were involved in handling the news in question. So far as we are aware even though the two editors were absent they were prepared to take full responsibility for the offence, if any, on their own shoulders. In every newspaper office a news story is handled by several persons. But morally, as well as under law the responsibility for publication remains of the editor or of the persons acting in his place. It would be a dangerous precedent if one or more members of the editorial staff were to be prosecuted and convicted for handling a particular story and for its publication in the paper. Some magistrate may take it into his head to punish even foremen and compositors on the same principle as Assistant and Sub-Editors have been convicted in the present case. In several respects the case is certainly one of those which deserves to be taken to the highest court of law in the country for final adjudication. It strikes a serious blow at the elementary rights of the press in India.

We agree with the *National Call* that the matter should be taken to the High Courts of Law for final adjudication.

Lakhs of Jinnahs Not to Effect Change in Kashmir Politics

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, President of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference in a crowded public meeting, gave a rejoinder to Mr. Jinnah's criticism of the policy of the Kashmir National Conference made by him at the Session of the Kashmir Muslim Conference. Sheikh Abdullah declared : "Even if lakhs of Jinnahs come to Kashmir, they cannot effect any change in local politics." He further said :

'I wanted Kashmir politics to be free from outside interference but unfortunately Mr. Jinnah willed it or

otherwise brought evil germs of British Indian politics here.'

Referring to the efforts at bringing about a rapprochement between the National Conference and the Muslim Conference Abdullah said: 'I asked the Muslim Conference leader to abide by a majority decision of the Millat or by a referendum to the Muslim masses but they did not agree.—U.P.

It is difficult for the Leaguers to agree to any demand for a referendum, particularly in progressive Muslim areas. The country has already been sick of the barren, selfish and dangerously disruptive Jinnah policy. Mr. Jinnah failed to win over the Panjab. Next he has set his foot in Kashmir only to receive a hot reception there as well.

Ahrars Fed Up with Vision of Pakistan

The anti-Pakistani Muslims of the Panjab are rallying rapidly. The following resolution explains the resentment of the Ahrars against the League :

SIALKOT, JUNE 20.

The Ahrars' attitude towards the Muslim League was clearly brought out in a resolution adopted at a meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Majlis-i-Ahrar held here to-day. The resolution which was moved by Maulana Matzar Ali Azhar, M.L.A., expressed its desire to comply with Mr. Jinnah's appeal to the Majlis-i-Ahrar to merge with the Muslim League.

The resolution stated, 'The attitude of Mr. Jinnah in regard to his demand for Pakistan will not lead him towards that ideal. The non-Muslims and most of the Muslims are fed up with the vision of Pakistan presented by him.'

'Mr. Jinnah,' the resolution pointed out, 'has never asked the Majlis-i-Ahrar for co-operation in any matter but on the contrary he is desirous of its obliteration by asking it to merge itself in the Muslim League. The Majlis-i-Ahrar would have been prepared even to lose its identity had the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah given any evidence of self-sacrifice and suffering. Mr. Jinnah had stated in unmistakable terms at Lucknow, that civil disobedience could never be of any avail. But the Majlis-i-Ahrar can never fall in with such a policy because its very superstructure stands on self-sacrifice and suffering.'

The resolution added, 'Mr. Jinnah is in favour of a constitutional struggle which can never set a slave nation free. On the contrary it strengthens the shackles of slavery because by following it no effective step can be taken against the Government.'

Maulana Attauallah Shah Bohkari who presided over the meeting condemned the cold-blooded murder of Maulana Sher Gul, a prominent Ahrar leader.—A.P.I.

The fantasy of Pakistan is rapidly being realised by the educated and patriotic Muslims. It is also becoming increasingly clear that if there be any Pakistan at all, it must come through the grace of the British Government, and must be kept in existence by the British ruling class.

To Our Readers

Due to the extreme scarcity of photographic plates we could not illustrate this issue as fully as is usual.

Why this Preference to Urdu Newspapers?

In answer to a question by the Hon'ble Mr. Hossain Imam in the Council of State on the 29th February 1944, the Hon'ble Sir Muhammad Usman stated that the amounts of money paid to English, Hindi and Urdu newspapers by way of advertisements by the Department of Information and Broadcasting and other departments of the Government of India during the first nine months of 1943-44 were as follows :

English papers	Rs. 3,91,251
Hindi papers	Rs. 51,610
Urdu papers	Rs. 83,410

The amount spent on Urdu papers is more than 154 per cent of that on Hindi papers, although the number of literates in Hindi far exceeds that in Urdu. According to the census of 1931, the number of literates in Hindi and Urdu in the different provinces and states were as follows :

	Persons literate in Hindi	Persons literate in Urdu
Baluchistan	7,111	18,422
C. P. & Berar	380,950	41,247
Delhi	26,008	47,338
Punjab	216,206	908,521
E. I. Agency	255,931	29,453
Hyderabad	..	192,039
Jammu & Kashmir	776	3,178
	857,122	12,43,218

If to the above we add the number of Hindu and Muhammadan literates in the U. P. and Bihar, and assume that all those who are Hindus speak Hindi, and all those who are Muhammadans speak Urdu, we may get a picture as to the proportion of Hindi and Urdu speakers in India. The respective numbers of Hindu and Muhammadan literates in these two provinces are :

	Hindus	Muslims
U. P.	18,23,819	3,67,674
Bihar	14,52,130	2,30,902
	32,75,979	5,97,576

The proportion of Hindi and Urdu literates is roughly then 41,63,000; 18,41,000.

Why then this preference to Urdu paper? Is it because they support Pakistan? Or is it because they are more anti-National and anti-Gandhi?

J. M. DATTA

CHINA'S POST-WAR ECONOMIC PLANS

By HO KWAN-HENG, Ph.D.

I

It is indeed strange that many as are the peace plans for the post-war world, none of them makes China the keystone of the post-war peace arch. That China is such a keystone is evident from any cursory review of the history of World War II. Although the present War appeared to break out in September, 1939, with Germany's attack on Poland, yet the real outbreak of hostilities had occurred eight years earlier with Japan's rape on Manchuria.

September 18, 1931, was the real first date of World War II. It was the Japanese aggressors in Manchuria and England's unwillingness to curb aggression that started the present world conflagration. Japan's Manchurian coup deepened the then world depression and threw more rowdies into the bandwagons of Hitler and Mussolini. Seeing that England was unwilling to act in the case of Manchuria, Mussolini knew that she was sure to wink an eye in the case of Abyssinia. Hitler was emboldened to rearm in defiance of Versailles, to march into the Rhine-land in defiance of Locarno, to walk into Sudetenland in defiance of the Franco-Czechoslovak-Soviet alliance, to gobble up Czechoslovakia in defiance of his own word given in Munich, and to blitz on Poland in defiance of both England and France.

A long road of violated women, blinded babies, and vulture-devoured corpses linked up Manchuria with Poland, and hence with Paris, London, and Pearl Harbour. World War II was started by Japan, not by Germany. It was Japan who set the evil style.

Without holding brief for aggression, what lured Japan on was the weakness of China. Sheep China was a constant temptation to Tiger Japan. Ever since the West taught Japan to use modern armaments, that little island country has been the troublesome little brother for elder brother China. More bulky and less alert, China has been slower to learn Western ways. Many have been the humiliations heaped upon the Big Brother who at-first took them with good-natured tolerance, then with visible annoyance, and finally with alarm. For the wicked little brother has an eye not only on the worldly possessions but also on the very life of the Big Brother.

If it is "western ways" that have made Japan strong, it is tardy reception of westernization that has kept China weak. And a weak China is always cause for world trouble. This has been so before the War; it will be so ever after. It follows that no peace plan can work if it leaves the loophole of weak China unpatched up.

After this War, perhaps China will be the only important loophole in the world scheme. For, no trouble however big, breaking out in the Americas is likely to grow world-wide, because of the Monroe doctrine. There have been many wars on the American Continents, but none of them has spread out, because the power of the United States has been enough to effectively stop the spreading. So far as the next world war is concerned, we may rest assured that the first explosion will not take place in the Americas.

The first explosion of World War I took place in Europe—in the Balkans. The first explosion of World War II took place, as we have said, in Asia—in Manchuria. Where, then, will the first explosion of World War III (if there will be one) be likely to take place? Assuming the total destruction of Germany, which a total Allied victory must mean, the task of stabilizing Europe will be left to the Anglo-Soviet Alliance of May, 1942. The duration of the Alliance has been fixed at 20 years, but the exact form of co-operation—whether it is to be another 'Holy Alliance,' or another 'League of Nations,' or what you will—has not yet been settled. Mr. Churchill has spoken of a "Council of Europe," presumably an organisation along the line of the old League of Nations with more teeth in it to be supplied by Britain and Russia jointly. Unless Britain and Russia fall out, which according to the Alliance will not be likely for at least the next 20 years, i.e., if the Alliance holds good, any local flare-up on the European Continent will not spread and become world-wide, because, as in the case of the Americas, the joint power of Britain and Russia must be enough to smoke it out before it gets big.

Not so in Asia. There, after the total smashing of Japan which a total Allied victory must mean, there will be no indigenous power to

keep the peace. For, the United States is primarily an American power and goes afieid only reluctantly and only when attacked. Britain is primarily a European power and to keep the peace in Asia she needs a bigger land-power than she has and can afford. After she has gone deep into Europe, Russia will have her hands full with European problems, which will leave her little time for the East.

In other words, while there will be a stabilizing power in the Americas (i.e., the United States) and in Europe (i.e., the Anglo-Soviet Alliance), in Asia there will be none after the War. A vacuum will be created which will be uncomfortable and likely to provide place for the first explosion of the next World War,—if there will be one,—unless China be strengthened and made into a stabilizer in East Asia.

The basic structure of China is agrarian economy. Agrarianism is never a good basis for power. Eighty per cent of the Chinese people are peasants living on a narrow margin of substance wrung from a niggardly soil interstitial among rugged mountains and troublesome waterways. Her revenues have come largely from land, which is necessarily small. Her annual budget is but an infinitesimal part of that of the United States. Her total yearly foreign trade is in value roughly that of the barber business in America. Is it strange that when she wants to build waterworks to supply much needed clean water to her people, she finds that she has no money; when she wants to build powerhouses to provide electric light for the country, she finds that she lacks cash; and when she wants to dredge her troublesome rivers in order to give her peasantry a breathing space, she finds that she needs capital. She simply has not the money for all those modern implements and modern technique which in any advanced industrial country are usually taken for granted.

How is it, then, that she has stood against Japan for seven long years? The answer is: Not with her mechanized power, but with her illimitable space. With space she has purchased valuable time, not only for herself, but for the United Nations, and particularly for the United States.

Space is China's chief asset; not her wealth. It goes without saying that she has not the money for panzer divisions, for 105-mm howitzers, for Sherman tanks, for Flaks and Stukas, for Garand rifles, for 54,000-ton battleships, for Flying Fortresses, for Liberty boats, for a sky-darkening air fleet, etc. And without these things, she will not have the power to keep the peace in Asia.

II

China must be industrialized if she is to have the wealth and consequently the power with which to help stabilize conditions in Asia. In helping China to industrialize, the advanced industrial nations are only helping quieten a possible tinderbox whose explosion may blow up the world again.

As long ago as during the last World War, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, father of the Chinese Republic, drew up a plan for an "international industrial development of China" for which he wrote a book. This Plan is to become the Master Blueprint for the economic reconstruction of China after the War. In his book *The Destiny of China*, the Generalissimo has the following to say :

"As to economic reconstruction, we must make the Plan for the Industrial Development of China the cardinal plan...The successful carrying out of the Plan will take 30 to 50 years...Our Plan for economic reconstruction, aiming at the promotion of the people's welfare, must live up to the standard set by our Father of the Republic (in Article II of his National Government's Outlines of Political Reconstruction); to wit: 'The first object in reconstruction is people's livelihood. Concerning the people's needs for food, clothing, housing, and movement, the Government will do its utmost in co-operating with the people, and in developing agriculture in order to increase food supply; in developing the textile industry in order to increase the supply of clothings; in building various types of houses in order to make people feel at home; and in making roads and canals in order to facilitate people's movement.' This is the only object of our reconstruction and also the first step in carrying out the principle of people's livelihood."

In his Letter to Li Hung Chang, the Chinese Premier at the end of the last century, Dr. Sun Yat-sen proposed four things—one of which was that goods should have free and unimpeded movement. His later Plan for Industrial Development of China was drawn up with this one idea in mind. Utilizing China's magnificent ocean frontage of 3000 miles, the Plan proposes, first of all, the opening of three great sea ports on China's Pacific seaboard. The first is to be called the Great Northern Port, to be built somewhere between Taku and Chinhuangtao, between where the Ching River and the Luang River empty into the Gulf of Pechili. This spot is chosen because it is where the salt-water channel is deepest and where it is easy to keep away from the easily-frozen, silt-laden fresh waters of the two rivers. This port can be linked up with the Grand Canal and commands the hinterland of North China with a population of 100,000,000. Dr. Sun expected it to be the New York of the Far East. Paul Reinsch, American Minister to China at the time

when Dr. Sun made his proposal, had this site surveyed and found it to be fit for a great sea port as Dr. Sun claimed.

In order to tap the riches of North China, Dr. Sun would build a railway system of 10,000 kilometers radiating from this Great Northern Port and reaching as far north as Outer Mongolia where it meets Soviet Siberia and as far west as Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan) where it meets Russian Turkestan. This railway system is to serve the double purpose of exploiting the mineral resources of North China and of helping move the surplus populations from congested coastal regions to the roomy Northwest.

For Central China or the Yangtse River Valley, Dr. Sun proposed the Great Eastern Port to be built at Chappoo on the Bay of Hangchow, thus bidding fair to take the place of Shanghai. It is claimed that this port will be superior to Shanghai as a trading port, because while the former directly fringes on deep-sea waters, the latter is situated within the estuary of the great Yangtse which debouches 100,000,000 tons of silt a year, enough to make a piece of new land of 40 square miles in area and ten feet in thickness. Shanghai, however, must be salvaged by dredging the Yangtse and by filling up the Whampoo, and retained as a great trading port.

The work to be done on the Yangtse, the Grand Canal, the Hwai, the Han, and the Lakes forms an important part of the second section of the Plan. The system of waterways, with the navigable Yangtse as the trunk line, serves this region of Central China as a railway system serves North China. As steel is to a railway system, so is cement to a waterway system for the building of dock breakwaters, dams, runways, etc. Therefore, Dr. Sun proposed the erection of a large number of cement works in this area.

For South China Dr. Sun proposed to make Canton the Great Southern Port to disgorge the products and wealth of South China. Canton had always been a great port, during the Tang Dynasty and after, for China's foreign commerce. Arabs and Jews flocked thither in such a great number that an Arab historian, when writing of the sack of Canton by the Bandit Huang Tsao, could say that 300,000 Arabs and Jews were massacred! However, Canton's place as a great maritime trading port was wrecked by the rise of Hongkong, and throughout the last century the efforts of the Chinese Government to revive Canton as a maritime trading

port fizzled out because of Hongkong's competition.

Canton is situated at the confluence of three inland-rivers. The land formed by the silt comprises an area of roughly 3000 square miles. More than half of Kwangtung's 30,000,000 people live on this delta. It is so much criss-crossed by tiny streams that the place looks like a great mosaic of banks, shoals, and islets. The volume of waters is diversified, the velocity of the current is reduced, and sediments form on the river-beds which make direct access to Canton from the salt-water sea difficult. Therefore, it is proposed to deepen the channel to as much as 40 feet by building miles of dykes, above as well as under water, canalizing the great volume of waters rolling down from the three rivers. Canton will become one of China's foremost ocean traffic ports the moment it is made accessible from the sea for large ocean steamers.

Like the Great Eastern Port, Canton is endowed by nature with a waterway system; but unlike it, Canton's waterway system has a short reach (its longest reach being Nanning, 500 miles from Canton by small river steam-boats) and cannot serve to tap the wealth and resources of South China. So Dr. Sun proposed to build a South China railway system of about 7000 miles to link up South China and the Southwest—Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Yunnan, Kweichow, Szechuan, Sikang—with the Great Southern Port. Different from the North China Railway system, the South China Railway system goes over mountainous terrain, and is difficult to construct. This will cost twice as much per mile as the North China system. But the mineral resources it exploits will more than pay for the extra cost.

As satellites clustering around planets, four second-class ports—Yingkow, Haichow, Foochow and Chinchow, and nine third-class ports—Hulutao, Huankhokang, Chefoo, Ningpo, Wenchow, Amoy, Swatow, Tienpai, Haikow—will be built to stud China's Pacific coast like beads on a necklace.

All these ports, including the Three Great Ports, are to be linked up with the hinterland by railways. Besides the North China system and the South China system, other systems will be built to be known as Central System (16,000 miles), Southeast System (9000 miles), Northeast System (9000 miles), Northwest System (16,000 miles), and Plateau System (11,000 miles in Tibet and Chinghai), totalling more than 60,000 miles.

Dr. Sun's Plan is divided into six main Sections of which the above, in very brief outline, make up four. The rest has to do with the development of China's key industries, and the planner hits the keynote by saying that the machine of the West must be harnessed to aid 'muscle production' in China. One of the famous remarks of Dr. Sun is that China pays a yearly tribute of \$1200 million to foreign Imperialists, meaning that on account of the economic hold of foreign Powers on China; she has had to suffer a yearly loss of that magnitude in work, in food, in death and sickness, in all that comes from the loss of opportunity to work and to make things.

With a keen eye on the people's livelihood, Dr. Sun devotes the 5th Section of his Plan entirely to the five industries basic for people's livelihood; namely, the food industry, the clothing industry, the housing industry, the transportation system, and the press. Each of these five industries calls forth auxiliary industries as feeders and providers of raw materials.

The sixth Section of the Plan is entirely devoted to the mining industry of China. Dr. Sun's was a thoroughly modern mind. He realized that the strength of the West lies in its use of minerals as distinguished from the "vegetables" used by the East, the 'bones' of Terra as distinguished from her "hair." In the use of minerals, the Occident is far ahead of the Orient. To catch up, China must borrow heavily from the West. Dr. Sun had a bright vision of China's using Western capital and technology to develop her iron, coal, petroleum, copper, and other multifarious metal alloys hidden in the bowels of her earth.

All this means that China must and will be industrialized after the war.

III

Will China have the necessary raw materials?

One eminent Chinese Economist¹ has listed the following 44 articles as basis for discussion:

1. Agricultural Products : rice, wheat, cotton, flax, silk, soybean, vegetable oil seed, sugar.
2. Animal Products : cattle, sheep, hog, horse, mule, wool, hide.

3. Forest Products : lumber, rubber.

4. Minerals : coal, petroleum, iron, manganese, wolfram, nickel, chromium, molybdenum, vanadium, magnesium, copper, lead, zinc, aluminium, tin, antimony, mercury, salt, sulphur, nitrate, potash, phosphorus, mica, fire-clay, florite, limestone, gypsum.

Of these 44 articles, there are eight in which China has a surplus, twenty-eight in

which China is self-sufficient, and eight in which China has to depend on the outside world for supply.

The eight of the first category are : silk, soybean, vegetable oil seed, coal, wolfram, tin, antimony, and salt. China takes first place in world's production of soybean, vegetable oil seed, wolfram and antimony, second place in silk, and third place in tin and salt. In silk China is surpassed only by Japan, in tin by Malaya and Dutch East Indies, and in salt by Soviet Union and the United States. China's known coal deposits would place her in the fourth place of the world's coal-producing powers bested only by the United States, Canada, and Soviet Union. In all these things, China can have a surplus to export.

The twenty-eight of the second category are : rice, wheat, cotton, flax, sugar, cattle, sheep, hog, horse, mule, wool, hide, lumber, petroleum, manganese, molybdenum, magnesium, aluminium, mercury, sulphur, nitrate, potash, phosphorous, mica, fire-clay, limestone, and gypsum. In these China is self-sufficient, not by the American standard but by her own standard of initial industrialization, not because these deposits are inexhaustible but because there is a possibility of increased production of them to meet increased demand.

The eight of the third category, in which China is not self-sufficient and has to depend on the outside world for supply, are : rubber, iron, nickel, chromium, vanadium, copper, lead and zinc. The most serious shortage is in iron of which China has only 1 per cent of the World's total deposits though she has 25% of the world's total population. And then, three quarters of her iron deposits lie in Manchuria, at present in Japanese hands.

Fortunately for China, what she lacks can be had from either neighbouring territories or friendly states. Rubber and chromium can be had from neighbours like Malaya and India, nickel from friendly powers like Canada, vanadium from Peru, and iron, copper, lead and zinc from China's greatest friend, the U. S. A.

IV

Will China have enough savings to embark upon the ambitious programme of Dr. Sun's?

Chinese statistical data are woefully incomplete and any statement as regards China's savings can at best be an inference. Since there has been an inflation after the outbreak of the War, computations are made on the basis of pre-war figures. Between 1934 and 1937, the average revenue that China's Central, Provin-

¹ Dr. Wu Ching-chao.

cial and Local (hsien) Governments got was around \$1,364 million. That part of her imports which could really represent the Chinese people's savings was about \$328 million. Savings accounts in Chinese banks totalled to about \$555 million. Put together: \$2,247 million.

Of this sum, only something like \$108 million was expended for reconstruction by the Governments. Of the imports, those that had direct bearing on economic activities such as, iron, asphalt, coal, machinery and machine tools, totalled to about \$261 million in value. Of the savings, about \$100 million were used to finance reconstruction, the rest being used for speculation, etc. Total for economic enterprises: \$470 million (pre-War value). This sum is manifestly insufficient for economic reconstruction if we compare it with Russia's 38,000 million rubles a year.

The truth is that China's national income is too meagre. According to Tawney and Clark (colin), it is about £4315 million, equivalent to pre-War \$69,040 million. According to Chinese economists: \$53,750. Taking the average, it cannot be much over \$61,400 million, or \$136 for each individual Chinese. Compare that with the Englishman's £59 (even in wartime 1918, equivalent to \$940) or the German's Mks. 583 (even in the year of the 4-year Plan, 1937, equivalent to \$465), and we shall see why the Chinese people have not much to spare for economic reconstruction.

This situation could be remedied somewhat by the following measures:

1. If the taxation system could be improved to net the Governments a yearly \$2,000 million, 20% of it for reconstruction would be \$400 million.

2. If production of necessities could be stepped up so as to pull down the need for importing same, and if imports could be so controlled that 70% of the \$1,000 million purchasing power would be used in purchasing needed machineries, etc., there would then be \$700 million for reconstruction.

3. If the Chinese Government could devise measures to canalize all the people's savings into banks and if these savings could be stepped up from \$555 million to \$1,000 million 70% of which to be used for economic enterprises, there would be again \$700 million for China's industries.

The total—\$1,800 million—would be four times the amount at present available. Even this (equivalent: U. S. \$550 million) is too little when we compare it with the United States expenditure.

It follows that China must make use of foreign capital. Accordingly, the Chinese Government this year promulgated a set of regulations for the use of foreign capital, giving it very favourable treatment.

V

China's industries had been concentrated on the coastal regions, with Shanghai, Tientsin, and Canton as their focal points. This has not been without reason: the coastal regions produce the raw materials, have access to the necessary machineries from abroad, and the easiest labour supply.

After the outbreak of the war with Japan, what was left over after Japanese plunder and destruction has been moved into the interior, there to eke out a precarious existence amidst a thousand and one hardships. After this dearly-bought experience, it is generally realized in China that wisdom consists in not putting all the eggs in one basket and that from now on Chinese industries have to be diffused and spread over at least seven industrial zones:

1. The Northeast Zone (Liaoning, Kirin, Heilung-kiang, Jehol)

- a. Area : 1,247,256 sq. km.
- b. Population : 28,543,985.
- c. Staple products : wheat, sorghum, soybean, hide, lumber, coal, iron, manganese, aluminium, gold, shale oil, salt.

2. The North China Zone (Charhar, Suiyuan, Hopei, Shantung, Shansi, Honan)

- a. Area : 1,231,628 sq. km.
- b. Population : 116,754,702
- c. Staple products : wheat, sorghum, millet, corn soybean, sweet potato, peanut, cotton, sesame, match, tobacco, hide, coal, iron, aluminium, gold, salt.

3. The Northwest Zone (Ninghsia, Shensi, Kansu, Chingshai, Sinkiang)

- a. Area : 3,379,437 sq. km.
- b. Population : 23,030,794
- c. Staple products : wheat, oat, sorghum, millet, corn, wool, hide, milk and cheese, coal, petrol, salt.

4. The East China Zone (Kiangsu, Chekiang, Anhwei)

- a. Area : 353,650 sq. km.
- b. Population : 81,054,258
- c. Staple products : rice, wheat, soybean, peanut, rape, cotton, silk, tea, tobacco, tung-oil, coal, iron.

5. The Central China Zone (Hupei, Hunan, Kiangsi)

- a. Area : 565,044 sq. km.
- b. Population : 69,614,213
- c. Staple products : rice, wheat, barley, sorghum, rape, sugar-cane, cotton, jute, tea, tung-oil, tobacco, coal, iron, manganese, wolfram, molybdenum, antimony, tin, lead, zinc, gold, mercury.

6. The South China Zone (Kwangtung, Fukien, Kiangsi)

- a. Area : 558,969 sq. km.
- b. Population : 57,593,651
- c. Staple products : Rice, sweet potato, sugar-cane, silk, tea, hide, coal, iron, manganese, wolfram, molybdenum, salt.

7. The Southwest Zone (Szechuan, Sikang, Kwei-chow, Yunnan)

- a. Area: 1386,007 sq. km.
- b. Population: 75,635,548

- c. Staple products: rice, wheat, barley, oat, sorghum, corn, rape, sugar-cane, silk, tobacco, tung-oil, wool, hide, bristle, lumber, coal, iron, nickel, copper, lead, zinc, aluminium, tin, mercury, gold, petrol, salt, phosphorus.

It is a common characteristic of all the seven zones that man-power is rich everywhere. Even the Northwest Zone with the low population is exceeded by only the U. S. A. and Brazil in the Americas and by none in Africa. The North China Zone is exceeded by only India, Soviet Union, and the U. S. A. The East China Zone is roughly equal to Germany in man-power.

In order to instill more system into China's program of industrialization, it is agreed on all sides that each zone shall have all of the following ten industries, so interlocked as to make each a help to the development of others, but not necessarily producing the same kind of products: namely, steel industry, machine industry, power industry, chemical industry, munition industry, food industry, clothing industry, housing industry, communications industry, and printing industry.

VI

In his recent book on the post-war peace problem, Bridge Expert Culbertson flatters China by saying that, given thirty years of industrialization, China will become the most powerful nation on earth because of her immense man-power. But he fears that unless China's land problem is solved, her industrialisation will compel her to be imperialistic like Japan.

Because Japan's land problem has not been solved to the enrichment of the peasantry who constitute 60% of her total population and therefore the greatest single factor in her domestic market, Japan's mass-produced industrial products have had to seek overseas markets in order to keep the home industries going and the home fire burning. It is imperialism that forces the Japanese Empire to collide with other world empires. There is an industrial logic in Japan's expansion: it is a case of either external expansion or internal crack-up.

In contrast to Japan, the United States' home market has been made so spongy and absorbent by a series of anti-monopoly, (e.g., Sherman Anti-Trust Act) and anti-big estate

(e.g., Homestead Act) laws that America can afford to retreat from her imperialism in Cuba and the Philippines. Less than 5% of American motorcars are sold abroad; more than 95% of Japanese silk have to be sold in America.

In China, 75 to 80 per cent of the population are peasants who pay to their landlords in rental 60 per cent of their produce, leaving only 40% of what they can wring from one-third of an acre of land (the average size of a Chinese farm) to meet multiple expenses in daily food, housing, fuel, marriage, childbirth, funeral, etc. It is obvious that such a peasantry makes a very poor market. The non-absorbentness of the home market will, it is certain, impede if not destroy China's program of industrialization.

Therefore, the proper approach to China's economic problem is through land. The solution of the agrarian problem must come before that of the industrial problem. With this in mind, Dr. Sun laid down two tenets in his third principle of people's livelihood: equalization of land rights, and limitation of private capital, and the first comes first. Without equalization of land rights, Chinese peasantry will stay as impoverished as they have been, the purchasing power of the Chinese nation will for ever be low, and the home market will not be able to support an ambitious industrial system.

The way to equalize land rights as prescribed by Dr. Sun is simple: The Government would require all landlords to report on the values of their lands; if the declared value is above the legitimate market value, the Government would tax the land on the basis of the former; if the declared value is below the market value, the Government would exercise the right of eminent domain to buy it out. Ever after that, any increment in the value of the land would be taken by the Government on the ground that such increment is the result of society's growth, care being taken to reimburse the landlord for whatever he has expended on it. With that, the Government would embark upon a program somewhat like what has been experimented upon in Denmark; lending money to the farmer to buy his own land. The goal to be attained is that the tiller of the soil should own the land he tills.

Such is, in very brief outline, China's economic plan after the war. Dr. Sun's Plan is still the last official word. Whether the Plan, drawn up in an age that knew nothing of air transportation and when man was still ocean-minded, would be revised or not to meet new situations arising out of the use of the aeroplane for transport remains to be seen.

OUR OBLIGATIONS TO THE NON-OFFICIAL EUROPEAN-II

By H. C MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D., M.L.A.

I

THOSE who have studied the reports of the three Round Table Conferences which preceded the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935, are aware that the spokesmen of the Indian communities based their demands for representation in the legislatures and the services on different grounds.

For instance, the representatives of the Hindu Mahasabha expressing the views of the communal-minded sections of their community demanded that the representation accorded should be proportional to the numerical strength of each group. The Muslim spokesmen referring to the historical importance of their community, the number of soldiers it contributed to the Indian Army demanded weightage in their favour. Similarly, the Sikhs spoke of their martial traditions and demanded larger representation than what they were entitled to on the basis of numbers only. The Anglo-Indian representative referred to the loyalty of his community to the Crown and its past services in the railways, telegraphs, customs, etc., and pointed out how its members had always rallied to the support of the British Government whenever it had been faced by a crisis as during the Mutiny and in the last world war.

The representatives of the European community were not in any way behindhand in drawing attention to the importance of its non-official section in the spheres of commerce, industry, etc. And it is noteworthy that here they were merely repeating the views expressed in official publications according to which its importance depends on the social services rendered by it, the prosperity of India due to European commerce and the part it has played in developing our industries. In addition, the desirability of affording protection to property including capital invested in India as a condition of good government was also pointed out.

In what follows, it is proposed to examine the second of these claims with a view to ascertaining whether the representation in Indian legislatures and the economic safeguards accorded to the non-official European community can be fully justified by reason of the benefits conferred on Indians by the development of our commerce under its leadership.

II

In Paragraph 344 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918 it is stated that

"When complaints are rife that European commercial interests are selfish and drain the country (India) of wealth which it ought to retain, it is well to remind ourselves how much of India's prosperity is due to European commerce."

Sir Reginald Craddock writing in 1929 has also referred to

"the benefits which India has received from British capital and British commercial enterprise."

The above two extracts are typical of the views held by Europeans in general.

The opinion of Dr. Vera Anstey (*The Economic Development of India*, p. 103) that

"In no country is it possible to distinguish sharply between industrial, commercial, and financial organisation"

is so obviously true that it is needless to prove its correctness the more so because very often in India the same set of European businessmen act as traders, promoters of industries and as bankers.

For purposes of clear exposition, we shall confine our discussion to the consideration of the interchange of commodities between India and the West and find out, if possible, where the balance of advantage flowing from this overseas trade lies.

III

One of the best descriptions of our old economic system is found on page 8 of the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture where we are told that

"With no large towns, no industrial population on the modern scale and little or no means of export overseas, the production of food-grains and other agricultural produce was therefore confined to the demand for local consumption. When favourable seasons yielded a surplus, this was stored. Such stores were common, for the surplus could not be sold and storage was the obvious means of disposing it."

So far as the procurement of goods other than agricultural produce was concerned, the Indian Industrial Commission on pages 2 to 3 of its report pointed out that

"In earlier times, every village not only grew most of its food, but either provided from its own resources or obtained from close at hand its few simple wants. Its cloth, and often the raw material for it, its sugar, its dyes, its oil for food or lighting, its household vessels, and agricultural implements were manufactured or produced either by the cultivator himself or by the village craftsmen, who were members of the village community and were remunerated by a share of its produce."

That the economic self-sufficiency of villages resulting from unsatisfactory transport is not peculiar to India is proved by what W. L.

Anderson has said in his *Country Town* where, while explaining the economic independence of both rural areas and country towns in America about a century and a half ago he says that

"Merchandise and produce that could not stand a freight charge of \$15 per ton could not be carried overland to a consumer 150 miles from the point of production; as roads were, a distance of 80 miles from market often made industrial independence expedient. Where the produce of the farm could not be sold, where wood and lumber were not marketable, the people had no resource but to raise their own flax and wool and spin and weave and make their own clothing. Other crafts felt these influences, although the working of wood, metals, and leather fell to skilled artisans in the village rather than to the household."

All this is sufficient to prove that conditions such as those which prevailed in our rural areas and which have not disappeared altogether viz., the prominence of agriculture and the isolation and self-sufficiency of villages are to be seen in every part of the world being imposed on them by transport difficulties.

IV

The Industrial Revolution in England which had been completed by the middle of the nineteenth century led to the utilisation of steam power and the perfection of all types of machinery thus making the processes of manufacture cheaper and more efficient. This went hand in hand with the improvement and expansion of transport facilities which rendered the carrying of bulky raw produce such as food-grains, fibres such as cotton and jute, and oil seeds from India to Britain and the movement from Britain to India of the increased output of her factories, mills, etc., quick and inexpensive.

British administrators very clearly realised the advantages which would accrue to commercial interests in Britain by opening up the interior parts of India. That at that time all the emphasis was laid on this factor becomes quite clear from what Lord Dalhousie wrote in his famous Minute of 1853 where, among other reasons for the building of railways, he pointed out that

"England is calling aloud for the cotton which India does already produce in some degree, and would produce sufficient in quality and plentiful in quantity if only there were provided the fitting means of conveyance for it from the distant plains to the several ports adapted for its shipment. Every increase of facilities for trade has been attended...with an increased demand for articles of European produce in the most distant markets of India."

From the above, it is evident that Lord Dalhousie foresaw that the revolution in the transport system of India which he proposed to bring about by the introduction of railways,

roads and telegraphs was bound, sooner or later, to stimulate the export of Indian raw products grown in the interior and the import of British manufactures which would be carried to the remotest corners of India. These tendencies were greatly strengthened by the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 which saved not only time but also reduced the cost of carriage by a material diminution of the distance to be covered.

While it is freely admitted that one of the reasons for the extension of railways in India was protection against famine, the present writer is not prepared to acknowledge that it was the only or the principal one. Other and less altruistic motives also had their influence in shaping the railway policy. And he is fortified in his opinion by the views expressed in the Report of the (all-British) Committee on Railways in India appointed four years after the Famine Commission of 1880 which had found that famine mortality was lowest in areas where transport facilities were at their best. Suggesting the rapid extension of railway construction in India, this Committee gave its reasons for pushing it forward vigorously. In order of importance these were (1) the prevention of famine, (2) development of trade, external and internal, (3) production of more profitable crops in areas reached by railways where, under the conditions there prevailing, the Railway Committee had obviously in mind the export trade in our raw products, (4) exploitation of coal fields primarily to feed the railways, the steamships and the industries then being organised in India under European leadership and (5) improvement of the economic condition of the people which again in those days of *laissez-faire*, could not imply the development of indigenous industries.

V

Two facts have to be kept in mind when we think of the construction of railways in India—their alignment and their rate-fixing policy. So far as the former is concerned, we find that Lord Dalhousie, the first to conceive the idea, showed the way by trying to link the interior of each province to some convenient port on the coast. It was therefore that when construction of railways began, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were selected as the starting points of the Indian railway system, the idea being that food-grains and other bulky raw materials obtained from the interior parts would be carried cheaply and quickly to the ports and thence shipped to England.

For instance, the first extensions from Calcutta were to the coal-fields in the Raniganj

area and the fertile but congested North-West Province, thence to large cities like Cawnpore and Delhi through Mirzapore and Allahabad. Similarly, Bombay was connected with Ahmedabad then a commercial centre and the Gujerat cotton tract, with Nagpur, Khandesh and the Berar cotton tract and Sholapur with the adjacent Karnatic cotton tract. The systematic adherence to this deliberate policy by the British administration has led the well-known Indian economist, D. R. Gadgil, Director, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, to say on page 133 of his *Industrial Evolution of India* that

"The routes taken from the ports were generally sketched with the intention of traversing the important agricultural tracts of the interior, so as to facilitate the export of agricultural produce."

It is hardly necessary to add that the railway system linking the big ports with our large internal centres of trade was also an equally efficient instrument for facilitating the import of British manufactures.

It was only natural that, under circumstances such as these, the rate-fixing policy should be largely determined by the bias towards the development of the foreign import and export trade of India rather than by the demands of the internal trade. This policy which remained unchanged till 1914, hampered the industrial development of India, a fact admitted in Chapter XIX of the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission which expressed the view that "generally speaking, favourable rates for raw produce moving to the ports have resulted."

We also find Mr. T. Robertson, Special Commissioner, stating in his *Report on the Administration and Working of the Indian Railways* (1903) that

"The rates had been particularly hard on the industrial centres in the interior of the country, and had resulted in a concentration of industries at the ports."

This gentleman, however, failed to point out that another obvious result of this policy was that the differential rates conferred certain advantages on foreign industries in their competition with Indian industries established in the interior areas.

Official committees and commissions like the Holland Industries Commission, the Indian Fiscal Commission and the Ackworth Railway Commission, all appointed at much later dates, have admitted that the rates were manipulated in such a manner as to deny the same facilities for the movement of goods from one part of India to another within the country itself as those

enjoyed by the foreign trade thus indirectly discouraging our nascent industries.

The fact that our railway and, along with it, our economic policy was shaped in such a way as to subserve the interests of industrial Britain whether by providing it with raw materials on the one hand or with a market for its products on the other was realised long ago by that eminent son of India, M. G. Ranade, who pointed out on page 106 of his *Essays on Indian Economics* that

"The great Indian dependency of England has during this (nineteenth) century come to supply the place of the old colonies. This dependency has come to be regarded as a plantation, growing raw produce to be shipped by the British agents in British ships, to be worked into manufactured articles by British skill and capital, and to be re-exported to this dependency by British merchants to their corresponding British firms in India and elsewhere."

VI

Britons engaged in commerce in India, like the shrewd men they were, realised at once the economic advantages they could derive from the peculiar situation in which India was placed by the exchange of her raw products for the cheap factory made goods of England and they were not slow in devoting themselves to the development of our import and export trade which they succeeded in monopolising till their supremacy in this sphere was challenged first by Germany and then by Japan. How British interests were saved through Imperial Preference and discriminating protection is a story which the present writer has no desire to tell now.

It may, however, be said here that the large investment of British capital under guarantee of favourable terms in Indian railways, their management by British companies, the British control of shipping and specially of credit organisations such as Exchange and Joint-Stock banks (another interesting and revealing story), the establishment of powerful trade organisations such as the British export houses either affiliated to or branches of very influential English concerns and of the European (*i.e.*, British) Chambers of Commerce and, lastly, the power of shaping the fiscal policy of India were some of the means adopted to keep the commerce of India in the hands of British commercial interests.

To refer to only one of these factors, the advantages derived from the control of credit organisations, we find Dr. Vera Anstey, Lecturer in Commerce, London School of Economics, admitting in her contribution entitled "The

"Trader" in India Analysed (Vol. II, p. 133) that

"Foreigners, especially British traders and bankers, still undertake a large part of the actual overseas trade, and the financing of such trade to and from the great ports is almost entirely in the hands of the exchange banks, the Imperial Bank and of European-managed joint-stock banks."

Continuing, the same author proves the practical monopoly by Europeans of this type of business by observing that

"No less than 17 exchange banks (whose headquarters are abroad) are at present (in 1931) at work in India," etc.

That Indians should feel discontent with this state of things is natural. Of late, this has been turned into resentment on account of certain reasons to which reference was made by the Chairman of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce in his speech delivered at its meeting held on the 4th March, 1944, at Delhi. Here he stated that the export trade of India was now a virtual monopoly of a few big importing and exporting houses, mainly foreign, and that the very few Indians who had somehow managed to squeeze themselves in were being gradually and systematically weeded out altogether from India's foreign trade.

Granting for the sake of argument that there is a certain amount of exaggeration in the above statement, there is little doubt that, on the whole, it presents a fairly correct picture of the actual situation.

VII

As regards the benefits derived by rural India from the export of our raw products which has, on the whole, been the monopoly of European businessmen through their different commercial and industrial organisations mentioned previously, the Royal Agriculture Commission stated that it has resulted in an "increase in wealth" of our cultivators. The Indian Industrial Commission on pages 3 and 4 of its report explains this by saying that this export trade has rendered "available to the (Indian) farmer in his distant and land-locked village a large share of the price offered by far-off nations for articles which once merely supplied the needs of Indian rural life."

where obviously the local prices were formerly lower than the international prices secured through the export trade.

Some reference has now to be made to the emergence of middlemen and wholesale dealers, generally Indian, who act as the agents of the European exporters. Formerly, where the ledge about our export trade in agricultural ordinary village traders with their modest capital

were in a position to finance the cultivation and the ordinary movements of crops in the limited areas within which these operations were carried on, they could not do so when India was linked to the world markets. The result was that cultivators had to secure such finance as they needed from this new race of middlemen and wholesalers.

The Indian Industrial Commission on page 5 of its report pointed out the results of the situation thus created in the following terms:

"The position of the peasant farmer, with grain, seeds or cotton to sell, and at the same time heavily indebted to his only possible purchaser, effectively prevents him from obtaining a fair market price for his crop."

The reason for the failure to secure a fair price for his commodities, in the language of the Indian Industrial Commission, is that

"The export trade from country districts suffers from the existence of an undue number of middlemen who intercept a large share of the profits."

Obviously, the Industrial Commission itself proves beyond any doubt that, granting that the Indian farmer gets a higher price for his money crops, the major part of the profits does not come to him.

This matter has also been noticed by Dr. P. Pillai, an economist somewhat conservative in his outlook who, on page 24 of his *Economic Conditions in India*, has said that

"The rapid growth of the export trade brought in its train an army of unscrupulous middlemen, who intercepted a large part of the ryots' profits."

VIII

Formerly, the Indian agriculturist experienced a certain sense of security when favourable monsoon conditions and untiring labour combined to give him a bumper crop. Today, he has to grow what are called money crops to meet his liabilities which have to be paid in cash. But the linking up of the Indian cultivator with the Western consumer of his products has not proved an unmixed blessing for the price at which he has to sell his crops is not determined by local but by international conditions.

A bumper crop, say of cotton, in the United States and Egypt must, if we too have an abundant crop in India, depress its price in our motherland. Lack of holding power forces the Indian cultivator to sell even when he is offered a price which fails to cover the actual cost of production. Every one possessing some knowledge about our export trade in agricultural products is aware that this is an undeniable fact.

While it is admitted that such things are inevitable under present conditions, this does not prove that the Indian cultivator has always been a gainer by being thrust into the whirlpool of the world market.

But one thing is clear, whether the Indian agriculturist secures a remunerative price or not, the middleman ordinarily gets his share of the profits on such transactions as are put through. Similarly, the exporter, generally European, who buys and sells at the prevailing prices, faces nothing but the normal risks of trading in addition to which, now and again, his superior holding power enables him to add considerably to his profits.

IX

That prosperity has been brought to the countryside through the export trade in our raw products to which the Royal Agriculture Commission had referred, has been sought to be proved by pointing out that

"Articles like sugar, kerosene oil, cotton piece-goods, silks and woollens, boots and shoes, apparel, matches, soap, etc., which were once articles of luxury, only within the reach of the wealthier classes, are now in much wider use."

It may also be added that villagers now use aluminium ware, tea, umbrellas, bangles, mirrors and even sewing machines and cheap bicycles.

There can be little doubt that the increasing use by villagers of these articles is due to changes in the standard of living arising from Western influences. It may, however, be stated that these luxuries have to be paid for in hard cash to secure which they have to enter the world market for the sale of their products with consequences pointed out already.

But after everything has been said, the fact remains that the use of these luxury articles is confined to a small fraction of the rural folk. On pages 11 and 151 of its report, the Indian Industrial Commission drew attention to the small extent to which the standard of living in rural India has been affected by the economic forces now in operation in our country and in that connection stated that

"The poverty of the Indian peasant precludes most novel forms of expenditure."

It also said on page 7 of its report that

"The effect of the use of imported and factory-made articles on the standard of comfort of the rural population has been generally small."

Indians feel that only arm-chair economists who have no personal and intimate knowledge of the conditions of rural life as can be obtained

by living in the homes of our agriculturists, can afford to indulge in generalisations based on obviously insufficient knowledge of actual facts.

X.

We have so far dealt with the export of our agricultural products which the Indian producer is often compelled to sell at a loss. There is, however, some consolation in the thought that if proper steps are taken, we may, in times to come, be able to obviate this difficulty. Matters are on a different and a more serious footing when we consider the question of the irretrievable loss we are suffering through the net always prudent way in which our mineral assets have been and, in some cases, are still being exploited, generally by Europeans.

Apart from the inadequacy of the Indian share of the advantages derived from the mining industry to which some reference is made below, we cannot regard the exploitation of the mineral resources which are not subject to natural growth and recovery, as in any way a benefit conferred on us by non-Indians. Outstanding Indian leaders like Thakercy and Mudholkar, etc., who can, by no stretch of the imagination, be regarded as extremists, have felt the economic loss India has been suffering through the alien exploitation of our minerals so intensely that they have gone even so far as to suggest that it would be to our ultimate interest to suspend their extraction till such time that we are in a position to undertake the entire responsibility for not only raising but also for utilising them in industries to be started by us.

The absence of a proper mineral policy on the part of the British administration aimed at the conservation and wise utilisation of our mineral resources has made it easy for foreign concerns to acquire mineral rights on the basis of lease often for practically nominal payments over some of our best mines. Urged by the profit motive, many of them have been very reckless in the way in which they have extracted the minerals, a fact easily proved by a glance through the pages of the Burrows Report.

While very high dividends have gone to the shareholders, the only benefits derived by the Indians have consisted in the generally inadequate wages paid to labour and the nominal royalties given to the owners.

In this connection, the reader may be referred to the chapter dealing with industrial wages in Mr. B. Shiva Rao's well-known *Industrial Labour in India* and to the re-

marks of Sir Thomas Holland, President of the Industries Commission of 1916-18, on the extraction and export of manganese ore.

There cannot be much doubt that, as in the case of the export trade in agricultural products, it is the European businessman who enjoys the lion's share of the benefits.

XI

The self-sufficient economy of our old time villages was referred to by the Indian Industrial Commission when, at the very opening of its report, it pointed out that all the non-food requirements of villagers were generally provided either by the agriculturists themselves or by the village craftsmen.

The Industrial Revolution in England deriving its strength from large-scale production, complex division of labour, efficient manufacturing and marketing organisation and improved transport and communications introduced a new element in the placid life of rural India. This became easier on account of the revolution in transport and communication caused by the construction of roads and railways and the opening up of our waterways by the starting of steamer lines. The new towns served as distributing centres, and even remote parts of the interior were thrown open to the inrush of cheap machine-made goods.

That great friend of Indian handcraftsmen, Sir Alfred Chatterton who, among other things, popularised chrome tanning and introduced the aluminium industry in India was referring to the Indian factors of the situation when on page 20 of his *Industrial Evolution in India* he said that

"Roads, railways, telegraphs, the construction of the Suez Canal, and every improvement in the means of transport both by sea and land have contributed to the difficulties, and in many cases, to the ultimate discomfiture of the Indian artisan."

On page 130 of his *Development of Capitalist Enterprise in India*, Dr. D. H. Buchanan explains the difficulties of the village craftsmen in the following terms :

"The railways and steamships have made it possible for European power manufacturers to offer the Indian farmers much better terms than the Indian village craftsman could give. Self-sufficing local economy has been displaced by international specialisation and trade, much to the discomfiture of the Indian craftsmen."

Emphasising the unemployment to which this state of things has led, the same author on page 471 of his above-mentioned book has said :

"The Europeans were able to outbid the Indian craftsman on two important scores. They could pay more for Indian grain and cotton than he could afford and they could sell manufactures cheaper than he could

make them. Thus the farmers sold the produce abroad and bought power-manufactures from Manchester and Birmingham, while the craftsmen who had formerly been paid in food were left with neither occupation nor income."

Where a National Government would have done everything in its power to help the village handcraftsmen suffering from the formidable competition of machine-made imports, the British administration was not only indifferent to their interests but occasionally went out of its way to assist English manufacturers in exploiting the Indian market, a fact proved by what Sir Alfred Chatterton, himself a British official, observed in his book mentioned above. Here he stated that,

"Assistance has in more than one case been given directly to the efforts of English manufacturers to exploit Indian markets, whilst the industrious artisan has been left severely alone to combat as best he can the growing difficulties of his position."

The two outstanding evils of this system were summed up by M. G. Ranade, one of the earliest and most discerning students of our economic problems on page 107 of his *Essays on Indian Economics* in the following terms :

"As one result of the change (brought about by the Industrial Revolution in England and the provision of improved facilities of communication in India), the gradual ruralisation of this great dependency (India), and the rapid decadence of native manufacturing trade became distinctly marked."

XII

It is true that in England, the change over from a predominantly agricultural to a predominantly industrial economy involved great hardship for the handcraftsmen as also that the Parliament did nothing to minimise their sufferings by taking steps calculated to make the transition easy. There, however, these men, after a sharp but brief period of agony, were absorbed by the new large industries the demand for labour on the part of which was so intense that the whole country was urbanised.

In India, however, the craftsmen whose occupation was gone were thrown back on the land. Many became landless labourers and their economic position grew worse. Even those who succeeded in securing land did not, on account of lack of experience, make good husbandmen and India experienced growing ruralisation, a fact amply proved by the census statistics in regard to the percentage of the population depending on agriculture for their living.

According to the census of 1891, the percentage of the agricultural to the whole population was 61. In 1901, it was 65.2; in 1911, 69.8; in 1921, 70.9. It has been held that if the same

method of counting had been followed by the census authorities in 1931, the percentage would have been nearly 75. From such information as is available to the present writer, it appears that the figures of the 1941 census indicate a further increase in the percentage of the agricultural to the total population.

We have also to remember that the negligible increase of about 4 per cent only in the urban population in the seventy years between 1871 and 1941, is so abnormally small that this also proves our growing ruralisation and the dependence of the majority of our people for their living on that most uncertain and most unsatisfactory of callings, agriculture

XIII

The attention of Indians is very often called to the enormous increase in our imports and exports and the conclusion drawn that this is a sign of our economic progress. We maintain that a mere increase in the volume of our foreign trade does not necessarily imply a corresponding increase in our national wealth and welfare.

We feel that our political subordination to a highly industrialised country which cannot altogether ignore the interests of its own nationals and the numerous advantages enjoyed by foreign business in the shape of banking, insurance, shipping and other facilities have led to the emergence of a system under which our exports have increased the economic prosperity of Britain and other Western countries and, by killing our old time industries and handicrafts, converted India into a market for their manufacturers.

The best that can be said in favour of the Niagara flood of cheap imported articles is that it enables the Indian to make some gains by buying them in a cheap market, a fact specially true of cotton piecegoods. As against this, we must remember the destruction of our village and cottage industries, the growth of a landless proletariat and the occasional financial strain thrown on the resources of the administration which has to give them relief in times of scarcity or downright famine. What is regrettable is that India can produce nearly all the cheap imported articles which have displaced the products of her village artisans if only sufficient care is taken of their interests.

The conclusion we are entitled to draw from the facts already placed before the reader is that those Britons who buy our raw products in order to sell them at higher prices, the British industrialists engaged in the manufacture of articles imported into our motherland and the

British businessmen who place them on the Indian market benefit more than the Indian people as a whole. Another conclusion equally warranted by facts is that none of these men was ever in the past or is today engaged in these commercial activities for the benefit of anyone except themselves.

We contend that the need for our raw products by the industrialised nations and specially by Britain is greater than our need for such articles as we import from them and that, under these circumstances, we have the right to expect that the major part of the advantages which accrue from our foreign trade should be enjoyed by us though this, most unfortunately, has rarely been the case.

We hold that we could have developed our agricultural and mineral resources more satisfactorily and could have manufactured most of the goods we import if, as a politically free country, we had enjoyed the power of protecting our home market against foreign competition—in other words, if we had complete freedom in controlling our foreign trade policy. And we also maintain that this would actually have been the case if we had absolute control over our fiscal policy and could manipulate our currency and exchange with an eye to our own interests.

XIV

From what has appeared previously, it is quite clear that the major part of the profits resulting from both the import and export trade has been secured by European trade and commerce. Such modest benefits as have been derived by India from our foreign trade and commerce have come in as a by-product, a fact acknowledged in Paragraph 344 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report where, after expressing the view that "India has benefited enormously by her commercial development"—India is not prepared to swallow the "enormously" part of the statement—it goes on to say that this benefit "was incidental and not the purpose of the undertaking."

After this admission, any attempt on the part of Europeans to convince Indians that they have sought what the latter consider excessive representation in our legislatures as well as special economic advantages in order to advance our economic interests is doomed to failure. On the other hand, Indians would retort by saying that they have secured this representation to safeguard and, if possible, to extend those advantages which have hitherto enabled them to carry on their business operations in India

and that, conscious of Indian resentment at their past indifference to our economic interests, they have been compelled to ask for and secure special economic safeguards from their countrymen.

M. Davies in his well-known *Warren Hastings* has given certain reasons why in those far-off days Britons lived and worked in our motherland though, for most of them, "life in India," in his language, "was a race against death."

"One thing only had brought these Englishmen to India, one thing only held them there. Money. Their object was to make enough money so that they could return to England, there to live in ease and comfort for the rest of their days."

It is contended that from the facts set forth above, Indians are entitled to draw the conclusion that though life in our motherland has become easier for the Briton and though disease does not take so high a toll of British life as it did formerly, the century and a half or more which have elapsed since the days of Warren

Hastings have not made any difference in the attitude of the average British businessman.

Economic and Political India maintains that the revolution in transport and the small amount of commercial prosperity conferred on us by the export of our raw products and the import of cheap manufactures are no adequate compensation for the sufferings to which they have led or the damage they have inflicted. No credit is due to those who planned an un-co-ordinated system of transport, partly the result of military considerations and partly of administrative and commercial reasons, using it, at least occasionally, for their own purposes. Nor can we feel excessively grateful to those others who organised the exploitation of our money crops and mineral resources and of our need for manufactures for the purpose of making profits. And it has always seemed preposterous that these last should base their claims for over-representation in our legislatures and for the enjoyment of economic privileges on the ground that they have added to our prosperity by engaging in trade and commerce in India.

AN EYE-WITNESS'S ACCOUNT OF THE FAMINE OF 1770 IN CALCUTTA

By NANI GOPAL CHOWDHURI, M.A.

VERELST was succeeded by Cartier in the Governorship of Bengal on the 26th December, 1769. His administration was ushered in by a long-continued drought in consequence of which Bengal and Bihar had to face a terrible famine from the beginning of 1770. From the month of April the famine raged furiously over Bihar, North Bengal and West Bengal and showed no signs of abatement till the end of October, 1770. The famine carried off, according to the estimation of Warren Hastings, one-third of the total populace of Bengal leaving the country in utter destitution. The rigour of the famine was not felt in Calcutta till the month of April. The country-side of Bengal and Bihar was badly affected by the famine and the famished people from the adjoining villages were seen crawling towards big cities like Calcutta, Murshidabad and Patna. The dead bodies of those who sank under the effort lay strewn on both sides of the roads leading to the cities. By the month of April Calcutta became a city of misery. The condition of Calcutta has been vividly depicted in the letter written by an English officer in the Company's Service in Calcutta to one Mr. J. C. in England who

got it published in *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle* for the month of September, 1771. It took at least six months for the letter to reach England; so it may be assumed that the letter was written a few months after the famine had ceased. The writer of the letter was an eye-witness to the miseries described therein. A few relevant passages from the letter are quoted below. The foot-notes are added by me:

"As soon as the dryness of the season foretold the approaching dearth of rice, our Gentlemen in the Company's Service, particularly those at the subordinates,¹ whose stations

1. The reference is to the English Supervisors who were appointed during the administration of Cartier to look after the welfare of the people and to supervise the work of the Indian revenue Collectors so that no oppression might be committed by the latter upon the raiyata. The Plan of Supervision was adumbrated by Verelst and was put into operation during the rule of Cartier. Each district was placed under the charge of an English Supervisor. The Supervisors were the precursors of the Collectors of modern time. The Supervisors took charge of their respective districts in the month of March, 1770 when Bengal was in the grip of the famine.

gave them the best opportunities, were as early deposited it in the Golahs or Granaries about as possible in buying up all they could lay hold of. When the effects of scarcity became more and more sensible, the natives complained to the Nabob at Muxadabad, that the English had engrossed all the rice, particularly in the Bahar and Purnea Provinces.² This complaint was laid before the President and Council by the Nabob's minister, who resides in Calcutta; but the interest of the Gentlemen concerned was too powerful at the board; so that the complaint was only laughed at and thrown out.³ Our Gentlemen in many places purchased the rice at 120 and 140 seers for a rupee, which they afterwards sold for 15 seers for a rupee, to the Black Merchants; so that the persons principally concerned have made great fortunes by it; and one of our writers at the Durbar,⁴ who was interested therein, not esteemed to be worth a thousand rupees last year, has sent down as it is said, 60,000£ sterling, to be remitted home this year. The Black Merchants, who had made their gross purchases from our gentlemen, brought down great quantities of their rice, and

2. Many Europeans as well as Indians, both official and non-official, accused the English Supervisors in general of a monopoly of rice in their respective districts. Among those who accused the English Supervisors or their *gonaasthas* mention may be made of men like Becher, the Resident at the Durbar at Murshidabad, Muhammad Riza Khan, the Naib Nazim and Naib Diwan, (Ref.: Letter from Becher to the Council, 7th January, 1770 included in Mr. Grasham's minute—*Secret and Separate Progs.*—3rd March 1774) and Warren Hastings. (Ref.: Letter from Warren Hastings to Colebrooke, 26th March, 1772).

3. Though regular enquiries were held into the conduct of Muhammed Riza Khan and Devi Singh, Diwan of Purnea, for the alleged monopoly of rice during the famine, no such enquiries were held into the conduct of English Supervisors though the Court of Directors repeatedly enjoined the Council at Fort William to make special enquiry into the alleged monopoly of rice by the Supervisors and to punish those who might be found guilty. (Ref.: (i) General letter from Court, 10th April 1770, (ii) *Ibid*—28th August 1771). The Court of Directors specially mentioned the name of the Resident (Supervisor) of Hooghly in this connection, but he was let off after he had been reprimanded by the Governor (Ref. Postscript to the letter from Court, 18th December 1771). For this negligence on the part of the Council, the Court of Directors came to the conclusion that either those persons were officers of some rank in the Company's service or an unholy alliance might have existed between the Supervisors and some of the members of the Council (Ref.: (i) General letter from Court, 28th August 1771—para II. (ii) General letter from Court, 18th December 1771).

Calcutta, where, very unfortunately for the poor inhabitants, great part of it was destroyed by most terrible fires,⁵ which we had in the month of April and May, before which time the English had sold off all they had on hand. The effects of the scarcity continuing to become daily more alarming, our Governor and Council bethought themselves, though by much too late, to send into the interior parts of the country to purchase what rice they could on the Company's account, fixed the price of sales in Calcutta at 10 seers for a rupee⁶ and seized all they could upon the rivers. The Black Merchants remonstrated, that the charges of bringing the rice down the country, together with the high interest which they paid the Shroffs or Bankers for raising the money, and other contingencies, ran so excessively high, that they should, upon those terms, be losers by their purchases, upon which, by an order of Council, sepoys were stationed at their Golahs, to prevent the delivering of any rice without a permit or order⁷ and notwithstanding all the orders for purchasing up the country on the Company's account, so bare were the Company's granaries here, that the Council were obliged to send and take from the merchants' Golahs, what they wanted for the support of the workmen on the fortifications at Calcutta and Budge Budge, who were threatening to desert for want of victuals; and it was deemed a great favour if

the merchants were allowed to carry from their Golahs a few maunds to the Bazaars to sell for the support of the inhabitants. The Nabob and several of the great men of the Country at Muxadabad distributed rice to the poor gratis, until their stocks began to fail, when those donations were withdrawn,⁸ which brought many thousands down to Calcutta, in hopes of finding relief amongst us. By the time the famine had been about a fortnight over the land, we were greatly affected at Calcutta, many thousands falling daily in the streets and fields, whose bodies, mangled by dogs, jackals and vultures in that hot season (when at best the air is very infectious) made us dread the consequences of a plague. We had 100 people employed upon the Cutcherry Lift on the Company's account with doolys, sledges, and bearers, to carry the dead and throw them into the River Ganges. I have counted from my bed-chamber window in the morning when I got up forty dead bodies laying within twenty yards of the wall, besides many hundred laying in the agonies of death for want, bending double, with their stomachs quite close contracted to their backbones. I have sent my servant to desire those who has strength to remove further off, whilst the poor creatures, looking up with arms extended, have cried out Baba ! Baba ! my father ! my father ! this affliction comes from the hands of your countrymen, and I am come here to die, if it pleases God, in your presence. I can not move, do what you will with me.—In the month of June our condition was still worse, only three seers of rice to be had in the Bazar for a rupee and that very bad, which, when bought, must be carried home secretly, to avoid being plundered by the famished multitude on the road. One could not pass along the streets without seeing multitudes in their last agonies, crying out as you passed. My God ! My God ! have mercy upon me, I am starving; whilst on other sides numbers of dead were seen with dogs, jackals, hogs, vultures,

8. The Company, the Nawab, Muhammad Riza Khan, Jagat Set and Ray Durlabh contributed Rs. 1,83,282-9-11 towards the charitable distribution of rice among the famine-stricken people of the affected areas. Of this sum the Company's share of contribution was Rs. 1,21,500-13-11. The Nawab, Muhammad Riza Khan, Jagat Set and Ray Durlabh together contributed Rs. 58,775-12-0. Out of the total sum thus donated Rs. 1,62,443 was spent in making charitable distribution of rice at Murshidabad between the 1st March, 1770 and the 4th September, 1770 (Ref.:—Secret Progs.—1st February, 1771). From the accounts preserved by the Company it appears that rice was distributed in charity at Murshidabad at least up to the month of September 1770.

and other beasts and birds of prey feeding on their carcasses. *** * * * At this time we could not touch fish, the river was so full of carcasses; and of those who did eat it, many died suddenly. Pork, ducks, and geese, also lived mostly on carnage; so that our only meat was mutton when we could get it, which was very dear, and from the dryness of the season so poor, that a quarter would not weigh a pound and a half. Of this I used to make a little broth, and after I had dined, perhaps there were 100 poor at the door waiting for the remains, which I have often sent among them cut up into little pieces, so that as many as could might partake of it; and after one had sucked the bones dry, and thrown them away, I have seen another take them up, sand and all upon them, and do the same, and so by a third, and so on. In the month of August we had a very alarming phenomenon appeared, of a large black cloud at a distance in the air, which sometimes obscured the sun, and seemed to extend a great way all over and about Calcutta.. The hotter the day proved the lower this cloud seemed to descend and for three days it caused great speculation. The Brahmins pretended that this phenomenon, which is a cloud of insects,⁹ should make its appearance three times; and if ever they descended to the earth, the country would be destroyed by some untimely misfortune. They say, that about 150 years ago they had such another bad time, when the ground was burnt up for want of rain; this is the second time of this phenomenon's appearing, and that they came much lower than is recorded of the former. On the third day, the weather being very hot and cloudy, with much rain, we could perceive them with the naked eye, hearing a continual buzzing.

About one o'clock they were so low as 30 feet from the ground, when we saw them distinctly to be a great number of large insects, about the size of a horsestinger, with a long red body, long wings, and a large head and eyes, keeping close together like a swarm of bees, seemingly flying quite on a line. I did not hear of any that were caught, as the country people were much frightened at the prognostications of the Brahmins. Whilst it rained, they continued in one positon for near a quarter of an hour; then they rose five or six feet at once, and in a little time descended as much, until a strong north-west wind came and blew for two days

9. These insects are nothing but locusts. But no mention has been made of the appearance of locusts during this time in any other contemporary records.

successively, when they gradually ascended and descended in the same manner, but more precipitately, until next morning, when the air was quite clear. It was very remarkable, that rains, which in numbers innumerable always make a noise here the whole night, during the rains, disappeared, and were neither seen nor heard except in the river."

BENGAL RIVER PROBLEMS

Need for an Inter-Provincial Commission

BY MAHARAJA S. C. NANDY, M.A., M.L.A., of Cossimbazar, Ex-Minister, Irrigation, Bengal

THE inter-provincial aspect of the river problems of Bengal brings into prominent relief a most intriguing feature which still awaits solution. Our main river systems pass through several provinces and states and naturally they do not pay any attention to political boundaries or jurisdictions created artificially to suit political exigencies from time to time. The problems connected with flood or erosion or the deterioration of the spill channels in Bengal have multiplied within recent times, thanks to the absence of any co-ordinating agency which would treat the Ganges or the Brahmaputra-Meghna river systems as an integrated whole and prevent the pursuit of policies suited to purely regional or local interests. If we refer to the experience of other countries we would also come across similar disastrous consequences of treating the river problem in a piece-meal fashion and allowing divergent policies to be followed. The history of the working of the Mississippi River Commission and the more recent Tennessee Valley Authority in the U. S. A. would show that no satisfactory progress can be made unless and until the problems are approached on the basis of the river itself and scientific measures for river training and control and canalisation schemes are followed up with energy and determination, co-ordinating the divergent interests and policies of the different areas through which the river passes. It is, therefore, only on an inter-provincial or inter-state basis that we can satisfactorily tackle our mighty river problems and prevent the recurrence of floods and other disastrous consequences which follow from their unruly behaviour from time to time or from their decay. It is really unfortunate that much water has been allowed to flow down our rivers before any serious attempt could be made to take up this all-important question of an inter-provincial river commission, and that even though a start was made by myself as early as 1939 in this regard, we in Bengal are still at the conference stage and that also only in respect of the Brahmaputra and Meghna rivers.

It appears from a Press Note issued by the Government that the problem of the Gangetic basin has not yet been taken up, and yet a little reflection will tell us that this presents by far the most serious problem in Bengal at the present moment. The catchment basin of the Gangetic system of rivers is spread over several provinces and states. Extensive deforestation in these regions has caused incalculable damage to the lower reaches of this system, aggravating the flood problem, reducing the dry-weather flow in our rivers, complicating the problems of navigation and irrigation, and leading to, among others, the progressive deterioration of the tidal channels where there is an ever-increasing salinity in the water supply. This question of controlling deforestation is only one important aspect of the host of problems which require an immediate and effective inter-provincial solution. On the other hand, there are the canal schemes in the upper reaches of the river notably in U. P. which are being energetically pursued without perhaps taking due care of the interests of areas situated in the lower reaches. There is of course no intention to question the wisdom of extending the beneficial irrigation schemes in the up-river areas : but it will certainly not be unreasonable to claim that any particular province or state should not be permitted to take advantage of its geographical position and monopolise the use of the river for its own benefit and cause detriment to other interests which may not be less vital.

natural flood irrigation covering a vast alluvial plain. The interests of Bengal require that referred to the Ganges River Commission for the irrigation or canalisation schemes of other provinces and states can be permitted with safety only to that extent as would not seriously interfere with the natural flood irrigation, the source of all our agricultural prosperity. Unfortunately, however, we have before us the painful fact that this "natural" irrigation of Bengal has been seriously interfered with, and that the spill-channels of the Ganges in Western and Central Bengal have deteriorated, some possibly beyond repair. In its train we have a declining agriculture, deterioration of drainage, and aggravation of the problems of Public health particularly malaria. There had no doubt been certain mistaken policies followed by Bengal in the past, but the fact remains that the mischief must be traced at the source and remedial measures adopted so as to restore this natural flood irrigation of our once-rich lands. This means that there must be some inter-provincial administrative machinery which can effectively control deforestation and systematically plan out afforestation in the catchment areas, and at the same time co-ordinate the irrigation policies of the different provinces and states for the interest of the river itself as also of all the interests affected.

The geographical position of Bengal in respect of both the Gangetic as well as the Brahmaputra-Meghna river systems is adverse, situated as we are in the lower reaches of the same and consequently the initiative in these matters must be taken by us. It may be recalled that early in January, 1939, on behalf of the Government of Bengal I had the privilege of being able to secure the co-operation of the Government of U. P. in arranging an Inter-Provincial Flood Conference in Lucknow, which was duly attended by the representatives from U. P., Bihar, Bengal and several Indian states. This conference agreed on principle to the constitution of a Ganges River Commission and actually set up an Interim Committee to draw up the details. We had, however, to encounter a considerable opposition from the very beginning, probably because a good deal of vested interests had already been created in the canalisation and electrification schemes. As a matter of fact, the Chairman of the Interim Committee, who happened to be the Chief Engineer of U. P. objected at a subsequent stage to a very important point which was agreed to by the majority at the conference. It was agreed that all prospective irrigation schemes, involving material

In respect of the Brahmaputra and Meghna rivers the problem was comparatively simple, as the provinces concerned had only been Bengal and Assam and there were no serious vested interests created in the upper reaches as in U. P. It must also be said to the credit of Assam and the states concerned that they took a very reasonable view of the case from the very beginning, and naturally one should not expect any serious obstacle in setting up the Commission as required by our interests. But the really serious matter is about the proposed Ganges River Commission, which should have been taken up and pushed with much more vigour and energy. Here the problem is acute, the suffering of the people is very great and a comprehensive policy for the resuscitation of the dead and dying spill-channels of the Ganges cannot be taken up with any reasonable chance of success, unless and until the up-river areas are prevented from following divergent policies and effective control measures are taken in respect of deforestation in the catchment areas. There are then the drawbacks in the Government of India Act itself, where there are no clear provisions empowering the constitution of an effective inter-provincial river commission, should there be no agreement among the provinces concerned. There are of course the Sections 130-135 of the Government of India Act and the residuary powers enjoyed by the Central Government under Section 104. But none of them empower positive measures and are obviously unsatisfactory for setting up a permanent body of experts for dealing with the conservancy of a major river passing through several provinces and States. Considering the vast stakes involved and the benefit likely to accrue to millions of people if a major river like the Ganges is satisfactorily controlled and trained, a Statutory River Commission on the model of the T. V. A. is worth having and fighting for. Bengal has paid heavily in the past for not presenting her case with vigour and earnestness and in time. But in this matter of our life-sustaining rivers, I do not think we can afford to lose our case by default, and the sooner we take it up, the better it is for all the interests concerned.

THE RECENT BENGAL FAMINE : THE ULTIMATE BACKGROUND— AN IRISH PARALLEL

By BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA, M.A.

The recent Bengal famine has been an astounding phenomenon. It was previously urged that famines occur in India, in the majority of cases, not because of any absolute shortage of food supply, but because of the difficulties due to lack of transport in bringing food from surplus areas. The recent Bengal famine has occurred in an era when the Government claims to have a sufficiently extensive network of railways and other forms of transport, though significantly enough, the railways, which had been extended on this plea of protection against famine, failed to perform their expected duty when the crisis actually came. Famines are not new to India; in the list given in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (14th Edition) of thirty-four "Great Famines" all over the world from 436 B.C. to 1921 A.D., not less than twenty have occurred in India, and the majority of them during the British rule. The figure, according to Rameesh Dutt, should be still greater; he is of opinion that

"Excluding severe scarcities, often confined to limited areas, there were eighteen famines between 1770 and 1878; and if we add to this list the subsequent famines of 1889, 1892, 1897 and 1900, we have a sad record of twenty-two famines within a period of 130 years of British rule in India."

It would appear on analysis that such famines are inevitable where the people live in absolute poverty and completely lack the strength to resist even the slightest shock. As Rameesh Chandra Dutt has remarked :

"If we honestly seek for the true causes of recent famines in India, without prejudice and bias, we shall not seek in vain. The immediate cause of famines in almost every instance is the failure of rains,...but the intensity and frequency of recent famines are generally due to the resourceless condition and chronic poverty of the cultivators.....they can save nothing in years of good harvest, and consequently every year of drought is a year of famine."

Famines, thus, are the periodic manifestations, in acute form, of the disease that is eating into the vitals of the nation; their permanent solution demands not any temporary relief measures, but a permanent improvement of the economic condition of the people.

It should be pointed out in this connection that though famines are the usual features of the Indian socio-economic pattern, still there are

some famines of very special intensity, which not only possess the usual characteristics but go still further. The Great Bengal Famine of 1770 and the Bengal Famine of 1943 belong to this special category. Not only they affect, in common with other famines, the population growth, not only they produce the usual devitalising effect on the national health, not only they take heavy toll of human lives, but along with all these they permanently alter the economic relationship, deeply disturb the socio-economic equilibrium and set in motion forces that lead to the complete disintegration of the existing social structure without, however, being able to set up any other structure on a basis of ordered progress. This is nothing unnatural, for if the Government not only refuses to plan from beforehand for economic advancement but, what is more, indulge in economic exploitation directly or indirectly, it is only inevitable that any sharp crisis would lead to nothing but famines of extreme violence. What was the background of the Famine of 1770 ? To quote Rameesh Chandra Dutt :

"When an old system of Government breaks down, and the country passes under a new power, war and disorders are inevitable. When the Moghal power broke down in India, and Marhattas and Afghans contended for supremacy, war and devastation followed. And when the British nation entered into arena, they too, took part in many wars which impeded cultivation and harassed the population of peaceful villages. In the words of Sir Thomas Munro, wars were added to unfavourable seasons to bring on recurring famines in India. We may also add to these reasons the misrule of the servants of the East India Company."

The result was the Famine of 1770 which destroyed the fundamental bases of the old society and laid, in its own way, the foundations of the present one. Such famines are, in fact, the process through which our society jumps from one era to another.

We might, however, ask this question : Why is it that the process of our social evolution must be so painful ? Is it not possible to avoid the pain of such evolution by planning ahead and by having slow but steady and continuous reform ? It is, unfortunately, the lesson

1. Rameesh Chandra Dutt : *Famines*.

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We might, however, ask this question : Why is it that the process of our social evolution must be so painful ? Is it not possible to avoid the pain of such evolution by planning ahead and by having slow but steady and continuous reform ? It is, unfortunately, the lesson

of history that no such painless evolution is possible within the framework of Imperialism. It is contradiction of history for Imperialism to provide for the social evolution of the subject country in such a painless manner, for in that case Imperialism must annihilate itself. In discussing the causes of the present Bengal Famine, therefore, we should not forget this ultimate cause. The reasons for this cataclysm are, in fact, many. The war—another crisis that Imperialism has produced—has indeed adversely affected our food position. There has also occurred some natural calamities doing heavy damage to the crops. Curtailment of transport facilities, cessation of imports and increase in exports, abnormal conditions due to the proximity to the war-zone—all these are no doubt partly responsible for the Famine. But it would be a mistake to assume that these immediate causes could have produced such a devastating famine like the Famine of 1943 if the ground had not been prepared from before. Any discussion of the recent Bengal Famine, therefore, should distinguish between the immediate and the ultimate causes, though it must be remembered that the ultimate causes are not in the least less responsible—in fact they are more responsible—for the famine than the immediate ones. We propose to discuss about the Bengal Famine under four heads. First, we shall try to show that the ultimate background of this famine must be traced to the implications of imperial domination. Secondly, we shall discuss a more immediate cause, that is, the consistent neglect and the consequential decay of agriculture that has grown in volume and pace particularly since the second half of the last century. To these may be added the third and a still more immediate set of causes, viz., the shock of the last Great War and the last Great Depression on our economic structure. We would lastly discuss the immediate causes that finally led to the disaster. In this article we would confine ourselves only to the first aspect of the problem.

RECURRANCE OF FAMINES UNDER IMPERIAL DOMINATION

If we briefly recount the economic history of India, we would find that the Great Bengal Famine of 1770 came at a critical moment of history. As already said, it marked the end of an era. It came at the height of British misrule and was the natural result of a long period of drift, corruption and oppression in the political and economic spheres. All the settled economic principles were cast to the winds; the agricultural classes were uprooted from the soil; everything

exploitation that the East India Company chose to follow. "The terrible calamity," writes Ramesh Chandra Dutt, "aroused the attention of the British public to Indian administration and the Regulating Act of 1773 was passed by the Parliament to improve the administration." The next step was the Permanent Settlement. It was the only visible effort made by the Government to get out of the mess it had run into through their rapacity, wholesale corruption, steady incompetence and continuous mismanagement. But it would now appear that the Permanent Settlement was clearly no remedy to the evil that had been done. The damage was, indeed, manifold. The first blow came in the shape of destruction of India's national industries.

"Large portions of the Indian population," writes Ramesh Dutt, "were engaged in various industries down to the first decade of the nineteenth century....it was not, however, the policy of the East India Company to foster Indian industries....while such was the policy pursued in England to discourage Indian manufacturers, the system pursued in India did not tend to improve them....as India lost her manufacturing industry, she began to import British and other foreign piece-goods, paying for it in food-grains....it was a natural result. When handicrafts and manufactures declined, and India had to pay her annual tribute to England as well as for her imports, that she sent out a continuously increasing share of the food-supply of the people....while the British Political Economists professed the principles of free trade from the latter end of the eighteenth century, the British nation declined to adopt them till they had crushed the manufacturing power of India and reared their own manufacturing power; then the British Nation turned freetraders, and invited other nations to accept free trade principles."

We thus see that the destruction of Indian industries threw the entire population on agriculture and all money for payments, nationally or internationally, had to come from that only source of national income. This was the first stage when foreign capital broke our indigenous industries. The next stage began with the offensive intrusion of this foreign capital into our national economic life. Dumping of foreign goods had its repercussions ultimately on agriculture for the reasons stated above, while the mad gamble that began with land since the institution of annual settlements totally destroyed the basis of agriculture itself. The Permanent Settlement could not undo all this mischief. Its expressed object was, broadly speaking, to create an atmosphere, both material and mental, in which the hedonistic calculus of a particular class would lead to the economic development of Bengal as a whole. It is now obvious that such a measure was doomed to failure from its very birth. The Permanent

Settlement did not tackle the problems of industry; there was no effort to increase the National Income, and thereby the resistance of the people, by improving industry side by side with agriculture. But the Permanent Settlement did not go far even as a measure of agricultural improvement. In fact it could not anticipate the needs of the country and was therefore not in a position to offer a plan that would enable India to compete successfully in world agriculture. What were the needs of the time? If it had been at all possible for India to maintain so long her self-sufficiency, such self-sufficiency became clearly impossible now after the intrusion of foreign capital into India and the opening up of the Indian market to foreign countries. It became, for example, impossible for India to plan her agricultural development without taking into account the effects of the forced export of foodstuffs. It became, for example, also impossible for India to fully develop her agriculture if she refused to pay any regard to the Terms of Trade and the international agricultural position. What is more, India can, in the present *milieu*, never be prosperous if her policy of economic development is not based on an intelligent interpretation of the relative position of world agriculture, industry and commerce as also of relative producing power of the countries involved. The broad world picture at that time was that England with all her industrial power was rapidly assuming world economic leadership, first, by spreading her empire, and secondly by racing ahead in industrial growth. Raw materials came from America and other parts of the empire, but whenever in difficulty, England had to turn to India for supplies. But even then no effort was made to develop India into an efficient supplier of raw materials. The Permanent Settlement took no note of these international factors and gave a *carte blanche* to the newly created landlords without laying down the basis on which such an efficient planning might have been possible. The scheme of the Permanent Settlement was, in fact, still less ambitious in its idea and still more limited in its scope. Not only it did not envisage a plan that could have brought economic prosperity that India could have gained, if proper efforts would have been made, as an efficient raw material producing country, not only it merely shifted on the landlords the responsibility of carrying on agriculture somehow on the old lines,—but it did not even lay down whose positive responsibility it was to develop and improve agriculture. As we have said, it was left to the hedonistic calculus of the landlord class, on the assumption that such calculus would coincide with the general welfare of the province—but no provision was made for the contingency when that calculus would become inoperative after the saturation point is reached or when that calculus would come into conflict with wider interests. It is almost a miracle that the system was able to produce even some good results in its early years; that is perhaps due partly to the fact that the Permanent Settlement was, at least at that time, a limitation on the greed of a foreign government and consequently a limitation on the economic drain which the government policy of sending away to England its net revenues as profits of the Company entailed in India. But it did not take long for the reaction to come. As soon as the initial force was exhausted and stagnation, if not deterioration, began to set in, resentment began to grow in volume and strength against the Permanent Settlement. The hope of extensive agricultural improvement through the settlement was completely frustrated; the Government found that it no more served their purpose, inasmuch as they could no more evade the responsibility of doing something for agriculture. A change of attitude was distinctly visible at this time; there was a growing tide of reaction against the Permanent Settlement even in official quarters; there was no extension of Permanent Settlement anywhere; and the Government tried to soothe the people by penalising the landlords in some form or other. The whole series of land legislation from 1850 onwards has been almost completely negative in character; these laws have imposed restriction on the landlord, but has never tried to compel the landlord or somebody else to be positively responsible for the improvement of agriculture. The government, thus, again evaded their responsibility. Nothing would have been better, if the landlord system was abolished only to make it possible for the Government to undertake a positive and extensive plan. But that was not the case. The myth was created that only the landlords—and not also the system—were responsible for the misery of the cultivators and legislation penalising individual excesses or abuses would be sufficient for the economic development of the province. But it was not realised that economic improvement, specially in these days, can never be the result of purely negative legislation but must always be the fruit of conscious positive effort. It was, for instance, laid down in the Bengal Tenancy Act that the landlords would not be allowed to increase rent except in certain specified cases, but it was not laid down that

the landlords must do something every year for its intensity and magnitude, but also in its improvement of agriculture. Thus began economic background and future consequences. The gradual decay of agriculture, and with it, the General economic condition of the province. Over and above it came the shock of misrule combined with the Great War and the Great Depression. It is not unnatural, therefore, that the recent troubles, coming over all these, would lead to famines on the grand scale. The produce such an unthinkable calamity. These other factors would be discussed in subsequent articles; but it must be remembered here that the ultimate cause of the Famine must be traced to that criminal evasion of responsibility and disastrous neglect of agriculture that are contacts. In the phrase of the Economist, the belt has been tightened where there was no slack to take it in. While discussing the causes of famine we should not only discuss why the belt has been tightened, but we should also discuss the more basic question, why there is no slack to take it in. Readings of history once more confirm the thesis that an Imperial Government is, by its very nature, incapable to develop the subject country, for any such economic development would lead to clashes between the imperial finance-capital and the native capital. It is in the interest of Imperialism to have, in these circumstances, as its ally native agricultural interests, and that is why it is the object of the imperial government to keep agricultural interests just—but only just—alive. Famines are inevitable if it becomes the object of the Government to prevent national industrial growth, to maintain agriculture just on the subsistence level and to force foreign goods on the population and to take away indigenous raw materials at terms disadvantageous to the country in question. We are, for these reasons, painfully familiar with famines as separable concomitants of imperial domination, for that is the usual pattern everywhere.

THE IRISH EXAMPLE

That we are not wrong in our reading of history is proved by the fact that India is not the only country to experience such famines under imperial domination. We mention here only one other instance—the great Irish Famine of 1845 to 1847. The history of Ireland has many points of similarity with the history of India. Not only in matters of politics, but also in the matter of economic evolution. Ireland bears a strange similarity to India. The Irish Famine of 1845 to 1847 is astonishingly similar to the recent Bengal Famine not only in

“Skill and capital were lacking and the system of absenteeism was fastened upon the land. True, under the Act of Union Irish manufactures were allowed a measure of protection, but the duties were neither high nor were they regarded as permanent....in 1825, practically all the duties were abolished. At once the whole structure of the nascent Irish industries collapsed.”

The third stage then began; lacking industrial development, the Irish people for the most part turned to agriculture as the only means of livelihood. As the said author writes :

“One might expect, however, that an ideal relationship would develop between agricultural Ireland and industrial England. Historically this was not the case.”

As in India so also in Ireland, there began an era, not of agricultural development, but of agricultural decay. There was, of course, an expansion of tillage land at the cost of grazing, but the majority of tenants turned out to be cottiers, and not farmers or permanent tenants. There existed frequently a discrepancy between wages and rent and the cottier was forced to make good the difference. Thousands therefore migrated to England to help the English harvest, and the money so earned was used to make up the deficit. Farmers also lacked the necessary capital for agricultural improvement and this induced the middlemen and jobbers to interfere and speculate and get themselves interposed between the owner and the cultivator. The cessation of Napoleonic wars ended the period of comparative prosperity and brought about an agricultural depression in Ireland. The landlord found it impossible to save themselves except by more efficient and economic farming. Consolidation of holdings thus began with great

2. J. C. Pomfret: *The Struggle for Land in Ireland* (Princeton U. P.), p. 2.

vehement. But it had disastrous effects on the peasants who were thrown out in large numbers on the streets. Legislation, however, only helped the speed of ejection. Along with this, there were in existence other factors, such as uneconomic holdings and an unsatisfactory land system which prepared the ground for the Famine. To quote the previous author again :

"As the famine year approached, conditions became gradually worse. There was no improvement in agriculture and an ever-increasing population was living from hand to mouth. Each year the clearance system took its toll, severing its victims from land and from life....A development of manufacturing industry would have been a great boon, but this possibility, as we have seen, was accorded little consideration."

It was reported by the *Poor Enquiry Commission*, 1834 that

"Numbers resort to the cities, towns and villages. Some settled on waste lands, mountains or bog in their neighbourhood."

A Report of the Repeal Association painted an even more dismal picture.

The natural and necessary consequence of the system of clearance has been that large numbers of ejected peasantry have been driven into miserable dwellings along with the dykes, and in the ditches adjacent to the public roads.

The Government pointed to the doctrine *laissez-faire* as a plea for non-interference in favour of the tenants, but they had no hesitation to pass, during this period, some sixty acts in favour of the landlord and against the tenants. The real idea, as Palmerston phrased it, was that Tenant Right meant Landlord Wrong and the doctrine of *laissez-faire* was only used as a cover for this plainly unjust and unfair attitude.

It is therefore not unnatural or unexpected that if any immediate aggravating factors were added to this general decay, the result would be a terrible famine. That is what happened. The potato crop, the mainstay of the people, failed because of an extremely bitter winter and this was the immediate cause of the great Famine of 1845-47. But, as in the case of the recent Bengal Famine, destruction of crop was not the only cause. The potato crop was no doubt destroyed by blight, but even the London *Times*³ declared :

They are suffering a real though artificial famine. Nature does her duty; the land is fruitful enough, nor can it be fairly said that man is wanting. The Irishman is disposed to work; in fact, man and nature together do produce abundantly. The island is full and overflowing with human food. But something ever intervenes between the hungry mouth and the ample banquet.

The factor that "intervened" was simple. Rents had to be paid; the grain was claimed

by the landlords in payment and the Government refused to close the ports. John Mitchell has recorded the rage and despair with which people saw

"immense herds of cattle, sheep and hogs floating off on every tide, cut of every one of the thirteen ports, bound for England; and the landlords were receiving their rent, and going to England to spend them; and many hundreds of poor people had lain down and died on the roadsides, for want of food."⁴

The whole situation was described by the Census Commissioners in horrible details :

Agriculture was neglected and the land in many places remained untilled. Thousands were supported from day to day upon the bounty of outdoor relief; the closest ties of kindred were dissolved; the most ancient and long-cherished usages of the people were disregarded; food the most revolting to human palates was eagerly devoured; the once proverbial gaiety and light-heartedness of the peasant people seem to have vanished completely; disorganisation of society became marked and memorable by the exodus of above one million of people, who deserted their homes and hearths to seek food and shelter in foreign lands, of whom thousands perished from pestilence and the hardships endured on shipboard. It is scarcely possible to exaggerate in imagination what people will and are forced to do before they die from absolute want of food, for not only does the body become darkened, the feelings callous, blunted and apathetic, but a peculiar fever was generated, which became but too well known to the medical profession in Ireland at that time.....Thus a stipendiary Magistrate stated in Galway in extenuation of the crime of a poor prisoner brought up for stealing food that to his own knowledge before he was brought to the theft, he and his family had actually consumed part of a human body lying dead in the cabin with them. Generally speaking, the actually starving people, lived upon the carcasses of diseased cattle, upon dogs and dead horses, but principally upon the herbs of the field, nettletops, wild mustard and water cresses, and even in some places dead bodies were found with grasses in their mouths. Along the coast every description of seaweed was generally devoured, often with fatal consequences; even the dillisk or 'salt-leaf,' though a safe occasional condiment, became the cause of disease when used as the sole support of life.⁵

There was, after the famine reached its full intensity, the usual outburst of charity. First, there were relief works, which at one time (March, 1847) employed 734,000 labourers. But all such works were to be of a public nature (that is also the regulation in India) and as such could not be of any benefit to the estates of the owners. The unproductive nature of such relief works was soon realised and works were brought to a close during March-August, 1847. The Government fell back upon the very simple solution of feeding the poor. Soup kitchens were established in the impoverished districts. Unfortunately, there was attached to them a severe

4. John Mitchell : *The Last Conquest of Ireland*.
5. *Census of Ireland, 1851, Part V*, p. 243.

test known as the Gregory clause, which provided that no person in possession of more than a quarter acre of land could be deemed destitutes and that it would not be lawful for guardians to relieve such person. The result was disastrous:

The class of poor and destitute occupiers who are debarred by law unless they give up their land, struggle, notwithstanding their great privations, to retain it, and endeavour by every effort to pass through the season of difficulty, by which they see the prospect of their previous mode of subsistence returning, provided they continue in the possessions of their land. The use for a long time of inferior food has in such cases sometimes induced disease fatal to the occupier himself or one or more members of his family."

To famine was thus added the terror of evictions. Sir Robert Peel later stated on the 8th June, 1879 :

"I do not think, the records of any country, civilised or barbarous, present materials for such a picture."

A recent writer writes :

"By the famine, the majority of the Irish people had been crushed below the level at which the human nature has the vitality to rebel. In 1848, the tide of revolution was in flood over Europe. Oppressed peoples were filled with the vision of liberty, but Ireland was in despair."

What was the result ? The first effect was felt on the population growth. The population had been growing rapidly and was expected to grow from 8.2 millions in 1841 to over 9 millions in 1851. But as a result of the famine it actually shrank to 6.5 millions. The lowly Cottier class was almost exterminated; even the return of normal conditions could not restrain the exodus which the famine had set up. In spite of all efforts, emigration went on steadily until 1914. The population of Ireland decreased from 6.5 millions in 1851 to 4.39 millions in 1911. This depopulation brought about by the famine at first relieved, to a certain extent, the pressure of population on the soil and seemed to solve the problem of poverty. For, during this period, over half of the uneconomic holdings (those under 15 acres) had disappeared. But, ultimately, this offered no real remedy. Increase in the size of the holdings was due to the fact that the landlords, who were hard hit, found it more profitable to convert tilled land into pastured and began recklessly to turn out the peasants. This not only hit hard the peasants,

but did not profit even the landlords in the long run. The return of bad seasons following the year 1857 revealed much suffering and made it apparent that as yet there was no real margin. But exploitation went on unabated; anti-tenant measures were passed with bewildering rapidity, and gradually it dawned upon the Irish people that no real improvement was possible until the Irish people had the power to provide for themselves and remove all obstacles that stood in the way of national development. The whole subsequent history of Ireland is the history of her struggle for national independence and political power. It is neither necessary nor relevant to go into the details of this political struggle; it is, however, significant that matters did not improve after this great famine of 1845-47 in spite of government efforts, and bad seasons inevitably led to famines of varying intensity throughout the century. Irish nationalism was the political expression of the realisation of this economic situation and its extreme violence was due to the fact that the utter prostration of the Irish people in 1848, followed by the "Great betrayal" of their hopes in 1852, had caused them to turn their backs upon constitutional action.

CONCLUSION

We, therefore, find that the pattern of economic development is strangely common to India and Ireland during the periods under consideration. In both cases, the first stage began with the establishment of international contacts, that is to say, the beginning of the onslaught of finance capital. In the next stage, came the destruction of native industries, and the whole population was thrown completely on agriculture. The third stage began with the exploitation by foreign capital on the one hand and the establishment of landlordism and the evasion of legitimate responsibility by the government, on the other, with the consequential decay of agriculture. This decay of agriculture must lead to the impoverishment of the people and ultimately leave them resourceless, so much so, that the slightest shock, the slightest tightening of the belt must lead to nothing short of a major disaster. Mill wrote long ago :

"It is an inherent condition of human affairs that no intention, however sincere, of protecting the interest of others can make it safe or salutary to tie up their own hands."

The events in Ireland and India,—especially the chronic poverty and famines—provide ample illustrations of Mill's saying.

6. First Report of the Irish Poor Law Commission, 1847.
7. Dorothy Macarthur, *The Irish Republic* (Gollancz) p. 47.

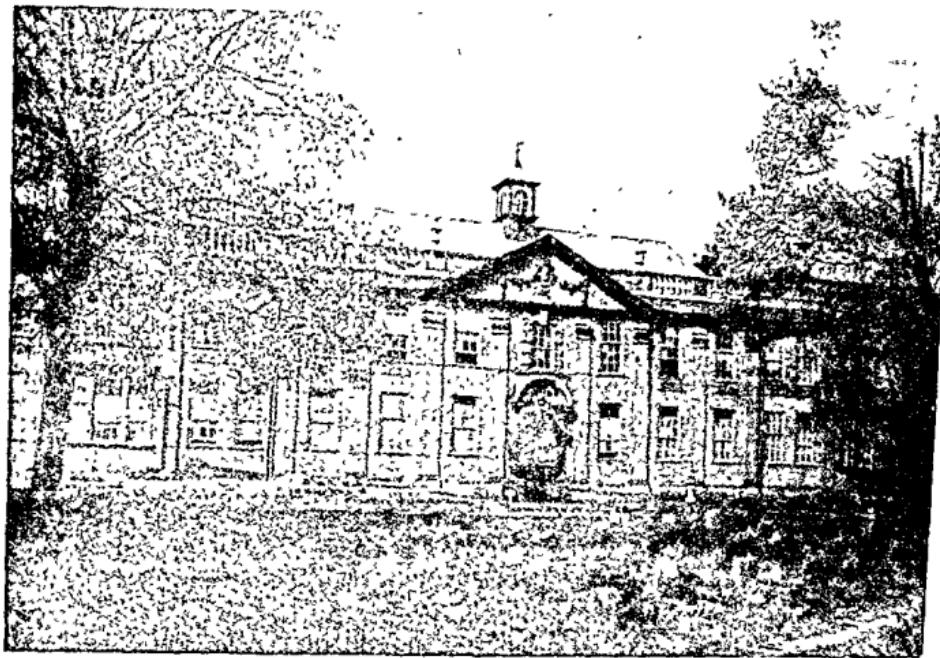




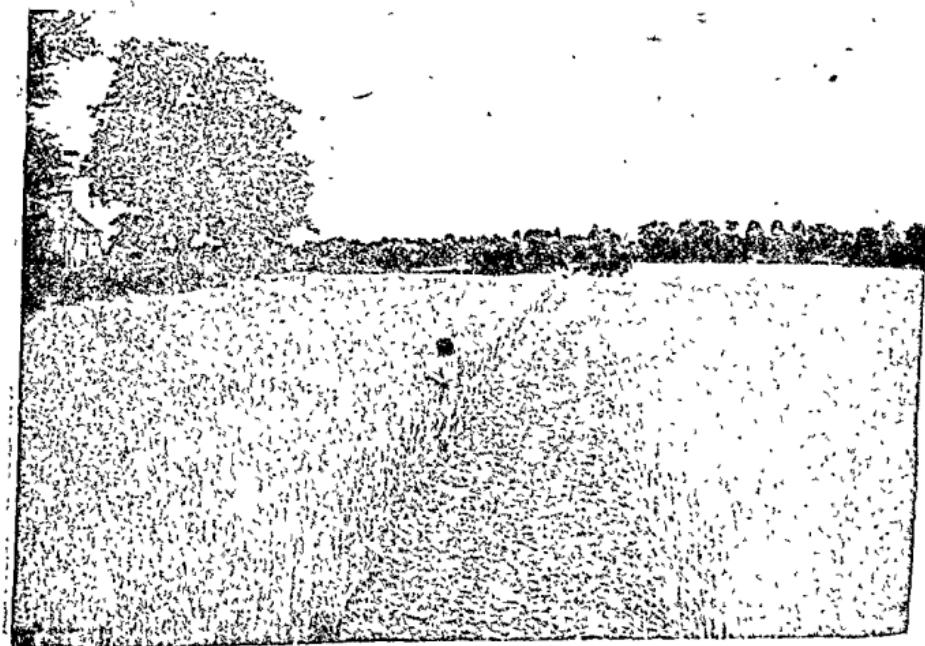
U. S. General Stilwell watches Allied troops advance in North Central Burma



American soldiers ford a jungle stream in Burma.



For a hundred years, the Rothamsted Experimental Station in England has been conducting experiments to improve agriculture



The famous Broadbalk field of the Rothamsted Experimental Station has grown wheat for a hundred years

SANDALWOOD CARVING IN SURAT

By S. I. CLERK

II

We may now take some of the craftsmen individually and notice their annual output, their cost of production, their requirements, etc.

I. Hormusji Faramji Pettigara, Athughar Mohulla.

This seventy-five years old Parsi gentleman, we believe, is the oldest sandalwood craftsman in Surat to-day. Most probably, a biographical study of him would reveal quite an interesting history of the sandalwood craft in Surat. He learnt his craft from his uncle, his own father being carpenter. He is illiterate and works all alone without any assistants.

Hormusji makes about nine dozen sandalwood boxes in a year; mostly, these are money and handkerchief boxes. He has the sandalwood designs prepared for him by a Nakshiwalla, while he himself makes the inlaid boxes. We are glad to state that quite a number of sandalwood craftsmen told us that Hormusji's boxes are very good as regards appearance, durability and the genuineness of the raw materials used. In a year he requires the following quantities of raw materials :

Sandalwood—Quantity 400 lbs. Estimated Cost Rs. 400.

Teakwood—Quantity 60 sq. ft. Estimated Cost Rs. 50.

Redwood—Quantity 10 lbs. Estimated Cost Rs. 10.

Ivory—Quantity 12-15 lbs. Estimated Cost Rs. 150 to Rs. 200.

Stag horn—Quantity 140 lbs. Estimated Cost Rs. 60.

Tin—Quantity 20-25 lbs. Estimated Cost Rs. 210 to 300.

Glue—Quantity 15 lbs. Estimated Cost Rs. 15.

Hinges—Quantity 1½ gross. Estimated Cost Rs. 150.

Locks—Quantity ¾ gross. Estimated Cost Rs. 150.

Velvet—Quantity 30-40 yards. Estimated Cost Rs. 90 to 120.

He requires in a year about two to three files of about ten inches long of three types, rough, smooth and three-edged, and one or two steel plates for the saws.

As regards marketing his products, Hormusji sells them to a bigger Pettigara in Surat who, we believe, supplies him with raw materials. This merchant Pettigara obviously deprives Hormusji considerably of his legitimate dues. At the same time, it proved difficult to convince him of the benefits which would accrue to him if he were to make the Government Sales Depot his selling agent. This was mainly because of his old age. At seventy-five, few of us can be prepared to take even imaginary financial risks or ventures !

II. Narotamdas Vithaldas Patel, Amar Nivas, Nampur Road, Gopipura.

This young man of 24 years represents perhaps the best result of the Government efforts to train the various artisans in Surat. Formerly, he was an employee to a big Pettigara. Then he got Government scholarship and went to Sir J. J. School of Arts, Bombay, where he studied sandalwood carving for about two to three years. On his return he took from the Government interest free loan and also availed himself of the opportunity of getting his tools at half the cost from the Government:



A young sandalwood craftsman at work

In his establishment, there are four men employed. Narotamdas is an intelligent craftsman and we have been able to collect fairly interesting details about his craft from him. He established himself only about four months back. On an average, in a year he would require the following quantities of raw materials :

Sandalwood—Quantity 900 lbs. Cost Rs. 900.

Teakwood—Quantity 100 sq. feet. Cost Rs. 75.

Redwood—Quantity 18-20 lbs. Cost Rs. 20.

Ivory—Quantity 36 lbs. Cost Rs. 600.

Stag horn—Quantity 18 maunds. Cost Rs. 360.

Tin—Quantity 3 maunds. Cost Rs. 1,050.

Glue—Quantity 3 maunds. Cost Rs. 12.

Hinges—Quantity 3½ gross. Cost Rs. 675.

Locks—Quantity 1½ gross. Cost Rs. 675.

Screws—Quantity 18 gross. Cost Rs. 675.

Nails—Quantity 4 lbs. Cost Rs. 23.

Velvet—Quantity 50 yards. Cost Rs. 200.

Copper Sulphate—Quantity 61 tolas. Cost Rs. 50.

Total Rs. 4,440, i.e., say about Rs. 4,500.

In a year he requires the following tools:

Saws 18 ins. by 4 ins.—Quantity 6.

Chisels—Quantity 2.

Drills—Quantity 1.

Planes—Quantity 4.

Files—Quantity 4.

Hammers—Quantity 4.

Cost at about Rs. 500.



A craftsman working on a semi-finished sandalwood box

Narotamdas's establishment would produce about 300 boxes in a year. These would be sold on an average at about Rs. 30 each, bringing him an income of Rs. 9,000 from which following would be his expenditure :

Raw materials and tools—Rs. 5,000.

To Nakshiwallas—Rs. 1,375.

Karigars (i.e., workmen)—Rs. 1,500.

Rent—Rs. 120.

Total Rs. 7,995, i.e., Rs. 8,000.

The remaining Rs. 1,000 constitute his profit including his remuneration as a craftsman. From this he repays his debt to the Government @ Rs. 15 per month. These figures are of course only a rough indication as Narotamdas has started his business only four months back. His annual income may vary from

about Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,500 depending on the number of boxes he makes and sells during the year. Elsewhere we have attempted to find out the cost of production and net profit of a single sandalwood box. The result of that analysis more or less corroborates the above-mentioned figures supplied to us by Narotamdas.

III. Babarbhai Harkisondas, Kachhis Sheri, Syedpara.

Babarbhai is about forty-five years old. His father was a carpenter while his uncle was a sandalwood carver. About ten persons are employed in his establishment. His total output is about five hundred boxes in a year. His annual requirement of raw materials is :

Sandalwood—Quantity 60 maunds.

Teakwood—Quantity 500 sq. ft.

Redwood—Quantity 1 maund.

Ivory—Quantity 2 maunds.

Stag horn—Quantity 25 maunds.

Tin—Quantity 112 lbs.

Glue—Quantity 2½ maunds.

Hinges—Quantity 7 gross.

Locks—Quantity 3½ gross.

Velvet—Quantity 30-40 yards.

Babarbhais estimated the total cost of these raw materials @ about Rs. 5,000. Further according to him, the ratio of raw materials to labour in his establishment is 1:5.

The main markets for Babarbhais products are Delhi and Bombay. Babarbhais is fast growing into a sandalwood boxes merchant. Quantitatively, he may be said to be the foremost in his craft in Surat. Probably this was the reason why he was somewhat reticent in giving us more details about his craft which would have been very useful to us.

IV. Dayaram Karsondas Prajapati, Doodhwali Sheri, Rampura.

Dayaram was formerly only a Nakshiwalla and since only about four years back he started making sandalwood boxes independently. Even now he restricts himself to the making of all-sandalwood boxes and does no inlaid work. He is assisted by some casual assistants, but mainly works all alone.

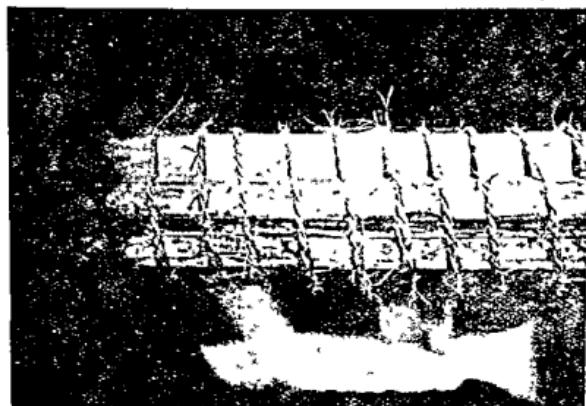
His total output is about twelve boxes per month for which he requires about ten to fifteen maunds of sandalwood per year. He feels that his craft badly needs more and more trained hands.

V. Rangildas Gorindram Ramakdawala, Kachhis Sheri, Syedpara.

Rangildas was formerly a Nakshiwalla and began to produce all-sandalwood boxes as an independent artisan only since last January. He is assisted mainly by his son and his son-in-law. His output is about half a dozen boxes per month for the present. He also continues

to work as a Nakshiwalla whenever he gets orders from bigger Pettigaras.

Rangildas is intelligent and far-sighted and so made his son Champaklal take the advantage of the opportunity offered by the Bombay Government and get himself trained at Sir J. J. School of Arts for about two to three years in sandalwood designs. Champaklal Rangildas and Narotamdas Vithaldas (our Case No. II) both had their training at Sir J. J. School of Arts together. We are confident that these two young men will make the best of their training in quite near future.



Lozenge-shaped stick of long narrow strips of ivory, ebony, etc., cut into triangular or hexagonal shapes and fitted together in the process of making inlaid designs

VI. Dayabhai Nakshiwalla, Ghatigara Mohulla, Nanpura.

This may be taken as a typical case of a Nakshiwalla. He carves designs on sandalwood pieces and supplies these to the Pettigaras. He works all alone and the Pettigaras pay him on a contractual basis. On an average, they pay him about Rs. 4/8/- per box depending on its size. His income is about Rs. 1/8/- per day.

He has a considerable number of tools such as carving gouges (*tankna*) varying in breadth from $1/16$ th of an inch to $\frac{1}{4}$ inch, carving chisels (*pania*), pattern chisels and gouges (*chitravarna tankna*) or penches. The veining chisels are angular gouges shaped like a V and some others shaped like a U.

On an average, one sandalwood box fetches to-day the craftsman Rs. 30 nett (i.e., after meeting trade commissions etc.). His cost of production per box is :

Raw Materials—Rs. 15.

Nakshiwalla—Rs. 4.8.

Inlaid worker—Rs. 5.

Rent, etc.—As. 8. Total Rs. 25.

Thus the yield to-day is about Rs. 5 per box. The same pre-war was :

Sale Price—12.

Rs. 12—10 = 2.

Cost Price :-

Raw Materials—Rs. 6.

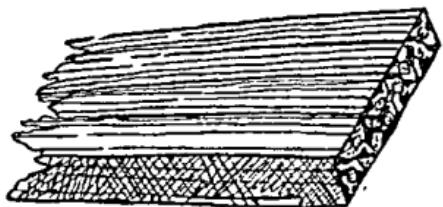
Nakshiwalla—Re. 1.8.

Inlaid worker—Rs. 2.

Rent, etc.—As. 8. Total Rs. 10.

Obviously, the yield would be more if (1) the output is more, e.g., the case of Babarbhais; (2) the craftsman is himself a Nakshiwalla and manufactures only all-sandalwood boxes.

On account of the present war, there is a boom period in this craft. The increasing number of foreigners in Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, etc., constitutes important market for the products of this craft. Consequently, quite a number of persons have entered in this craft. Most of them were formerly labourers working under some big Pettigaras. They have now established themselves as independent Pettigaras. A number of Nakshiwallas have established themselves recently as Pettigaras making all-sandalwood boxes. Quite possibly, the present increase in demand and the rise in the prices of the finished products more than offset increased cost of production to-day and the

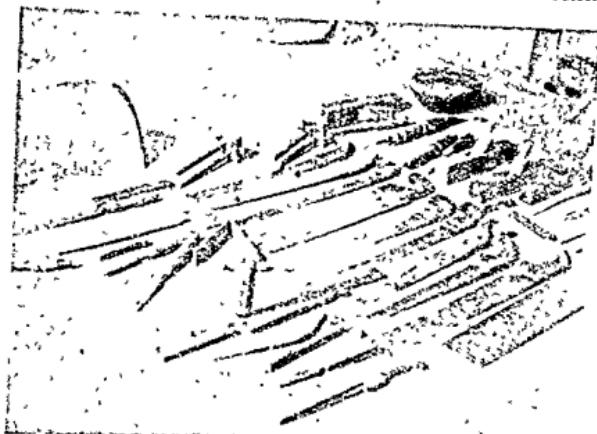


The lozenge-shaped stick described in photo III is cut into about six inches long pieces and placed together to form a slab having the pattern on the edge as many times as there are pieces of the sticks

well-established craftsmen have been quite able to better themselves economically.

The future of the sandalwood craft in Surat is somewhat gloomy. To-day, of course, there

is the war-time boom and the craftsmen are tolerably happy. On account of this increased demand, unfortunately, increasing attention is being paid to the quantity of the output rather than the quality. Obviously, this will ultimately affect the craft adversely.



Some of the tools of the Surat sandalwood craftsman

That there is a general deterioration in the very nominal sandalwood designs as compared to those of say Government Sales Depot at Surat has been run even twenty years back cannot be gainsaid. And the simultaneous use of cheap and undurable substitutes (e.g., lead instead of tin, seesum instead of ebony, deodar instead of teakwood etc.) obviously makes the future position of the sandalwood designs in Sir J. J. School of Arts, craft precarious. This substitution is partly due to the acute shortage of raw materials and partly due to the Bombay imitation sandalwood works which makes use of all possible cheap substitutes.

The Surat sandalwood craftsmen unfortunately have no association of their own. They can solve a number of their present-day problems if they were to form an association. Thus through an association they can induce the Government to procure them their raw materials at controlled rates, and this alone would considerably reduce their cost of production. We do doubt if such an association can fix successfully the sale price of the finished products because these are not machine-produced and so cannot be standardised. And consequently, a bound to resent and resist any such move on the part of the association which would in practice

mean fixing the sale price of his products on the basis of the products of his less sincere and less honest colleague. Hence, the main function, at least in the beginning, of the association such as we envisage, will be to procure raw materials at controlled rates. We are glad to state here that almost all the craftsmen we interviewed favoured the idea of such an association and we hope that the efforts of the District Industrial Officer in this direction will be successful.

The Government of Bombay are considerably helping the artisans. Thus for instance, they offer Rs. 30 per month scholarships to intelligent young artisans for one or two years training course at Sir J. J. School of Arts, Bombay. On their return from Bombay, these young men are offered interest free loans and tools and implements at half the market prices in case they want to start their own establishments. And then of course there are Government Sales Depots which act as marketing agencies for the finished wares of the craftsmen. Their commission charges are also

to be of at least some help to the artisans. Already two young craftsmen have taken advantage of getting themselves trained in sandalwood designs in Sir J. J. School of Arts, Bombay. And we hope many more will follow their examples. In this connection, we should



An all-sandalwood box

like to point out that the Government should increase the scholarships, for Rs. 30 per month is obviously very low in the present high cost of living in Bombay. We think it should be at least Rs. 50. Such an increase will induce more young craftsmen to get themselves trained in Sir J. J. School of Arts than otherwise.

As an alternative, the Government should start a training centre right in Surat. The tutor of such a class must be well selected. He should not only be well versed in Indian arts and crafts, but should also have plenty of original ideas both as regards the designs and, also the final get-up of the products. Preferably, he himself should be a hereditary craftsman. About ten boys may be admitted to this class every year, and the course of the study may be either of one year or two years. The cost of such a class for the first year may be estimated :

Salary of the Tutor—Rs. 1,200.
10 Scholarships at Rs. 15—Rs. 1500.
Raw Materials—Rs. 500.
Tools, etc.—Rs. 500.
Total Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 5,000.

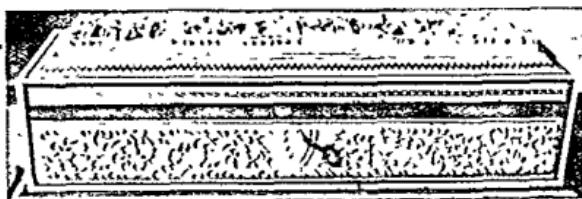
In case the tutor is efficient, then the class can be made self-sufficient in little time. The finished products of the students can be sold in the market.

Besides showing how to produce sandalwood boxes, the tutor should also initiate the students in making many other articles such as book-ends, wall calendars, etc., of sandalwood and other woods. In short, the tutor should not be satisfied by merely making his students mechanical craftsmen. We want the new generation of the craftsmen to be creative and not merely blind mechanical followers of their hereditary craft.

The main cause of the deterioration in the designs to-day lies perhaps not with the craftsman but with his patron. After all, if, the public does not want same old designs and is willing to patronise something better, then there is no reason why the craftsmen will not go in for something new and original. Thus for instance, a little less ornamented designs may quite possibly enhance the artistic merits of the sandalwood boxes when compared to the present over-decorated boxes. Besides manufacturing sandalwood boxes, quite successful attempts have been made in making sandalwood and other wood book-ends, calendars, etc., and the specimens may be seen at the Government Sales Depots in Bombay and in Surat. Nevertheless,

much remains to be done in this direction if the craftsmen are not to be reduced to the levels of machines and the craft to be allowed to rot and rust. We have got to make the craftsmen quit the rut.

It is mainly the upper strata of the society in our country which has an access to the finished products of the sandalwood craft. If at least some of the Surat craftsmen can be induced to substitute sandalwood by some cheap wood, such as teakwood or seesum as a side-craft and produced carved boxes of these woods then they can also approach the middle classes who obviously cannot afford to go in for sandalwood boxes which these days cost anything from Rs. 30 to Rs. 50. Any such approach to the middle classes



Another type of finished product. A sandalwood box prepared by the inland process

would result in a wider market for the Surat sandalwood craftsmen. This widening of their market will be good not only for themselves but also for their craft as well. It will also be a step in right direction, if we want our masses to appreciate their own traditional arts and crafts. It will bring us a mile-stone nearer to our goal of permeating our daily life with Art.

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PRESENT ACTIVITIES TOWARDS LONG-STAPLED COTTON CULTIVATION IN BENGAL

By ANATH GOPAL SEN

The recent trends in the development of long-staple cotton cultivation may interest those who have been kept in suspense since my discussion on the problem in *The Modern Review* for May, 1943. With funds contributed by the Central Cotton Committee of India and the Bengal Mill-owners' Association, the five years' scheme of work which ended in 1942-43, has been extended, in a modified form for another three years. It may be noted here that the Government of Bengal made no contribution for working this remodelled scheme. The Bengal Cotton Sub-committee which also ceased to exist since 1942, has however been revived and the Government Agricultural Department has been working the scheme as before under its guidance. The Daksheswari Cotton Mills have also been continuing their development work in this direction, in different parts of Bengal. In Cossimbazar (Murshidabad) area, they have been growing different varieties of cotton under the schemes sponsored by the Central Cotton Committee of India as well as by the Calcutta University. The success of the Daksheswari Mills' venture in the growth of cotton as mixed crop with 'aus' paddy in Cossimbazar area has appealed to cultivators there, who now do not hesitate to

take to the cultivation of a new crop like cotton as a source of subsidiary income without disturbing their existing paddy crop in the same field. The plan is very suitable and we hope it will appeal to tillers of soil of other localities, who always hesitate to undertake experiments on an unknown new crop, unless its success can be demonstrated. In this connection we had occasion to note that last five year's experiments under Government scheme, they had been total failure. It is unfortunate, however, that even in those localities people have not taken to its cultivation for want of sufficient personal knowledge and experience except the impetus on the part of the authorities concerned.

The cultivation of Dacca Egyptian cotton about which Bengal possesses immense possibilities was as we had occasion to note, threatened with extinction by a fungus attack known as anthrax. The Agricultural Department had under advice from the last Cotton Sub-committee thought it advisable to discontinue its cultivation and did not take advantage of the special contribution, granted by the Government. But the Dhakeswari Mills, as we know, carried its cultivation with great success, considered both qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, for three successive years since 1938. In the face of various difficulties, the above mills have been continuing its cultivation of this variety every year with seeds treated by Mr. S. N. Bannerji, Mycologist of the Botany Department of the Calcutta University. It would be gratifying to note that the University, as requested by the previous Bengal Cotton Sub-committee, sent a scheme of work for 5 years and with funds contributed by the Bengal Mill-owners' Association, it has been carrying on Research work on that variety of cotton from its last session 1943-44, under Dr. S. P. Agharkar, Head of the Department of Botany of the Calcutta University.

Regarding formation of the new Cotton Sub-committee for Bengal, we regret very much that in spite of repeated requests and suggestions by the Daksheswari Cotton Mills M.A., Ph.D., F.L.S., F.N.I., one Professor from the Bose Institute, and some growers who have been demonstrated. In this connection we had of late shown great success in cotton cultivation under Government scheme, they had been total failure. It is unfortunate, however, that even in those localities people have not taken to its cultivation for want of sufficient personal knowledge and experience except the impetus on the part of the authorities concerned. Second Economic Botanist, Bengal.



THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

WITH the capture of Cherbourg by the Americans the Allied forces under General Eisenhower have completed the first part of their task in establishing a bridgehead in Western Europe. The selection of the site for the staging of the Invasion of Europe left very little to be desired judged from the point of view of suitability for the application of the maximum force at the disposal of the Western Allies. The Invasion itself was carried out under the shelter of the most terrific aerial and naval bombardment of the defending forces that history has as yet seen. It was an immense force carried over by a super-Gargantuan armada under the cover of an Air-umbrella the size of which surpasses imagination even after the graphic description given by the observers on the spot. The hundred and odd mile wide strip on the French side of the channel coast between Le Havre and Cherbourg is ideally situated for the focussing of the aerial and naval forces concentrated by the Allies in the great air and naval ports of the south of England. Transit time is short and the traversing of the channel as secure as the full force of the combined Invasion Fleet could ever make it. Indeed the planning and the execution was superb to the extent of getting unstinted and eloquent praise from Marshal Stalin. The Invasion force struck the shores of Normandy with the weight and momentum of tidal waves and in the inferno that followed more and more weight of arms and armour was flung in with the inflexible determination and with the complete disregard for cost that has hitherto been shown, on the side of the United Nations, by the Russians alone. Under the relentless pressure the battle-zone on the beaches started widening in a westerly direction. The American forces then cut across the peninsula to the south of Cherbourg and after subjecting the defences to a veritable volcanic eruption of fire and metal broke into and finally occupied Cherbourg. Now the Allies have the makings of a real bridgehead though a great deal has as yet to be done before that is really and truly established on a scale commensurate with the requirements of a Continental Second Front engaging scores of divisions of arms and armour and hundreds of squadrons of air planes on either side.

But if the Invasion forces are almost irresistible in weight and fire-power the defences have proved so far to be most formidable. At the time of writing these notes the Allied invasion force has been in continuous action, with the maximum force applicable under the circumstances, for twenty-four days and nights, with the full weight of the Allied Naval and Air fleets behind it. But even with the application of this stupendous force and with the complete supremacy established in the air and on water, there are no wide cracks visible as yet in the defence system organised by the Nazi Supreme Command. They had ample time for all arrangements and it is evident that they have wasted very little of it. In a struggle of this nature many unpredictable things do happen and extremely vital changes are possible but judging purely by what has happened, and is happening, in that hundred-odd mile wide strip of undiluted Hell-on-earth up-to-date, it seems very improbable that the hopes for an early collapse of Germany will materialize as soon as hoped for by one of the Big Three, purely through action on the Western Front.

Russia has started its summer campaign. The opening moves on the Finnish front showed that Marshal Stalin did not intend to give the German High Command any respite, and now with the break-through round Vitebsk the campaign is on in its full fury. The Russian estimate of Axis strength on the Eastern European front will surprise many. According to that, the Nazi High Command has at its disposal 200 German divisions with 50 divisions of other nationalities in support though the value of these is doubtful. But leaving out these auxiliaries those 200 German divisions in Russia, added to the 25 or 30 divisions in Italy and the 30 divisions in the Balkans and Scandinavia, leave only 40 to 50 divisions to oppose the Allied Invasion forces in France, if Mr. Churchill's estimate of German strength—which he put at a total of 300 divisions, many of which are depleted—be correct. All these estimates, however, are bound to be conjectural to a certain extent and as such must be left at that. The Russian drive at present is lower down in White Russia around Bobruisk and the

threat to the German divisions defending the Minsk centre is increasing fast. On the Beresina sector too the Soviets' forces under General Rokossovski are increasing their pressure on the German defence lines and General Zakharov's forces are pounding the last remnants of the Dnieper line. In short the Soviets are fast bringing up the tempo of their assaults to a pitch comparable with that of their campaigns of 1943, summer and autumn.

In Italy too the Allied armies are exerting continuous pressure on the defenders. The drive for Florence after being slowed down has again gained some slight impetus by the improvements in the Allied position west and east of Lake Trasimeno. Here again the defenders are making every possible use of the terrain and it is likely that the opposition will stiffen as the Allies enter more and more into the mountainous regions. Italy has been made into a separate and self-contained theatre of war evidently because of the tremendous difficulties of terrain and the campaign has so far not belied the expectations of delay. The progress will have to be stage by stage for some time as yet since the Germans are not giving battle excepting when positional advantages enable them to overcome the Allied superiority to a certain extent.

Taken in general, the Axis in Europe is in the toils. Pressure on the Eastern Front is increasing hourly while the Allies in the West are battering with increasing force on the coastal defence system. When these have been breached and the field of operations attains sufficient depth, it is only then that the real Second Front will be established. Before that happens the bridge-head will have to be firmly established and the port of Cherbourg restored and augmented in order that a swift and uninterrupted flow of supplies and reinforcements to the main battle-zone may be maintained. As yet the preliminaries are not over and at least for some time to come the fighting will be the harder the further the Allied forces get beyond the supporting guns of the navy. But all the same the Second Front is on its way, and though some days will have to pass—it may even be weeks—before its nature, scope and magnitude is fully revealed, there can be no denying now that the last trial of strength is on and that it will not be very long before Hitler's Wehrmacht faces at last its supreme test. It must not be forgotten however that this is not the last lap of the run for the United Nations for their problems would by no means be solved by the collapse of the Axis in

Europe. A great deal depends on how soon and in what condition the Allies emerge out of the European struggle, for Asia still waits and Japan is not wasting time or opportunity.

Allied miscalculations of Japan's strength, resourcefulness and audacity have resulted in minor disasters in the Arakan and the Manipur fronts as late as last spring and just now China is facing a threat greater than any since 1938. On the Indo-Burmese Front, things cannot be deemed satisfactory beyond the fact that the threat to the Assam-Bengal Railway has now been definitely removed. We never gave any credence to the supposed threat of invasion and as such that need not be discussed. But the fact remains that with only limited resources the Japanese succeeded in holding up the Burma campaign of 1943-44, and that with characteristic stubbornness they are still trying to hold on to the strips of Indian territory in their hands against greatly superior forces. In China they are now attempting a nullification of the plans of the United Nations by clearing the railways of threats from the forces of Free China and by putting out of action the aerial advanced posts established after so much effort by the combined U. S. and Chinese air-forces. We do not by any means believe that Free China will crack under the latest Japanese offensives, but at the same time we cannot but believe that every Japanese gain in China will substantially retard the conclusion of the struggle in Asia. Whatever be the extent of Japanese disasters in the Pacific and whatever be the gains of the Allies in the Islands of the Pacific and the Indian Oceans the final decision will have to be obtained by way of China and no substantial improvement of the position of the United Nations has been achieved there yet, indeed just now it is on the contrary.

We have been hearing a lot about the whittling down of Japan's power during the last two years. But it seems that in spite of all these defeats and disasters, Japan can stage powerful thrusts in China, and major diversions on the Indo-Burmese fronts, the net effect of which is to upset Allied plans for some time to come. The only conclusion that can be drawn from such events is that Japan is playing for time and that she hopes and believes that given some more breathing space, she would be able to challenge the combined might of the A. B. C. D. group. So, unlike in the European theatre of War, in Asia time is not as yet on the side of the Allies.



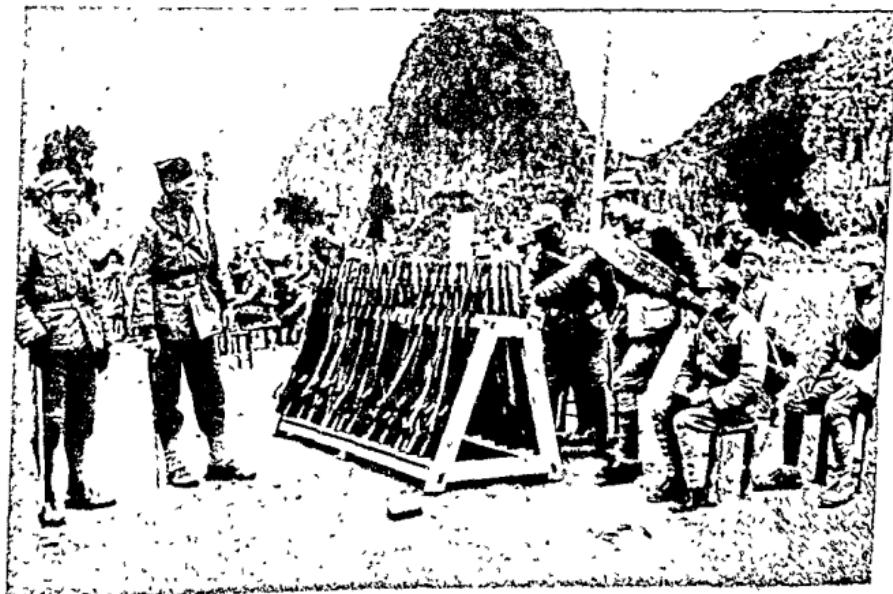
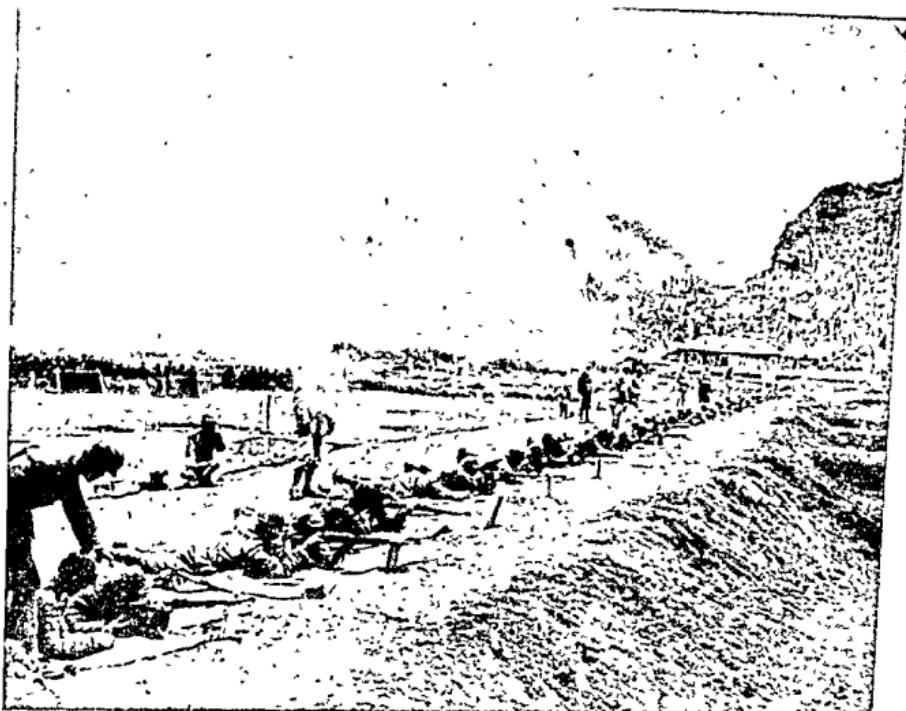
Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek



Chinese troops march against the Japanese
in Burma



General Sun Li-jen of the Chinese Army explains to a group of Chinese Officers
the operation of the U.S. Army's "bazooka" rocket gun



Chinese Officers and Soldiers in an Infantry Training Centre somewhere in South China

A TWENTIETH CENTURY RISHI

BY SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, K.T., C.I.E., D.LITT.

WITH the death of Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray a lofty beacon-light of our nation has been quenched, and a character has disappeared from our midst which can hardly ever reappear in the coming centuries, since our social evolution has already taken a turn to a new stage. He was himself an eminent research worker in chemistry and the teacher of two generations of scientific workers; indeed, in popular parlance he bore the title of "the Father of D.Sc's." In this respect he ran true to the type of our ancient *Rishis*,—those self-forgetting, life-devoting, austere simple, but smiling and childlike, *gurus*, who moulded Indian life and thought twenty-five centuries ago. Indian scientists now in the fulness of life can truly speak of him as Bhavabhuti spoke of the father of Indian song :

स च कुलपति: शाय: उन्दराम् यः प्रयोक्ता। ।

"He the primeval Great Teacher, who gave origin to our craft."

Acharya Prafulla Chandra, as he was lovingly called in Bengal, was the *Kulapati* of Indian science; his pupils and his pupils' pupils fill many a chair in laboratories all over India; and many others who had not been privileged to sit at his feet, have been inspired by the example of his life.

And a life, so rich in its variety, so fruitful of achievement, and so unfailingly directed to a single goal for 83 years, deserves reverential contemplation for our own good. Hard-working, abstemiously poor professors of Chemistry there have been on the Continent, especially in France. His visit to one such old savant in a poor servant-less tenement in the suburbs of Paris, during his Continental tour of 1921, Dr. Ray described to me with rapt admiration. But what raised P. C. Ray to a different plane from them was the practical side of his life's work. This original investigator of Nature's secrets, this abstract scientist, was at the same time an intensely practical patriot. Scorning to win cheap popularity by flattering the current whims of our "educated public," he kept crying out month after month, year after year, from the platform and the press : "Young men of India ! give up indolence, give up your habits of luxury, pursue plain living and high thinking, throw

away the hollow bombast and deceptive slogans of politics, and turn to the economic regeneration of the country. Otherwise, our race would become extinct." His insistence on this primal need of the nation made supercilious "leaders" sneer at him (in private talk) as an old crack-brain. But he also won the lasting gratitude and devotion of thousands of his thoughtful countrymen, as a true light of life. And he set practical examples of how to do it. This aim he kept before himself and before his countrymen to the last day of his life, and always stressed to us who had the privilege of his private friendship.

Judged by the use he made of his life's opportunities in pursuing his ideal, and not merely by the honour and wealth he earned (though these, too, were considerable for a middle-class Bengali College teacher)—his career, was in every sense fruitful of success. His equipment for his chosen work was the highest possible and richly-varied. Born on 2nd August 1861, he went through the undergraduate course in Calcutta, won the Gilchrist Scholarship for study in Britain (1882), and joined the Edinburgh University where he obtained the D.Sc. degree in 1887. His career there is best illustrated by the following conversation :

In 1936 the Dacca University conferred honorary doctorates on Sir P. C. Ray and Sir John Anderson the Governor of Bengal. At the tea party following the ceremony, Dr. Ray sitting at the right hand of the Governor smilingly remarked to him, "Today we have become enrolled in the same University. We are fellow-students now."

Sir John.—"Was it not earlier ? Are you not a Faraday Gold Medalist of the Edinburgh University and were you not elected Vice-President of the University Natural Philosophy Society in 1886 ?"

Sir P. C.—"Yes."

Sir John—"I also won that medal and was elected a Vice-President of the Society, eighteen years after you. In looking up the lists of my predecessors in that office and among the former medalists I found your name in 1886."

Then their talk drifted on to Ray's contemporaries at Edinburgh who had since made great names in Science and some of whom were

Benares, in 1918), he argued, "I am a scientific worker; you see how I am dressed. If my coat sleeves are examined you will find proof that I am a chemist, accustomed to handling corrosive acids. I do not ask for anything for myself. But I tell you, you must equip your laboratories with the latest and best apparatus, or you will not get the fullest benefit from the genius and industry of our students." This speech con-

vinced even those Elders who had been clamouring to see again the day when "Five thousand *vidyarthis* (students) would squat down on the grass under the trees and go through their College courses,"—very cheaply.

Of his personal charity, large-scale relief organisation, foundation of industries, tireless efforts at social uplift and practical help, I have no time to speak today.

MAHARAJA BHAGVATSINHJEE OF GONDAL The Faithful Servant of his People

By X

ACCORDING to Emerson, "the great man is he who in the midst of the crowd keeps with perfect sweetness the independence of solitude." Bhagvatsinhjee was truly great as throughout the whole tenor of his life he kept his 'perfect sweetness' and 'the independence of solitude.'

Born in the year 1865, the child grew under the influence of his religious mother Monghiba; but a major crisis of his life occurred in the demise of his father Sagramji in 1869 when he was but four. So deep was the impression of this event that this child of tender years began to think of his future responsibilities; and therefore as his teachers and professors report and his ways reveal that, to use the Poet's words :

"When I was yet a child, no childish play to me was pleasing; all my mind was set serious to learn and know and thence to do what might be public good."

The child developed sobriety of life, industry and application when he was a student in the Rajkumar College where he had been admitted at the age of nine years. Self-reliant, shy and lonely at heart he completed his course of studies and stood very high securing distinction in the classes.

In 1884 at the age of 19 this promising scholar was handed over the administration of the State which was then under the minority management under British Officers.

All his life he was a student. Never he gave up studies. He wrote *The Journal of a Visit to England*, *A Short History of the Aryan-Medical Science*; and later an Encyclopedic work of *Gujarati Dictionary* in five volumes was undertaken by him in his advanced age. It is called Maharaja Bhagvatsinhjee's *Magnum Opus*. His academic laurels especially in medical studies were many. He was D.C.L. of the Oxford University, and M.D. of the Edinburgh University.

Since the day Maharaja Bhagvatsinhjee

assumed the reins of administration, that is sixty years ago, one passion and one passion alone had stirred the mind of the great soul—devotion to a particular cause, the Service of Gondal. The planned work was carried through with determination and *tapasya* which characterised the ruler born to serve in the name of governing.

To him more income of the State meant more schools; more money meant relief to the poor and in lean years generous grants and profuse remissions in land revenues. Sixty years ago when Bhagvatsinhjee assumed power the annual income of the State was 13 lakhs of rupees. He worked up to 80 lakhs! Yet not a pie was added to the land revenue assessment. Prosperous peasantry was his greatest achievement.

And how—question the curious. "By freeing his people from the chain of fifty taxes that hampered their growth in 1884. These fifty taxes one and all he abolished including the Octroi and Excise duties. Unparalleled in the history of the world-taxation!" We are a taxless people—a unique sector in this mad world groaning under taxation, this is the pride of Gondal.

The remarkable close of his life on the 9th March 1944 reveals the greatness of the man who maintained a wonderful calm and proved to the world that his was not an ordinary soul.

The sixty years that he led the march of Gondal show proof positive of an all-round progress. He refused to tear himself away from the noble tradition of an Aryan king. He wisely assimilated the very best he found in the Western civilization and culture. He never wasted time, money, words and emotions. He was *Facta non verba* personified; he was a man whose life and deeds inspire people; fondly his people call him *Father Bhagvatsinhjee*. His culture, his lofty ideals are known to and appre-

ciated by some of Europe's greatest men and his administration won for him the respect of the Government and the people alike.

Gondal, a small State in the province of Kathiawar, say a little over one thousand square miles in area, is proud to possess 370 miles of good roads, eleven big bridges and more than twelve-hundred culverts, railways, electric lights, telephone, a bold peasantry prosperous and satisfied; schools and other educational institutions are the pride of Gondal. He stopped cruelty to animals, he stopped cow-killing; the deeper we think the greater grows the stature of his genius. This explains the reasons for his people celebrating with ever-increasing love and enthusiasm his birthdays, Silver and Golden Jubilees, raising statues of bronze and marble, placing copper plates and marble slabs in villages and towns, printing commemoration stamps and performing a thousand beautiful things. He got the divine honour of being weighed with the people's gold on the occasion of his Golden Jubilee. His Diamond Jubilee was to have been celebrated this year.

No great man's work could be truly evaluated until the unity underlying his work is grasped. That unity was to use his own magnificently resonant phrase—*Gondal Above All!* For securing that ideal and unity of purpose he spurned delights and lived laborious days; to him duty was the stern daughter of the voice of God. His readiness to help the poor and oppressed, his easy accessibility, his sympathetic imagination and the whole tenor of his life endeared him to his subjects.

His Highness the Maharaja Bhagvatsinhjee was indeed many great things in one. His masterful personality impressed its stamp on every little thing in Gondal.

His inner faith was steadfast and unshaken. With that faith this noble son of Gondal worked till the last throb of life in the service of his people. He died in harness, according to his philosophy of life. Now they rightly say that Bapu Bhagvatsinhjee's name and fame is immortal.

HANDS

BY CYRIL MODAK

HANDS that turn a brute to man
 Grasping in a narrow span
 Pen and sceptre, hammer, sword and sickle,
 Secret of all greatness, power that's fickle;
 Holding Charm's strategic plan,
 Mirror, powder puff and fan !

Deathful hands and hands that save,
 Carve a palace in a cave,
 Sanctuary for Love and Hope and Sorrow;
 Gold-stained hands that trade on what they borrow;
 Hands that gilded favours crave
 With the gestures of the slave.

Jewelled hands that flirting try
 O'er the piano keys to fly;
 Hands of fashion, manicured and idle,
 Fondly hope Futility to bridle;
 Pretty hands that playful lie
 On the breast of Luxury.

Working hands that never quail
 At the toil the hours entail,
 Hands that keep the wheels of life in motion,
 Win a prize of pearls from threat'ning ocean,
 Hands that say, "Love ne'er will fail !
 Beauty will o'er scars prevail !"

A large number of persons trained in applied psychology will find employment in the near future under the scheme as psychiatric social workers, as psychologists and as teachers for mentally deficient children. It is estimated that in connection with mental hygiene alone nearly 30,000 of such workers will be absorbed in the course of next 30 years. The industrial and educational concerns will probably require the services of an equal number of trained psychologists.

From the statements made above it may be concluded that reconstructed India will, for the full realization of her aims, need the services of a large band of workers trained in different branches of applied psychology but facilities for training in applied psychology in India is at present negligible. The Applied Section of Psychology of the University of Calcutta which has been up to now more a research body than a training centre and the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, which imparts training

to a limited number of persons every year are the only two institutions dealing with applied psychology in India. It has been stressed time without number by the prominent scientific men of our country that steps should be taken without much loss of time to intensify researches and facilitate training of students in the different branches of 'Science and Technology' so that we may cope with the demands when the time comes for national reconstruction. This statement is equally true of Psychology. We must look ahead and make preparation for training of the necessary psychological personnel of different types. It may be assured that if such opportunity of training be forthcoming persons interested in psychology and in its application will not lag behind to avail themselves of the facilities offered as the chances of employment in the near future are very great. It is for the Universities more than any other institution to take up this matter and to start training courses in applied psychology.

THE WRITER IN A CHANGING WORLD

BY PROF. RAJENDRA VARMA, M.A.

VI

On the periphery of literary criticism there would always remain the inevitable question of 'tradition' and the writer. We have seen that T. S. Eliot has tried to construct a basis for a correct linking of the writer to tradition through a unified outlook on life as evolved by the Church. We have also seen that such an outlook is sadly out of place in the present scheme of things. In India tradition seems to be in the bone of the people. But this 'tradition' at times, proves to be a subterfuge of the defeated.

Speaking generally, Indian poetry written in recent times reveals a striking harmony of outlook. It appears as if some strong 'tradition' has penetrated the world of imagination. Yearnings of the finite for the infinite, of the self for the Great Beyond, of the aching spirit for the supreme bliss—these are some of the notes struck by poets in general, particularly after the experiments of Rabindranath Tagore. Mysticism, so it appeared, was motif of verse-creation. Indian philosophical system had acclaimed it as

nascent state in the Vedas, developed and elaborated in the Upanishads, practised and cherished by Kabir, Tukaram and Chaitanya. This kernel of the ancient truth, thought our poets, was the only hope of reconstructing the essential spirit of India's heritage.

Mysticism, as an attitude towards life, was accepted as the only living 'tradition' that could re-vitalize the drooping spirit of the Indian Muse.

India's cultural inheritance, if it means the philosophy of life which plays an important part in moulding national character, is undoubtedly to be sought in the fountain-springs of the Vedas and the Upanishads. The Atman—the unchanging constant self of man—is related in its depth to the ultimate Reality. This self of man finds the external world empty and fleeting. It is thirsting to have a vision of the Central Reality of the Universe and to express this vision in stammering, ecstatic terms.

In its orthodox working, the mystical mind is absorbed in the intuitive grasp of the metaphysical reality, to the complete exclusion of the

neurotic, self-conscious individual seeking religiously accepted symbols to hide his sex cravings.

Our middle class poets, with their sentimentalism and the desire to imitate rather than create genuinely, find an easy access to mysticism. Because they are afraid of life and its demands.

Mysticism as a tradition in our literature therefore is a hiding place that plays the writer false. It is a symbol of complete negation of life, a stubborn denial of its demands. Those who attempt to foist a mystical view of life on literature venture to dodge the inescapable influence of history on the time.

VIII

India in this century presents to our eyes the amazing phenomenon of change. Every decade that succeeds marks a break with that which has gone. This cataclysmic change is symptomatic of tension and conflict between forces in the society. In the first part of the twentieth century, the Indian society with its infant nationalism moved slowly on lines of social reforms. The middle classes and the aristocrats, the sanyasis and the philosophers—the cream of the intelligentsia—were coming into their own. Then came in the year 1920, the rude awakening of the open mass opposition to a foreign rule; the lower middle classes, students and in some cases the Indian peasantry invaded the scene of action. Integrated nationalism, bright with the glow of romanticism, expressed itself in Khadi, equality of women in the political field, removal of untouchability and prohibition campaigns. From 1920 to 1940—a short span of two decades—the organised nationalism of the Indian people suffered great changes. The peasants and workers started making the voice of the underdogs heard. People were coming slowly to the realisation that alongside the foreign exploitation there existed the indigenous one which was equally ruthless and meticulous in its methods. Swaraj which appeared to promise to the millions the dawn of a millennium, looked like the elusive will-o'-the-wisp. What worth would be India's freedom if it substituted the indigenous system of exploitation of man by man?

With the advent of the British rule the Indian society, which was predominantly rural, received the first shock of an attempt to uproot it. Imperialism worked through subtle and ingenious channels. It ruined the trade and industries and reduced the peasantry to real

serfdom by creating the novel class of rent collectors, called the Zemindars.

This class of intermediaries between the foreign rulers and the Indian peasantry learnt the methods of its creators—the methods the more insidious since they arose out of a cynical disregard of the sufferings of compatriots.

After a few decades the Indian society stood uprooted from its natural soil. The values which took colour from the rural civilisation receded far back into oblivion, yielding before the new behaviour-pattern which was the expression of gathering commercialism.

This new culture which had little of traditional value in it and still less of the strength of the spirit claimed for its ready champion a queer creation of imperialism and bourgeois social relation—the middle classes. Made to learn the English language as a compulsory subject and as the only means of gaining a foothold in society the middle classes could be a convenient tool in the hands of the foreign rulers. The old rural civilisation, whatever its failings, had its roots in the soil of the race. Its corner-stones were a certain humanness, the strength to uphold an idea in the face of greed, and a readiness to die for prestige. The precursors of the new culture brought with them a distorted view of Western institutions. Liberalism, which as a creed in politics, was in the process of fossilizing in England came to be employed as the watchword of our political philosophy. The land-holders, who were formerly bound to their peasants in a personal way saw that the grace of existence lay in the mercy of the British masters. Gradual installations of small factories in towns, and flooding of the Indian market with foreign goods left no doubt that our old conceptions and presuppositions were false and the only true motive force was the greed of money and ungrudging submission to the ideal of imitation.

The new bourgeoisie was indifferent to questions of art. Its greatest cultivation or patronage to art was when a mill-owner or the new landlord commanded a painter to make a portrait of himself or the family. But art must have a champion. Therefore, the middle classes, which somehow came to believe in their role as a connoisseur and creator of art, pitched their tent in the domain of art.

Certain obsolete traditions obstructed a full exhibition of the possibilities of the middle class. The caste system with its monstrosity, the purda with its medievalism and orthodoxy with its dogmatism were some of the targets of attack

which the middle class indulged in and decided it was revolutionary.

The individual in this class rebels against obsolete values, but he rebels to register his sovereignty over society which he somehow thinks its uncompromising enemy. And the individual, left to himself will always concern himself with his "Personality." The middle class individual must live in the land of romance. His romanticism is not the full-blooded romanticism of a Shelley or a Byron but a water-cum-romance of a sentimentalist.

He has a vision of progress, because he is possessed with a cruel hallucination that he is the vanguard of society's progress. He takes a stride or two on the path but the compromise of which he is the helpless child staggers him back to defeat. The middle class individual is neither rich nor poor. He has in most cases come from the poor class and stands on its border-line. He therefore dreads to look back to the "filth" of his birth-place, he pretends to hate it. But he is not rich either. The bourgeois would not accept him on equal terms. He makes pitiful efforts to imitate the bourgeois in his social vanity. He, in this way, strikes a balanced position between two worlds.

And when the two worlds come to the inevitable clash the middle class gropes for security. Protection to it can be made secure only in the battle-tent of the rich; and when the battle-tent seems to totter before the fury of the rabble in arms this satellite of the bourgeoisie tries to dodge the battle by resorting to camouflage.

It invents myths of racialism, mysticism, individualism and all those institutions which stand as a secure base against the force of history.

This middle class is the usual deceptive phenomenon in the social life of India. It has been so far the main class from which our poets, playwrights, novelists and critics have been drawn. These authors the class has imparted its legacy—its cant, its tendency to moralise, its sentimentalism and its decay.

Most of these authors have a typical outlook which centres on the "Home" with its four walls. The novelists and playwrights contemplate situations in an Indian home; the problems which exist for them are the problems born and bred at home. This characteristic "home outlook" of the middle class excludes possibilities of a wider view of life, embracing the dignity, the pity, the pathos of human soul marching its way to truth. Woman, the pivot of the household world, becomes the presiding deity of the writer's cult. She dominates the

poet, perplexes the novelist and amazes the playwright. Instead of looking upon her as a comrade of man, sharing his joys and sorrows with a stout heart, she becomes the dream-lady of their lives.

One must therefore be on one's guard against the doubtful role of the middle class in the cultural life of our country. Its seemingly progressive role should not blind one to its vulgarity, its imitations, its crudities and its escapes

IX

There is then the third class, the neglected and the despised—the Indian masses. Centuries of exploitation and ignorance have dug their claws on their face. Yet they are the factor who matter in the evolution of history. Though lacking cultivation of mind and expression they do not lack one thing—genuineness and sincerity. Their crudely composed folk-songs tingle with rock-bottom genuineness of feeling. Theirs is not the desire to grope for security because they stand completely on this side of the world. They cannot think of reaching far the other side because it is so awfully far and alien. So when they are aroused they simply are on the march. And once in a social mood they foster and develop qualities of comradeship, commonness and heroism. They give new tone to social consciousness, they evolve new emotional make-ups. With them arises in the offing a new set of values.

Indian masses have been aroused—and are on their feet. Life with its gruesome variations of persecutions, injustices, struggles and submissions, brutalities and pathos unrolls its pages. Those who have eyes read and understand. Those who do not, beat a retreat into a cosy corner to concentrate on form and indulge their personal whimsies. The masses symbolise the soul of man in this century struggling to free itself from shackles. This struggle is the grandeur of human spirit at grips with a de-humanizing and brutal system. Reduced to writing, it breathes revolt—revolt against canons of an art fostered by the class in power, revolt against the lies of a dying world.

The writer today must set his face towards the Indian masses. He must know that in every age the author is in a subterranean communion with the people for whom he writes. It is a centre from which he addresses his particular class of people, and it is this centre which changes with times. The raw material of his art the writer draws from life itself. Once he slips away from this centre of communication he loses contact with life. Shakespeare knew his centre, so did

John Donne and Pope and Wordsworth, Shelley and Tennyson.

This centre is indeed the main nerve-point of the developing humanity. In switching on to this point the Indian writer shall be placed amid a world which is real and solid. From here he shall view the ramparts of old civilisation going up in smoke, the incongruous interruptions of normal life by the monster of war, and the toilers and the despised pulling down in a supreme effort the prison-house of their soul. And in this view of life he shall find situations ripe for his pen, theme-tugging with heart-throb to stir his imagination. His sympathies would widen and his spirit would harmonise with the world-spirit.

And it would be in keeping with the best cultural inheritance of India if our writer can create kinship with the world, because the Indian humanity forms an essential part of the world humanity which is astir in this World War. At such a time when the old values are being cleared up and the organised creativity of peoples is finding a free expression in the Soviet Union the writer finds spiritual comfort in a comrade-like people whose ideal is the same as his own. But no amount of spiritual energy or intellectual nutrition can make our writer worth his salt unless he abandons his exclusive obsessions with a narrow and private life and merges himself into the life of the people. His conversion can never be real until he ceases to treat literature as a decoration.

This process of mental transformation is attended with pain and our writer would experience it all the more. In his case the giving up of old cherished ideals and conceptions would be an agonizing experience, because our writer has so far treated literature as a beautiful Ivory Tower to which he could retire when life threatened to be ugly and bewildering. But he has to treat literature as a Watch Tower. His task is that of a critic and painter of life.

He is the individual conscious of his relation to society. Unlike the escapist he sets before

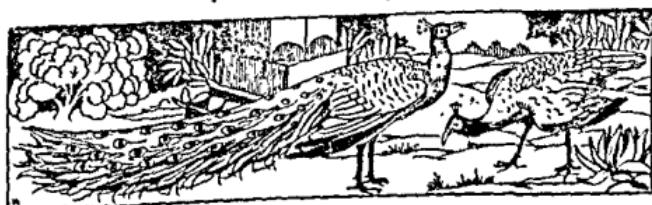
himself and the society the ideal which must be reached. An individual without a consciousness of the aim of the historical evolution of society becomes indeed a self-centred wreck. Our writer, because he is aware of this aim, alone can judge, criticise and interpret the flow of life. If the dominant aspect of the life of his time shows signs of an aberration from this ideal he slashes out, if it tries to walk the ether above the din of battle he mocks at the flight. But in no case would he weave a romantic web out of the suffering of his people. He has none of the middle class sentimentality, none of the bourgeoisie's nice rose-bud, lotus-leaf sensibility. In the civilisation where the market determines values and wickedness gives its dominating hue to life our writer is in the other camp which seeks to end this sordid state of affairs.

And it would not be expecting too much of our writer if he could possess an insight into the social process. In the days when history has ceased to be a chronicle of events, battles and kings and passed into the domain of science, and the forces that have been topsy-turvy the plans of peace arrange themselves into two opposite camps the writer must choose his place. Whether he is for reaction or progress let him know that he cannot play with history. He cannot adopt the quaint attitude of benevolent neutrality because the forces are too strong for the fence. W. H. Auden writes :

In the houses
The little pianos are closed,
And a clock strikes.
And all sway forward on the dangerous flood
Of history, that never sleeps or dies,
And, held one moment, burns the hand.

But before the writer can tune himself to the new note his old world with its myths, its romantic escapes, its decadence and its individualistic aimlessness must die, because this old world is powerless to give spiritual sustenance to his artistic instincts. It must be borne away on the dangerous flood of history.'

(Concluded)



SIKHISM AND BENGAL VAISHNAVISM

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GURU Nanak was a contemporary of Chaitanya, the great founder of Bengal Vaishnavism, and there is some evidence to show that they met at Puri.¹ Both of them played a decisive part in shaping the religious Reformation which swept over medieval India. Both of them formulated their teachings against the background of Islamic influence on Hindu religion and culture.² There are superficial resemblances between the doctrines taught by them. For instance, Krishnadas Kaviraj, whose great work³ is an authoritative biography of Chaitanya as well as a standard exposition of Bengal Vaishnavism, observes: "If a creature adores Krishna and serves his Guru, he is released from the meshes of illusion and attains to Krishna's feet" (i.e., salvation) Again: "Leaving these (i.e., temptations) and the religious systems based on caste, (the true Vaishnava) helplessly takes refuge with Krishna."⁴ Adoration of God and devotion to Guru are the leading features of Sikhism as well. But there are differences—and vital differences—between Sikhism and Bengal Vaishnavism which the historian of medieval India cannot afford to ignore.

Even a casual observer must be struck with the close affinity existing between ancient Hinduism and Bengal Vaishnavism; the breach between ancient Hinduism and Sikhism was certainly wider. While Guru Nanak's scanty references to the Hindu scriptures seem to show that he was "only superficially acquainted with the Vedic and Puranic literature,"⁵ the literature of Bengal Vaishnavism is thoroughly permeated with the Vedic and Puranic spirit and imagery. The *Srimad Bhagvat* is the universally accepted primary scripture of Bengal Vaishnavism. Sikhism is not at all dependent on any ancient Hindu text. Although Bengal Vaishnavism imparted at least as great an impetus to the development of Vernacular literature in Bengal as Sikhism did in the Punjab, yet many standard works on Bengal Vaishnavism, including a dramatic bio-

graphy of Chaitanya,⁶ were written in Sanskrit. The *Chaitanya-Charitamrita* of Krishnadas Kaviraj is written in Bengali, but it is interspersed with Sanskrit *slokas* quoted from the *Srimad Bhagvat*, *Gita*, and other works. The most authentic philosophical exposition of *Rasa-sastra* is to be found in the difficult Sanskrit works written by the three revered Gurus—Rup, Sanatan⁷ and Jiv. Indeed, the Vaishnavas of Bengal did not try to dislodge Sanskrit from the position of the sacred language of the Hindus, although they composed poetical works and lyrics—all of them religious in character—in the Bengali language.

The antecedents of the founder and exponents of Bengal Vaishnavism explain this curious devotion of an essentially popular religion to the language and philosophy of ancient Hinduism. Unlike Guru Nanak, who cannot be described as a learned man in the ordinary sense of that word, Chaitanya was a profound scholar. His proficiency in Grammar and Logic exerted the wonder of Navadvip, one of the greatest centres of Sanskrit learning in those days. He set up as a teacher in his early youth. Unlike Guru Nanak, who came from the lower stratum of Hindu society, Chaitanya was a Brahmin. The environments in which they lived were radically different. Nanak passed his impressionable years in rural areas subject to predominantly Islamic influence, but Chaitanya grew up in a centre of orthodox learning. Naturally their outlook on life and religion was different. Chaitanya quoted Sanskrit *slokas* when he was in ecstasy; he loved to reside at Puri, a sacred place of pilgrimage for the orthodox Hindus. His religion was rooted deeply in the past. His followers did nothing to introduce a new departure. Men like Rup, Sanatan and Krishnadas Kaviraj were deeply versed in ancient learning; the successors of Guru Nanak were not at all inclined to master or make use of the Hindu scriptures.

The entire dependence of Sikhism on the vernacular, to the total exclusion of Sanskrit, had two important consequences. Centuries of tradition had familiarised the Hindus with Vedic and Puranic stories and ideas, and a religion which was based on the total denial of the

1. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Calcutta session, 1939, pp. 762-763.

2. Dr. Tarachand thinks that both Nanak and Chaitanya were deeply indebted to Islam. See *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, pp. 176-177, 218-219. The present writer believes that his view requires modification.

3. *Chaitanya-Charitamrita*.

4. Sir J. N. Sarkar, *Chaitanya*, pp. 278, 281.

5. Tarachand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, pp. 176-177.

6. *Chaitanya-Chandrodaya*.

7. Dr. Tarachand (*Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, p. 219) erroneously says that Rup and Sanatan were Muslims.

validity of these stories and ideas appeared to them in the light of a strange and alien novelty. Vaishnavism in Bengal did not in this respect involve a breach with the past. Throughout the orthodox section of the Hindu society Krishna was regarded as a deity to be worshipped. The emphasis on the idea (derived from the *Srimad Bhagavat*⁸) that Krishna was God (not a mere incarnation of God) was not in itself enough to create a gulf between orthodoxy and Reformation. In explaining and justifying their religious position the Vaishnavas took shelter behind some of the *sastras* which the orthodox Hindus revered (for example, *Gita*, *Srimad Bhagavat*, etc.) and utilised the language which the latter regarded as sacred. One of the inevitable effects of this difference between Sikhism and Bengal Vaishnavism was that, while the former made slow progress among a comparatively uneducated and socially inferior population, the latter appealed to high and low alike, to the learned as well as the illiterate. The converts to Sikhism belonged mainly to the agricultural class, deprived of the blessings of learning by the social and religious conventions of those days, quite unfamiliar with the *sastras* and infinitely less open to their influence.⁹ They easily appreciated a religion which improved their social position and promised salvation through simple devotion and service. But the higher classes, more educated, more familiar with Vedic and Puranic ideas, were conscious that Sikhism represented a definite breach with the past. Naturally they were not as anxious as the agricultural classes to get rid of traditions and conventions. Vaishnavism certainly presented this dilemma to the high castes and educated Hindus of Bengal, but in far less acute a degree. While the Brahmins of the Punjab could not embrace Sikhism without cutting themselves adrift from the century-old moorings of their society, the Brahmins of Bengal could with less difficulty transfer their allegiance to a reformed faith ostensibly based on ancient and venerated scriptures.

Another effect of the exclusive employment of the vernacular as the sole medium of religious worship was that Sikhism could not spread beyond the area in which that language was understood. Although there were isolated Sikh *sangats* in places far away from the Punjab (in Patna, Dhubri, Dacca and Nander, for

instance),¹⁰ it must be recognised that Sikhism has all along been a provincial religion. Bengal Vaishnavism, on the other hand, powerfully affected other provinces like Orissa and Assam; its message spread in Southern and Western India, and its centre was a place outside Bengal—Brindaban. This difference between the two reformed faiths may have been partly due to linguistic grounds. The philosophy of Bengal Vaishnavism was expounded by Rup, Sanatan and Jiv Goswami in Sanskrit, a language understood all over India. There was, thus, no linguistic barrier to the spread of Vaishnavism. Sikhism, on the other hand, was expounded verbally by the Gurus in a language which was not understood beyond the frontiers of the Punjab. Of the ten Gurus, only Nanak, Tegh Bahadur and Govind Singh travelled extensively outside the Punjab. It is difficult to ascertain how many converts they made beyond the homeland of Sikhism. Their number could not have been large, and they, or their descendants, must have found it difficult to maintain a living contact with their new faith. For about a century after its birth Sikhism had no scripture, no authoritative work in which the faithful could find the solution of his spiritual doubts and the satisfaction of his spiritual cravings. The compilation of the *Granth Sahib* did not solve this vital problem. How could a non-Punjabi Sikh living at Dhubri or at Dacca or at Nander understand the holy book? A Sikh merchant might be his neighbour, but all Sikhs were not competent to explain the scripture. No such difficulty was experienced by a Tamil or Assamese or Rajput Vaishnava who was personally ignorant of Sanskrit, for Sanskrit-knowing *pandits* were then available in every Indian village.

It must be recognised that the very confinement within the limits of the Punjab gave Sikhism a compactness and solidarity which Bengal Vaishnavism could never attain due probably to its wide distribution in different provinces. Living within the boundaries of one single province, speaking the same language, familiar with the same political, economic and social conditions, the Sikhs lived as fellow members of a common society, united by religious and social ties which became stronger and stronger with the lapse of time. There was no such geographical, political, economic or social unity within Vaishnavism; the bond of a common

8. I. 3. 28. Cf. *Chaitanya-Charitamrita*, *Adi Lila*,

Chap. II.

9. Only 9 p.c. of the Khatris belong to the Sikh religion. See I. Banerjee, *Evolution of the Khalsa*, Vol. I, pp. 20-21.

10. The establishment of these isolated centres of Sikh worship may be attributed tentatively to the Sikh merchants trading in different parts of India.

aith was there but it was not strong enough to transcend all barriers.

Two important factors strengthened this initial solidarity of Sikhism. In the first place, Guru Nanak took a revolutionary measure when he selected Angad as his successor. The idea of Guruship was familiar in ancient and medieval India, but no other reformed faith transformed it into a living institution. Kabir's death was followed by the disintegration of his *panth* and the growth of twelve different schools, each with its own spiritual teacher. Chaitanya did not nominate any successor to guide his sect after his death. The result was that Vaishnavism could not organise itself under the shelter and inspiration of any central authority. His companions filled up the gap for some time, but their death was followed by the inevitable relaxation of rules and disintegration of organisation. Sikhism escaped a similar fate because its founder was wise enough to nominate a successor. The Gurus constituted the much-needed central authority which provided cohesion and ensured unity. When Guru Govind transferred the leadership to the Khalsa, disintegration was averted by the long course of training and discipline through which the Sikhs had passed during the last two centuries.

Guru Arjan's gifts as an organiser are well-known. The compilation of the *Granth Sahib* was perhaps his greatest contribution to the solidarity of Sikhism. The *masand* system, a unifying factor in his days, became a disintegrating factor under his successor, and in the interest of unity it had to be abolished. But the *Granth Sahib* became, and remains to this day, the symbol and embodiment of Sikh unity. Guru Govind clearly recognised its historical position when he vested it with the joint leadership of the Sikh. The *Granth Sahib* became the Quran of Sikhism, but, fortunately for the Sikhs, conflicting commentaries did not obscure its meaning, as they did in the case of the holy book of Islam. Bengal Vaishnavism did not provide its votaries with an authoritative scripture like the *Granth Sahib*. The *Srimad Bhagvat*, differently interpreted by conflicting commentaries, written against a background which had long ago lost touch with historical reality, speaking through a language which was a mystery to millions of Vaishnavas, inspired by a difficult philosophical idealism beyond their understanding—such a book could not fill up in the Vaishnava society the place accorded to the *Granth Sahib* by the Sikhs.

One far-reaching result of the growing solidarity of the Sikhs was the gradual elimina-

tion of the caste system. There is enough evidence to show that Guru Nanak did not abolish the caste system.¹¹ Sikh tradition shows that it survived in some form or other till the inauguration of the Khalsa by Guru Govind.¹² Sikhism provided a natural solution of the social and religious problems created by the caste system: the gradual relaxation of its rigidity culminated in its total abolition. In the days of the early Gurus the Sikhs hesitated to uproot the system which had so long been recognised by the Hindus as the only possible standard of social life. Gradually they perceived their alienation from the Hindu society. Different castes began to take food on a footing of equality from the Guru's Kitchen and even to intermarry. Islam provided the example of a caste-less society. By the time of Guru Govind the process of evolution was complete, and Sikhism got rid of caste.

Bengal Vaishnavism began with a programme similar to that of Guru Nanak, but the culmination was different. Bipin Chandra Pal says:

"The Movement of Shree Chaitanya helped . . . very largely to emancipate the so-called lower classes or castes of Bengal Hindus from the many social disabilities under which they had been living in the old Brahminical society. Shree Chaitanya Mahaprabhu tried to abolish the current caste exclusiveness of Brahminical Hinduism. He accepted many a qualified non-Brahmin, even of the so-called untouchable caste, . . . into the ministry of his new congregation. These people became the *gurus* or spiritual leaders or preceptors of the new community, taking equal place with the hereditary Brahmans, who joined the new Movement."¹³

With a view 'to create a new and reformed community, freed from the trammels of the old and medieval Hindu society, particularly the bondage of Brahminical laws and customs,' Chaitanya and his associates simplified the ancient laws and customs regarding important ceremonies like marriage, *sradh*, etc. The worship of numerous gods and goddesses was abjured, although the importance of toleration was clearly recognised. Unfortunately, however, this promising movement was confronted with unbreakable orthodoxy within its own fold. B. C. Pal says that

"Converts to Shree Chaitanya's Vaishnava cult belonging to the higher castes of Hindus, the Brahmans, the Vaidyas and the Kayasthas, could not sacrifice their social position to the demands of the

11. I. Banerjee, *Evolution of the Khalsa*, Vol. I, Appendix A.

12. In 1783 Forster (*A Journey from Bengal to England*, p. 236), noted that "the Sikhs formed matrimonial connections only in their respective tribes".

13. *Bengal Vaishnavism*, p. 119

new culture. All that they did was, therefore, only to adopt the so-called spiritual laws of it, namely, to accept their initiation at the hands of the Vaishnava gurus, and pursue the spiritual and subjective disciplines of the new culture, while continuing to observe the general laws of Hindu society in regard to social and sacerdotal affairs. The new community of Vaishnavas in Bengal was thus divided almost from the very beginning into two sections, one consisting of those who were obedient to the laws of Chaitanya, and the other, though initiated in the worship of Shree Krishna, continuing in their loyalty to the old Brahminical laws¹¹. The former, "to whatever caste they might originally belong, were gradually condemned to a very low social position on account of their Bohemian ways, particularly in the matter of marriage".

This triumph of Hindu orthodoxy virtually killed the spirit of the social message of Bengal Vaishnavism.

Closely connected with the question of caste is the traditional classification of worshippers according to the qualifications of the worshipper (*adhikāri-bheda*). The Vaishnava attitude towards the caste system was incompatible with the recognition of that classification. A religion which recognised different methods of worship (like *jñāna-mārga*, *bhakti-mārga* etc.) and emphasized the validity of rituals could not place all men and women in the same category, but, according to the Vaishnavas, the highest and purest worship of the Lord consisted in the repetition of His holy name.

"This required no rituals, no offerings of flowers or leaves or edibles to the Deity, or the services of the Brahmins. Whoever took the name of the Lord became purified by that one single act and was qualified to worship the Lord. In this way the Bengal Vaishnava cult . . . granted the highest religious franchise hitherto enjoyed by the Brahmins only to all men and women, irrespective of all considerations of birth, parentage and social status".

In this respect Sikhism is in complete accord with Bengal Vaishnavism.

The only direct evidence revealing any intimate relation between Sikhism and Bengal Vaishnavism is the inclusion of two hymns¹² attributed to Jaidev, the celebrated author of the *Gita-Govinda*, in the *Granth Sahib*. Macauliffe says:

"Notwithstanding the lusciousness and sensuous beauty of several parts of the *Gita-Govinda*, there can be no doubt that Jaidev intended the poem as an elaborate religious allegory. This, too, is insisted on by the author of the *Bhagat Mal*, who states that the love scenes and rhetorical graces of the poet are not

to be understood in the sense that persons of evil minds and dispositions attach to them".

It may be safely said that Guru Arjan's selection of Jaidev as one of the *Bhagats* of the *Granth Sahib* was due to the long tradition which regarded the *Gita-Govinda* "not so much as a poetical composition of great beauty as an authoritative religious text, illustrating the refined subtleties of Vaishnava theology and *Rasa-Sastra*".¹³

The fame of this great poem "has never been confined within the limits of Bengal. It has claimed more than forty commentators from different provinces and more than a dozen imitations; it has been cited extensively in the anthologies . . .".¹⁴

The legends incorporated in the *Bhaktamala*, some of which are echoed by Macauliffe,¹⁵ show in what light Jaidev was glorified in the eyes of the later Vaishnavas. This glorification is dimly reflected in the homage paid to him by Guru Arjan.

It is curious, however, to note that the two hymns included in the *Granth Sahib* have nothing Vaishnавic about them. The first hymn is devoted to the praise of God in general terms. The name 'Krishna' is not used; there is no allusion to Radha. The second hymn, says Macauliffe,¹⁶ "is given to illustrate the practice of *yog*." It contains the sentence: "I have become blended with God as water with water." This identification of self with *Brahman* is a leading feature of Sankara's Advaita philosophy; it is quite alien to the *Rasa-Sastra* expounded by the Vaishnava Gosvamis of Bengal.

Macauliffe says:

"The Hindu Bhagats (of the *Granth Sahib*) for the most part began life as worshippers of idols, but by study and contemplation arrived at a system of monotheism which was appreciated by Guru Arjan".¹⁷

He adds that, Mira Bai's hymns¹⁸ were

18. Vol. VI, p. 10.

19. The following remarks of Dr. S. K. De deserve careful consideration: "It should not be forgotten that Jayadeva flourished at least three centuries before the promulgation of the *Rasa-Sastra* of Rupa Gosvamin. . . As a poet of undoubtedly gifts, it could not have been his concern to compose a religious treatise according to any particularly Vaishnava dogmas . . ." (*History of Bengal*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, Vol. I, pp. 369-370).

20. S. K. De, in *History of Bengal*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, Vol. I, pp. 367-368.

21. Vol. VI, pp. 8-12.

22. Vol. VI, p. 1.

23. "A hymn of Mira Bai is preserved in the *Granth Sahib* of Bhai Banno, which can be seen at Mangat in the Gujarat district . . ." This hymn is peculiarly Vaishnavie in tone and terminology. See Macauliffe, Vol. VI, pp. 342-356.

11. *Bengal Vaishnavism*, pp. 122-123.

15. B. C. Pal, *Bengal Vaishnavism*, pp. 123-124.

16. B. C. Pal, *Bengal Vaishnavism*, p. 129.

17. Macauliffe, Vol. VI, pp. 15-17.

excluded from the collection "because the lady respect the Sikh creed is identical with Islam lived and died an idolater."²⁴ There is no reason and Christianity. But the Krishna (or the to believe that Jaidev had ever 'arrived at a ultimate Reality) of the Vaishnavas is not system of monotheism.' An ornament of the *nirākāra* (without a form); Chaitanya described orthodox Sena Court, he must have 'lived and Him as *chidākāra* (possessing a spiritual body). died an idolater.' It is, therefore, difficult to Bipin Chandra Pal explains the Vaishnava account for the preference shown to him by standpunkt in the following words :

"... In every . . . system, whether Hindu Vaishnav or Shava or Christian or Islam or Judeic, which accepts the worship of the Lord as an eternal duty we must concede to the Lord some notes or marks of differentiation from His worshipper. Bengal Vaishnavism declares that these notes or marks, or, in a word, this 'form' of the Lord, is not material but spiritual. The Lord, therefore, is not without form but has a spiritual form of His own. The Lord is not without body but has a spiritual body."²⁵

In conclusion, it may be observed that there is a vital difference between the monotheism of the Sikhs and the monotheism of the Vaishnavas. According to Sikhism, God has no form. In this

Very few worshippers could conceive of this spiritual body. The natural result was the practical recognition of image worship by the vast majority of the Vaishnavas

24. Vol. VI, p. 1.

25. *Bengal Vaishnavism*, p. 26.

BALANCED REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

By V. R. K. TILAK, M.A.

MUCH emphasis is generally laid on a comprehensive policy of industrial development for India as a whole, but, Regional planning has not received the attention it deserves. Regional problems thrust upon the attention of the nation especially when there is the pressure of economic distress and unbalance in various parts of the country. Whether India is considered to be one of the industrially advanced nations as per the estimate of the League of Nations, or whether she is industrially backward according to the notions of some nationalists, there is no dispute that there is ill-balanced industrial progress among the different provinces. We find that in some provinces and states, industries are developed and localised, while certain other parts of the country are left in a backward condition with little or no industrial progress. If the former regions enjoy the advantages of specialisation, with no drawbacks, the problem simply resolves itself to the development of the latter. But this is not the case. Side by side with the advantages of specialisation, there are obvious disadvantages. Hence the problem is not merely one of developing

backward areas, but also of decentralising a part of industry where it is unduly concentrated. Of course, the problem of decentralisation does not assume so much importance in India as in countries like Great Britain, where, in the words of the Economic Adviser to the Federation of British Industries, "the primary reconstruction problem will not be so much one of choosing the regions in which new industries are to be established, as of selecting those in which over-expanded industries are to be contracted."¹

Turning to the actual problem in India, the evil effects of localisation should be minimised on the one hand, and the development of backward areas should be undertaken on the other. We find certain industries are localised in certain parts of the country, for reasons, economic, natural or geographical, though the degree of localisation has not reached such heights as in the West. That the cotton industry is localised at Bombay, Jute and Paper in Bengal, Sugar in U. P., Iron and Steel and Coal in Bihar is revealed by the following table, where the figures

1. *The Economist*, Feb. 27, 1943.

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

WARNING TO THE WEST: By Krishnarani. Published by Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York and International Book House Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 189. Rs. 4-14.

The author who has already achieved a reputation by his doctor's thesis on Ahimsa which, after necessary additions and alterations was published simultaneously in England and the United States under the title of "War without Violence" and who subsequently wrote "My India, My America" is a follower of Mahatma Gandhi and a believer in the technique evolved by him for securing political, economic and social justice.

Dr. Sridharani shows how the racialism of the West and its economic exploitation and political domination of the East, have combined to make Asiatics restive. The prestige of the West, the most important factor in maintaining its supremacy has been gradually undermined from the days of the Russo-Japanese war, the final blow being administered at Singapore.

The author has made a close and faithful analysis of the psychological factors responsible for the disappearance of the old meekness and has not hesitated to show up the blunders committed by the Western nations in their dealings with the East. Believing as he does that unless there is a radical change in the Western attitude, a conflict between the East and the West is inevitable, Dr. Sridharani pleads for a change of heart.

His remarks on a possible Asiatic federation which appears in the fifth part as well as those on the Cripps offer and the Congress demand for independence are worth careful study.

A brightly written book, full of new ideas and characterised by the utmost frankness, it ought to be welcomed by all Asiatics including Indians as well as by Europeans desirous of familiarising themselves with the Eastern point of view.

H. C. MONKMANE

THERE LAY THE CITY: By D. F. Karaká. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay, 1942. Pp. 269.

Mr. Karaká generally succeeds in reproducing the environment of the West, even if he cries it down. In this novel he allows us a glimpse of the West in the management of Maxine in Bombay. Maxine with his longing for Bangalore and America comes out in the end as a romantic type, endowed with a certain generosity, if not heroism, in the composition of his character. The novel centres round the lives of the "hero", the narrator who presents himself as an Oxonian

and a man of the world, and a dancing girl Judy or "Dee", a creature simple and coy, yet surrounded by an atmosphere of mystery and melancholy. The author's facile pen has sketched for Judy a charming character unspoilt by any provoking progressiveness. Chance brought the two together, the "hero" and "Dee", and how they felt differently in war-time, how self-love tried to meet meek simplicity half-way, how the gulf between them widened and how tragedy in all its finitude overtook them—the reader will find out for himself. Others who came and went through their lives, not very conspicuous yet, contributing to the sense of futility which pervades the lives of Judy and her "Nineteen hundred"—Sir Udal Roice, the Khoja Lady and the doctor Felix D'Souza—have placed the novel in a richer setting.

And there, in the background, lay the city of Bombay, calm and unruffled, with its diverse and ever-changing crowd, promenades, dining-halls and hotels.

Some may venture to suggest that here is something too sensuous and morbid, and yet—who can arrest that it has not struck the right note regarding the "high society" of the present-day world?

P. R. SEN

THE PAKISTAN ISSUE: Edited by Nazir Dr. Nazir Yar Jung, with a foreword by Dr. Sayyid Abdul Latif. Pp. xxvi + 100. S. H. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore. Price Rs. 3-12.

This is a very useful collection of the correspondence between Dr. Sayyid Abdul Latif and Mr. Jinnah on the one hand, and between him and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the other, and connected papers on the subject of Pakistan, edited by Nawab Dr. Nazir Yar Jung, a retired Judge of the Hyderabad (Deccan) High Court with a foreword by Dr. Latif himself. The foreword written by Dr. Latif, one of the sponsors of the Pakistan issue and the prefatory note by Dr. Yar Jung are highly interesting. No student of Indian politics, especially Hindus, can do without this very useful collection.

"The provincial port of the Constitution Act of 1835 had just been inaugurated, giving the Congress a decided position of vantage in greater part of the country. The Muslim League had, as a reaction to this, to reorganize itself. But it had no specific goal before it. The utmost that it could think of was to fit into the Congress goal and programme on the basis of cultural safeguards for Muslims. But what those safeguards should be, no responsible Muslim leader could state! Indeed the Congress President, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, was bluntly asking the Muslims what the Muslim culture itself was and where was it



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to be found in India" (p. xx). The answer slowly came in a hazily Pan-Islamic form, first in Dr. Latif's *Cultural Future of India*; later in *Muslim Problem in India* and the Pakistan idea of several types.

How near the Congress came to the idea of accepting the Pakistan idea will be clear from the following quotation from Yar Jung's prefatory note. Dr. Latif "met Mr. Gandhi and the leading members of the Congress Working Committee in Bombay in the first week of August 1942. The resolution of the Congress passed in Bombay on 8th August, 1942 and the correspondence dated the 6th August between Dr. Latif and the Congress President Maulana Azad and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru marked a historical stage in the Congress reaction to the substance of Pakistan proposal. The Congress at this stage agreed to :

1. The largest measure of autonomy to federating units.
2. Residuary powers to units.
3. The right of secession to units.

All these argued sovereign status to units including Pakistan states. It was intended by the Congress leaders to open negotiations on this basis, but their arrest on the 9th August 1942 came in the way. Had negotiations opened, Dr. Latif expected that the only outstanding item in his plan of compromise, viz., the provision of a centre agreeable to the Muslims, would be settled to the satisfaction of the Muslim League.

The Congress, be it noted had now gone a long way to placate the Muslim League; and every one expected that Mr. Jinnah would, at least at this stage, take a long view of things and see in what manner the several points conceded by the Congress constituted an agreeable substitute for his 'Pakistan in isolation.' On the other hand, he tried to belittle Dr. Latif's services and to disregard the Congress advances."

Whatever the differences between the Muslim League and Dr. Latif "the basic principles are the same", to quote the opinion of Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, a prominent light of the League.

Even now Dr. Latif is not hopeless of persuading the Congress to agree to a centre agreeable to the Muslim League. Says he "The Congress has not so far defined the centre. Let that be done by the League. Indeed, it is for the League to say what would satisfy it and on the basis of which a settlement might be reached."

"Who knows that the Congress, when out of jail, will not agree to a centre agreeable to the Pakistanis in their mad anxiety to present a united front before the United Nations? Herein lies the real danger to the Hindu India."

The book, considering its nice get-up and printing, is rather cheap at Rs. 3-12 in these days of high price; and we must congratulate the publishers

J. M. Datta

FAMINE OVER BENGAL: By T. G. Narayan, Published by the Book Co., Ltd., College Sq., Calcutta. Price Rs. 3-4.

Of all the books so far published on the Bengal Famine, the present one is decidedly the best. Mr. Narayan has been in Bengal almost continuously since 1940, and during the famine he made a 1500 mile tour of the worst affected districts. His study, although at points passionate and emotional, is on the whole based on facts and gives a correct picture of that preventable calamity. The book is divided into two parts—the first half gives a history of the famine and in the second one he narrates his experience. He has unspareingly criticised both the Hug and Nazimuddin Ministries basing his criticism on the utterances of the

Ministers themselves. He says, "The Nazimuddin Ministry, like the previous Ministry, lacked the courage to put down profiteering and corruption. It did not possess any more collective intelligence. It did not have more support in the country than the previous Ministry had. It depended for its existence on the support of the administration and the European group more than any other previous Ministry in Bengal. And guided in its policy by the administrations in Bengal and in New Delhi it made the fundamental mistake of assuming there were enough stocks of rice in the province till the next harvest should come in." Mr. Narayan rightly concludes, "No intelligent Ministry should have accepted office after the Fazlul Huq Ministry was thrown out, and provided scapegoats for the bureaucracy in New Delhi and London and an argument against the fitness of Indians to govern themselves." To arrive at the conclusion, he has provided sufficient facts which invite the attention of serious students.

A very reassuring feature of the book is that the author has taken a straightforward view of things. In the chapter "Notes of Warning" he has made no mention of the *Statesman* and has thus maintained himself above the popular ideas about this paper's contribution. An intensive campaign has led to a belief that the *Statesman* had done immense service to Bengal during the famine. A careful perusal of the pamphlet *Maladministration in Bengal*, which is a collection of the editorials and famine pictures published by this paper, would convince anybody that if there has been any political utilisation on the famine it was done by the *Statesman* on behalf of the European party with the object of stabilising the present Ministry which owes its existence to European votes. The balance of power politics made it imperative that the Huq Ministry independent of European votes must vacate in favour of a reactionary set dependent on Europeans. Criticism against the Huq Ministry was encouraged but that against the succeeding one, even after a series of failures in their primary duties, was dubbed "low level politics" by this very paper. Mr. Narayan has ignored *Statesman's* role, but would have done better if he had criticised it in its true perspective.

We have no hesitation in recommending this little book to all who desire to get a balanced, accurate and compact history of the Bengal famine.

D. BERNAN.

BEHIND THE MUD WALLS: By Freda Bedi
The Unity Publishers, Lahore. 1944. Pp. 173+xx.
Price Rs. 5.

Freda Bedi is an English lady who now belongs to India by marriage. In this collection of about twenty essays written at different times she narrates some of the reminiscences for her tumultuous life in India as the wife of a political worker, as mother, a writer, a college professor and a political convict. Mrs. Bedi has adopted India as her own country and its people as her people sharing all their joys and humiliations, struggles and sacrifices, not as a tame Indian housewife following her husband on the traditional path, but with an understanding and courage that only true love can give. The process of her assimilating India or vice versa could not be better described than by her own words in the preface: "Not that these few pages are any estimate of what India means to me. My feelings here are but a tattered fragment of the rich clothes she has clothed me in. She has borrowed me with her fostering poverty, her dirt and her despair, and I have become a unit of the ragged army that fights against it. She has

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KALNA, BENGAL.

projected me into her many-layered past, and recreated me a dozen times in the guise of her many cultures."

The authoress has recorded her reactions to unfamiliar environments with utmost sincerity and without reserve. Her appreciation of the variegated texture of urban and rural life in India is spontaneous, warm and colourful. The folk tales and the folk songs of the Punjab and Kashmir valleys interest her as much as the historical personages that have left their indelible mark on the art and architecture of North-West India. As a product of two cultures and as a citizen of two worlds, she sometimes finds herself in baffling contradictions and seems resigned to Fate, but always comes back "to live a unity that overcomes words." After going through the precious leaves of this personal narrative, the reader can hardly escape the feeling that scores of Miss Mayas do not matter so long as there is one Freda Bedi to interpret India which continues to live "behind the mud walls."

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

KASTURBA GANDHI: Edited by Rezaul Karim, M.A., B.L., Published by Messrs. Chakravarty, Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., 15, Bankim Chatterjee St., Calcutta, Pages 64. Price Re. 1-8.

Mr. Karim in this small volume has collected almost all that have been written about this great woman of India. Kasturba was mother to the people of India and her death in detention has sent a gloom and sense of humiliation throughout the length and breadth of this country. Gandhiji has lost in her a life's partner who stood by him on all occasions without any doubt or demur. Such a life will ever be a source of inspiration to Indian womanhood. A chronology has been added to this book which gives all important events from 1869—year of Kasturba's birth to Feb. '41 when the great soul passed away.

Although several books have already been published on the life of Kasturba Gandhi, this small volume is a welcome addition because of special treatment of the subject by the author.

A. B. DUTTA

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sible to the world of scholars the valuable works enshrined in the State Library which seems to have been reorganized under the name Anup Sanskrit Library.

The first work to be published in the series is an interesting treatise on Sanskrit poetics, dealing primarily with Sringararasa, and incidentally with other rasas and kindred matters. The chief interest of the work lies in the fact that it is one of the many works composed at the instance of Akbar, the greatest of the Muhammadan patrons of Sanskrit learning. The edition is based on two manuscripts readings from which are noticed separately in two different places. In a separate section again the emendations suggested by the editor are noted while those suggested by Dr. C Kunhan Raja are incorporated in the Notes contributed by him. It would however have much facilitated the work of reference if all matters concerning textual criticism could be brought together in one place. The introduction gives an account of the author and his works incidentally referring to the Sringara-Sanjivini, a collection of erotic verses, the text of which has been published in the form of an appendix.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRIVARTI

BENGALI

BANKASROT By Sunnatha Nath Ghose. Mitra-laya, Calcutta. Pp 822. Price Rs. 3.

This is the story of a precocious and proud youth who lost his parents quite early in life and was transplanted from the warm and congenial environments of his Calcutta home to the rather dismal setting of his uncle's house in a Howrah village. The main interest of the story is psychological, as behind the shifting scenes and tortuous course of Aloke's life the author emphasizes the mysterious working of his subconscious mind. The tragedy of human passions is implicit in this Freudian drama of repressed emotions. Reader's interest in the story is pleasantly kept alive by the inscrutable ways, depicted by the author, in which the human psyche reacts to familiar as well as strange situations. The thrills and heartaches of juvenile friendship and first love, of confident self-esteem and frustrated ambitions have been admirably woven into the fabric of this delightful story. There are, however, strains here and there on the otherwise entertaining portrayal of some characters, due probably to the author's temptation to overstress a psycho-analytical point. The jealousy-complex of the aunt, for instance, has been probably a little overdone, and it certainly admitted of a more subtle treatment. On the whole, the author has produced a readable book and an interesting story, which will be appreciated by all discerning readers.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

HINDI

VANDEMATAARAM : By V. S. Sukhthanker.
Published by Sahayogi Prakashan, Hirabagh, Girgaon,
Bombay. Price Rs. 2.

The book under review contains the Hindi-rendering of three short stories titled *Nadi-ki-Bah*, *Tamrapatra* and *Vandemataaram*, originally written in Marathi by the author. *Nadi-ki-Bah* is a glaring example of the type of communal harmony that has come to stay amongst neighbours of different castes and creeds in the remotest parts of India. *Tamrapatra* throws a flood of light on the traditional relationship of the landlords and the peasantry. *Vandemataaram*, which characterises the friendship of two "wanted terrorists" with a girl of seven is very touching, though devoid of any newness or freshness. At places, the author has been unnecessarily lengthy, which reveals a lack of precision and craftsmanship in the art of story-telling.

M. S. SENGAR

MALAYALAM

KALI WORSHIP IN KERALA : By Dr. C. Achyuta Menon, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Madras University, Malayalam Series No. 8. Rvo. Volume I consisting of Part I, pp. vi & 1-34; Part II, pp. 1-221. Illustrated. 1943. Price Rs. 6.

The book is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable publications in recent years in the Malayalam language. Its compilation required several years of patient research and the result is now presented under the title *Kali Worship in Kerala*.

Dr. Menon has discussed in Part I of the book the cult of Kali from the cultural standpoint in its various aspects, such as the evolution of the Kali temple, the influence of the cult on the political evolution of Kerala and its martial traditions, its primitive outlook, Aryan influence on the indigenous cult, different conceptions of the Mother and the ritualistic literature developed out of the cult. In Part II he has given various specimens of songs for the rituals, including *Badrilpatti-kilippattu* of which the theme is the birth of Kali and the death of the demon Daruka.

There is hardly a Hindu community, or a village in Kerala, that does not worship Kali in one form or other, or possess a shrine dedicated to the Mother Goddess. Though the cult has been found to be universal, most of its ritualistic and mystic aspects are known only to a privileged few who will never share them with others even for life. This mysterious veneration extends also to the musical and poetical literature that has grown over the cult and has consequently given a set-back to the enthusiasm of many a scholar for years. As a result the worship of Kali remains, excepting with the initiated a time-honoured custom inherited from father to son, or blind adoration to a deity without realising the significance of the worship itself. To remedy this defect, and more so, to unravel the skein of mystery surrounding the deity, Dr. Menon has compiled this book on Kali worship from a study of all available evidence, including a palm-leaf manuscript and an incomplete printed version of *Darukavandham Kalampatti* belonging to the British Museum. There is nobody more competent than the author to write on this fascinating topic and in its delineation he has evinced scholarship coupled with insight, sympathy and understanding. He has thus re-created the cult of Kali in the true perspective and has courageously published her portrait in the book defying tradition and convention. The book

is therefore authoritative in every respect. As Professor Benjamin Moore wrote with reference to the progress of science in his book *Origin and Nature of Life*, Dr. Menon's work has "added a new beauty to religion, or rather revealed a beauty that was there all the while, but concealed by misconception or lack of knowledge." The book will prove immensely useful to all who wish to know more of the religious thought and life of Kerala, and to the devout Kali worshipper himself it may serve as a stimulus to fresh valuation of a familiar religious usage. It is written in a racy, lucid and very well-balanced style; is excellently got up giving credit to the printers, Messrs. Thompson & Co., Ltd., Madras, for perfection in typography. It contains a useful bibliography, word and subject indexes, and co-relating explanations as foot-notes. The Madras University is to be heartily congratulated for this series of Malayalam publications issued under the capable guidance of the author of this book, Dr. C. Achyuta Menon, Head of the Department of Malayalam. He needs no introduction as he is well-known for his vast erudition and by his numerous contributions to the Malayalam literature. His present work may be rightly termed as a classic in the subject.

It may be noted in this connection that the Kali worship in one form or other has been found to be prevalent in Northern India, Kerala and Bengal, but it is especially peculiar to the last two places in India. There may be local differences in the tenets of the cult and variations in detail in the image of Kali, but none can deny the existence of a fundamental cultural affinity between Kerala and Bengal so far as Kali worship is concerned. But a further advance in research is necessary. A comparative study of the culture of these two distant places—numerous and varied though its manifestations may be,—will bring to light more convincing conclusions to prove that human culture, whether of Kerala or of Bengal, is a unity.

N.B.—It is gratifying to learn from the Preface that an English edition of the book has been published as Volume II for non-Malayali readers.

P. O. MATTIHAL

GUJARATI

PRABHU PADHARYA : By Jhaver Chand Meghani, B.A., Printed at the Sudhakar Printing Press, Ranpur. Thick Cardboard, Pp. 103. Price Rs. 2-50 (1943).

Fays Lane (You are welcome God!). *Prabhu Padharya*, these are the words with which a Burman greeted a Gujarati Hindu in Burma. Amongst all Indians working in that country, Gujaratis were much liked by them. The twenty-seven short stories into which this small book is divided presents a realistic picture of the life led by the Gujaratis—traders, doctors, clerks, lawyers—amongst Burmans, and the writer has skilfully painted on the canvas vignettes of Burman life, domestic, social, religious, and political. Their superstitions and their beliefs, the excitability of the race and its ploy with the *Dhao*, almost every characteristic of the Burmese nation are brought out in such a way that the reader is tempted to assume that the writer has lived in the land for a long time. But he has not done so; he has gathered material from the evacuees and the refugees. He ends with descriptions of the hardships of those who have trekked down to India. This is the first time that Burma has been so attractively painted for the Gujarati reader.

K. M. J.

In the lycées and colleges of Turkey, all instruction is given in Turkish. Arabic has been relegated to the background. The Arabic script, Semitic script, was unsuited to Turkish—it was like a healthy man using crutches. As naturally Ataturk could not use the oldest and purest Turkish Script—the "Runic" script of the Pre-Islamic Turks of Central Asia—he did the next best thing, he latinised the script. Arabic and Persian loan words in the language are being reduced to a minimum and are being replaced by words of a Turkish or Turko-Mongol origin.

Even in the mosques,—the Koran is no longer read in Arabic but in Turkish and the Muezzin calls the Faithful to Prayer in Turkish.

Thus the Arabic "Allah-ho-Akbar" (God alone is Great) is now said in its Turkish form "Tevri Utogh-dur". To use Arabic now in mosques is considered an offence and the offender is regarded as a counter-revolutionary against the Kemalist Revolution.

Religious instruction is forbidden in the schools and colleges, as this might affect the susceptibilities of other communities. Religion is essentially a man's private affair in Turkey—it is neither thrust down his own throat nor does he try to proselytise others to his belief. The State being undenominational, it does not propagate or encourage any religion in any form. Ataturk himself used to emphasise this point at the periodical *Turk Dil Kurultay* (Turkish Language Congress) and at the meetings of the *Turk Enstitüsü* (Turkish Historical and Cultural Institute) over which he used to preside. So much for secondary and higher education.

Religion is also excluded from primary education. Turkish children learn more about the History and Culture of the Turkish peoples, about modern inventions and scientific progress than about creeds which had retarded the progress of their country and had kept the people disunited. The *Halkevleri* or peoples' institute in the villages and towns of the interior keep before the simple, rural folk secular ideals and a secular outlook. These institutes provide lectures for the villagers on hygiene, agriculture, etc.; religious lectures are, however, taboo. The watchword for all is *Vatan* ("Fatherland") and the symbol for national cohesion is *Turkjduluk* ("Turkism").

Thus Turkey to-day in its educational and cultural ideology is in full accord with the rest of the Near East, where nationhood and secular culture are matters of primary importance and religion purely a secondary affair.

Air Superiority

The New Review observes :

Is air superiority vital to success in modern battle? Facts and theories point both ways. The last Nazi retreat in Russia was successfully carried out in spite of the "enormous German air inferiority," as the British War Secretary admitted; in the same way Rommel staged a very orderly retreat from el Alamein to the Tunisian frontier. In spite of marked air inferiority, he had in 1942 developed a successful summer offensive, defeated the British at Gazala, stormed Tobruk and advanced to within sixty miles of Alexandria. Hence Germans and Russians consider the airplane as a co-operative rather than a preparatory weapon. They do not despise using air bombing when they have the time and means to do so, but to a methodical preparation, they prefer surprise and

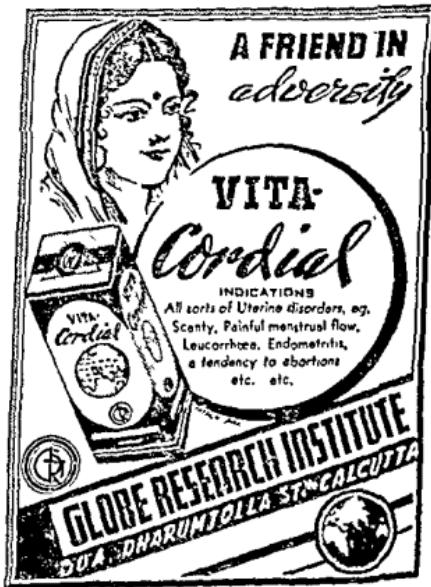
velocity of attack. They also expect a quick concentration of fire power from artillery rather than from air bombing. Air power has, indeed, severe limitations. Accuracy is still largely problematical as regards targets on a battlefield. Moreover, dropping five thousand tons of bombs a day during a month is a feat which no air force has yet attempted, whilst already in the last war, artillery concentrations were deadlier: during the Battle of the Somme in 1916, 143,000 tons of shells were unloaded in 30 days on a small area, and in the Ypres Battle of 1917, 179,000 tons were fired in 13 days. The defence of Moscow and Stalingrad as well as the latest Russian advances were all due to artillery superiority.

Venmani : Pioneer of Modern Malayalam Poetry

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Dr. C. Kunhan Raja pays his tribute as a Malayalee to the great poet Venmani, born a hundred years ago, who brought out the native wealth of Malayalam which for centuries had been enriching itself with Sanskrit :

The year 1914 marks the centenary of the poet Venmani the Younger, who was the pioneer of modern Malayalam poetry. He was born in April 1814 and died in February, 1893 at a comparatively early age.

We know of no period in the history of the language when it has not adapted itself to immense borrowings from Sanskrit, both in vocabulary and in ideas. *Krishna Gatha*, a rendering into Malayalam songs of the *Bhagavata Purana*, and *Ramayana* and *Bhama*,



indispensable for civil service. In this connection we must mention the Christian missionaries and their work. The Christian missionaries saw in the spread of education a means of preaching the Gospel. This means of conversion, however, had led them to contribute a great deal towards the cause of education in India. It is a far cry from the Serampore College to the Scottish Church and St. Xavier's in Calcutta, the Forman Christian College in Lahore, and the Madras Christian College, but everywhere the success of their activities is due to the fact that they have been directed towards education primarily and not so much to religious work among the pupils.

Carey, Marsden, and Ward are well-known names in the history of education in Bengal, and no less so is the name of Dr. Alexander Duff of the Free Church of Scotland, Calcutta.

Rev. William Carey was one of the Professors of Sanskrit and Bengali in the College of Fort William. Its students (who were not Indians but young writers in the Company's service) were given practical training in speaking and writing in the vernacular. Essays were written and prizes awarded on subjects dealing with the Indian languages, their position and possibilities, and, among other things, suitability to business. Books, treatises on the Gospel, grammar, and dictionaries began to be written. The College of Fort William was abolished by order of the Government in 1851, and a Board of Examiners set up in its place, among the first members of which were Pandit Jwar Chandra Vidwasagar, Rev. K. M. Banerjee, and Mouli Mahomed Wujeh. The College had not only equipped the Civil Service—it had imparted to the Indian languages a new tone and spirit.

Presumption as to Sunnism &c. in India— How Far Just?

In the course of an article in the All India Reporter Jatindra Mohan Datta observes :

The law as to presumption of the different sects and sub-sects of the Muhammadans in India has been stated thus in Sir Dinshaw Mulla's Muhammadan Law (Edn. II by Sir George Rankin) :

"Presumption as to Sunnism.—The great majority of the Muhammadans of this country being Sunnis, the presumption will be that the parties to a suit or proceeding are Sunnis, unless it is shown that the parties belong to the Shi'ah sect. . . . As most Sunnis are Hanafis, the presumption is that a Sunni is governed by Hanafi law. . . . As most Shi'ahs are Athna-Asharis the presumption is that a Shi'ah is governed by the Athna-Asharis' exposition of the law." (See p. 20; para 19 and 20).

We question the justness or propriety of the above presumptions being drawn mainly on three grounds : (1) first, there never has been a survey, at least any exhaustive survey, as to the respective numbers of the Shi'ahs and the Sunnis throughout India, far less of their sub-sects; (2) secondly, 'the principle of providing for the ordinary course of things' or that 'the laws are adapted to those cases which more frequently occur' should not be and cannot be applied when it is a question of applying the personal laws to the parties; and (3) lastly, these presumptions are not presumptions of universal application, capable of being applied to all parts of India irrespective of the local conditions.

We shall deal with the last objection first. When Oudh was annexed to the British dominions it was found that,

"the Sheeahs had acquired so great an ascendancy that they were found numerically to preponderate very much over the other sect of Musulmans." (See Correspondence relating to Native Laws in Oudh, p. 3.)

Locally in Oudh, the Shi'ahs are in a preponderating majority over the Sunnis. Even assuming that they are not in a majority but are substantial minority there in Oudh, would it be just or politic to apply the presumption that a Muhammadan will be presumed to be a Sunni? Nor will it be just to hold the contrary presumption that in Oudh a Muhammadan shall be deemed to be a Shi'ah, because they are in an overwhelming majority over there.

Hamilton in his Introduction to the Hedaya (p. 23) says :

"The Mussulman Princes of Hindostan are, in general, Sunnis, as well as most of their chief men, the heads of the law, or the ministers of state, whilst the great body of Mohammedans, being descended from a Persian stock, or from the progeny of the first Mohammedan conquerors, adhere rigidly to the principles of the Shi'ahs.—The Nizam, one of the most powerful and independent of those princes, cannot attend public worship in the Jama mosque of his capital (Hyderabad) because of the Anathema weekly uttered there against the usurping Khalifs of the house of Omiah.—At Lucknow, on the tenth of Moharram, the effigy of 'Omar (who, as being the first proposer of an elective Khalifat, in prejudice to the right of Ale, is regarded by his adherents with particular abhorrence), is set up, filled with sweetmeats, as a mark to shoot at; and after being used with every species of indignity, is torn to pieces, and its contents devoured by the enthusiastic votaries of Ale."

So in Oudh and Hyderabad the Shi'ahs are in a local majority. The late Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali in his Mohamedan Law, Vol. 2, p. 37 makes this pertinent observation with regard to the presumption made in 30 Cal. 683 at p. 688 :

"This dictum must be accepted with some degree of reservation. In some parts of the country the Shi'ahs preponderate in numbers; it would be difficult in those districts to make any such presumption. It is submitted that in every proceeding involving a question of Mahomedan law, the Court should require the parties to state to which school of law, they are subject; and in case of difference to adduce evidence in support of their respective allegations, and then decide by what law the question at issue is to be determined."

Then again the Shi'ahs are not such a hopeless minority in India as the above presumption as to Sunnism would lead us to suppose. William Cawell Smith in his Modern Islam in India says : "Approximately one out of every thirteen Muslims in India is a Shi'ah." (See p. 328).

We now come to the second objection that 'the principle of providing for the ordinary course of things' or that 'the laws are adapted to those cases which more frequently occur' cannot be applied when it is a question of applying the personal laws to the parties. In India there is no territorial law in regard to certain matters, e.g., succession, marriage, etc. Personal laws of the parties prevail. All the systems of personal law, whether Hindu, Mahomedan or Buddhist, are on the same equal footing. Why then presume one system of personal law to prevail over another? Such principles, are wholly unsuited to the fundamental basic conception which underlie the enforcement of different systems of personal laws within the same territory. Why then make an exception in favour of a particular section or a particular sub-section of the Mahomedans?

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Sun Yat-sen

In order to understand modern China we should fully acquaint ourselves with the life of the Father of new China, a brief but full account of which by Dr. Hu Shih, philosopher and historian, is reproduced here from *Contemporary China*:

Dr. Sun Yat-sen was born in a farming village in Hsiang Shan Hsien, in the Province of Kwangtung, in 1866—two years after the ending of the great Taiping Rebellion (1850-64), 25 years after the Opium War, and 22 years after the Manchus entered China and founded the Ching dynasty (1644).

He once said of himself : "I am a coolie and the son of a coolie. I was born with the poor, and I am still poor. My sympathies have always been with the struggling mass."

When 12 years old, he went to Honolulu in 1879 to visit his emigrant elder brother, and was sent to a boys' school where, at the end of the third year, he was awarded the second prize in English grammar. He returned home in 1883. From 1884 to 1886 he studied at Queen's College, Hongkong. It was in Hongkong that he became a baptized Christian.

In 1886, he took up medicine under the American missionary surgeon, Dr. John A. Kerr, in Canton. When the new Medical School was established in Hongkong in 1887, Sun Yat-sen was the first student to register. Here he studied for five years and was graduated in 1892 with a certificate of Proficiency in Medicine and Surgery.

He practised medicine and surgery in Macao and then in Canton. But his professional career did not last long. For he had become interested in other and more important things. He had already become the leader of a secret movement for the reform and remaking of China.

Dr. Sun tells us that his revolutionary plans dated back to the year 1885 when China fought France and was defeated, resulting in the loss of Annam: "I resolved in that year that the Manchu regime must go and that a Chinese republic must be established." He was then in his nineteenth year. From that time on, says he, "the school was my place of propaganda and medicine my medium for entrance into the world."

In 1893, on the eve of the first Sino-Japanese War, Dr. Sun made a visit to North China, and presented a memorandum to the Chinese statesman, Li Hung-chang. The memorandum is remarkable as a record of the young revolutionary's early political ideas. In this paper, Dr. Sun formulated the four fundamental objectives of a modern state: (1) to enable man to exert his utmost capability; (2) to utilize land to its utmost fertility; (3) to use material nature to its utmost utility; and (4) to circulate goods with the utmost fluidity.

The next year (1894) war broke out between China and Japan. China was badly defeated; the weakness of the old régime was clearly

exposed to the whole nation and to the whole world.

Dr. Sun thought this was the best opportunity for the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. He went to Honolulu and founded the Hsing Chung Hui (Society for the Restoring of China). He returned to China early in 1895, and began to plot for an armed uprising and seizure of the city of Canton as a base of Revolution. It was an elaborate plot, requiring half a year of preparation and involving hundreds of people. But it failed, and over 70 were arrested. Three were executed, including one of Dr. Sun's intimate comrades. A prize of 1,000 dollars was set on Sun's person. He was only 29. He recorded this as the first of his ten failures.

After his escape from Canton, Dr. Sun went to Japan, whence he proceeded to Honolulu and visited the United States for the first time. In September 1896 Dr. Sun sailed from New York for England, arriving in London on October first.

On October 11, 1896, Dr. Sun was kidnapped by officials of the Chinese Legation. He was imprisoned there for twelve days and it was undoubtedly the intention of the Chinese Government to smuggle him back to China to be executed as the arch-enemy of the Throne.

By winning the sympathy of an English servant in the Legation, Dr. Sun succeeded in sending a message to his English teacher and host, Dr. James Cantlie. Through the efforts of Dr. Cantlie, the story was published in a London newspaper, and the Chinese Legation immediately became the centre of newspaper reporters. The secretary of the Legation had to admit the presence of an involuntary guest at the Legation! At the request of the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs Dr. Sun was released on October 23.

This dramatic episode made his name known throughout the United Kingdom, Europe, and America. It made him a world figure at the age of 30.

For two years (1896-98) he remained in England and Europe. These years were most fruitful in the development of his political and social ideas. "What I saw and heard during those two years," said Dr.

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Sun, "gave me much insight (into the situation in the West). I began to realize that, in spite of great achievements in wealth and military prowess, the great powers of Europe have not yet succeeded in providing the greatest happiness of the vast majority of the people; and that the reformers in these European countries were working hard for a new social revolution. This led my thought toward a more fundamental solution of China's problems. I was, therefore, led to include the principle of the people's livelihood (min-sheng) on the same level as the principles of nationalism and democracy. Thus were formulated my three principles."

It was about this time that he made a study of the socialistic literature of England and continental Europe. He was especially influenced by Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*. He never became a Single Taxer; but George's theories on the social origin of the rise of land value and the importance of public control of land left a permanent impression on his own social teachings.

After leaving Europe in 1898, he returned to the East and resided in Japan for two years (1898-1900). He came into contact with the leaders of the popular parties of Japan.

China was then going through turbulent times. Japan, Russia, Germany, Britain, and France had seized important territories from China. The country was being mapped out into "spheres of influence" of imperialistic powers. There was much talk about the "partitioning of China."

The glamorous "one hundred days' reforms" came in 1898 and were swept away by the reactionary forces

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under the leadership of the ignorant Empress-Dowager. Then came the Boxers movement in 1900, which resulted in the armed intervention by the forces of eight foreign powers.

Dr. Sun saw in this situation his opportunity for another attempt to start his anti-monarchical revolution, which was launched in the autumn of 1900 at Canton and Huichow. It was the second of his ten failures.

During the first years of the new century, thousands of Chinese students were flocking to Japan to study at her schools and universities. Dr. Sun found many of these mature students ready to listen to his teachings and follow his leadership. So in 1905, he founded in Tokyo the Chung-kuo Tung-meng Hui (The Chinese Society of Covenanters), with original members representing seventeen of the eighteen provinces of China. Each member must pledge under oath solemnly to carry out the terms of the covenant, to wit: (1) Drive away the Tartars! (2) Recover China for the Chinese! (3) Establish a Republic! (4) Equalize Ownership of Land!

From 1906 to 1911, at least ten uprisings were started. (He counted only nine as under the direction of himself or the Party.) Nine times it failed, each time costing the lives of many heroic martyrs. But the tenth (in total the twelfth) uprising which broke out at Wuchang, opposite Hankow, on October 10, 1911, finally succeeded. In the brief time of a month, thirteen of the eighteen provinces responded to the revolutionary call and declared their independence of the Manchu dynasty.

Dr. Sun was then in America and read the news of the Wuchang success in a morning paper at a small hotel in Denver, Colorado. He quietly travelled eastward to New York and thence to England and Europe,

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finally sailing from Marseilles in November and arriving in Shanghai on December 24.

On December 29, 1911, the Provisional Senate of the Republic met and, by a vote of 16 to 1, elected Sun Yat-sen Provisional President of the Republic. On New Year's day, 1912, he was inaugurated President at Nanking.

Meanwhile, negotiations had been going on for a peaceful coming together of the provinces. The dynasty was no longer capable of making any resistance. But a powerful Chinese politician, Yuan Shih-kai, was in command of a formidable army. The objective in the negotiations was to win over Yuan Shih-kai to the support of the Revolution.

On February 12, the Throne abdicated, thus terminating the 267 years of the Manchu rule in China. On the 13th, Dr. Sun presented his resignation to the Provisional Senate. The next day, his resignation was accepted, and Yuan Shih-kai was elected Provisional President.

Dr. Sun was Provisional President only 45 days. His resignation was an act of self-sacrifice best symbolizing his great patriotism and his Christian spirit.

Unfortunately, the man on whom Dr. Sun had placed his mantle, turned out to be reactionary and a traitor to the Republic.

In the next few years, a fierce struggle went on between Dr. Sun's newly reorganized party, the Kuomintang (The People's Party) and the reactionary forces under Yuan Shih-kai. The Kuomintang had an overwhelming majority in both Houses of the new Parliament elected in 1913. But the reaction had military and financial power on its side. The Kuomintang was dissolved by force, and finally the Parliament was dissolved by force. Dr. Sun went in exile to Japan. And Yuan Shih-kai soon made himself Emperor. All liberal parties united in fighting against this monarchial restoration. Yuan Shih-kai died a disappointed man on June 6, 1916. But the dark forces he had released lived on after him and ran amok for a number of years to come.

For the next decade (1916-25), Dr. Sun sometimes lived in Shanghai, devoting his time to studying and writing, but, on many occasions, he took an active part in revolutionary campaigns against the militaristic reaction. His successes were only intermittent and insignificant.

In 1921, he undertook a radical reorganization of his party on the model of the Communist Party in Soviet Russia. This reorganization, in the light of history, was far more significant than his many political and military campaigns since the founding of the Republic. The important steps taken at that time included (1) the enlargement of party membership by soliciting the enrollment of younger men and women throughout the country; (2) the formal admission of members of the Chinese Communist Party to active membership in the Kuomintang; (3) the employment of a number of Russian political and military advisers; (4) the revival of nationalism as the paramount issue aiming at the freeing of China from the historical shackles of the "unequal treaties" which the imperialistic powers had imposed on China for nearly a century; (5) the founding of the Whampoo Military Academy under the directorate of Chiang Kai-shek, for the training of new and ideologically inspired officers as a nucleus of a new Revolutionary Army.

None of these important measures had shown tangible results when Dr. Sun died in Peking on March 12, 1925. But he had the satisfaction to read on his death-bed the cheering news that, in that very week, his armies under the lead of the young officers of the Whampoo Academy were scoring crushing victories over the reactionary forces.

Two weeks after his death, the province of Kwangtung was entirely free from opponent forces, and thus became the consolidated base for the new Nationalist Revolution which Dr. Sun had dreamed for years, but which did not succeed in unifying the nation until a few years after his death.

In 1918, Dr. Sun planned to write a series of books under the general scheme of "Planning for National Reconstruction". His plan was interrupted by subsequent political activities, and only the following works were published: (1) *The Philosophy of Sun Wen* (1919); (2) *The First Step in Democracy* (which is a translation of an American textbook on parliamentary rules) (1919); (3) *The International Development of China* (1921); (4) *An Outline of National Reconstruction for the National Government* (1924); (5) *Sixteen Lectures on San Min Chu I* (1924).



Prunus Domestica

HARAPARVATI
By Kishore Sekharia

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

India Debate in the Commons

The incomplete news of the India debate in the House of Commons has reached us at the time of going to the Press. Needless to say, the deliberations of this Parliament which is dominated by a Party that came into power in 1935 over a false and fraudulent issue could not be anything but worse than useless where democracy is concerned. This Parliament helped in the throttling of democracy in Spain and through greed for spoils and through want of courage blinked at Japan's policy of coercion in China. This Parliament again allowed Italy to proceed with the rape of Abyssinia and all but put its seal of approval on that act through the infamous Hoare-Laval pact. It agreed to the sale of Czechoslovakia into slavery through Munich. And only when the British man in the street clearly saw that the name of Britain was being covered for ever with infamy by the vacillatory, reactionary and pusillanimous action of the leaders of the Party it had put into power, that there was a reaction in favour of standing up before fascist aggression. The same party is still in power and as late as 1940 it did not hesitate to throttle China's life line—thereby condemning millions to death and misery—for the sake of a temporary, though completely illusory, respite. Blind selfishness, blind to the extent of utter disregard for the basic principles of democracy where its own subject peoples are concerned, is still the ruling passion and the guiding instinct of British Imperialism which is now in the saddle. There is no hope for the demo-

cracies, of which the British people are a part, unless sanity returns to the hard-pressed and distraught peoples of the British Isles. The British Commonwealth is setting straight for disaster and it is unfortunate that petty-minded persons are still able to obscure the view of the future under the pretence of attending to immediate problems.

League, Congress and Rajaji's Formula

The League, the Congress and Rajaji's formula endorsed by Gandhiji may profitably be compared with each other. The relevant portion of the Muslim League resolution passed at Lahore in 1940 reads :

"Resolved that . . . no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims, unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute "Independent States" in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign."

The resolution of the Congress Working Committee, which met at New Delhi in April 1942, says :

"The Congress has been wedded to Indian freedom and unity and any break in that unity, especially in the modern world when people's minds are inevitably think in terms of ever larger federations, would be injurious to all concerned and exceedingly painful to contemplate. Nevertheless the Committee cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any terri-

territorial unit to remain in an Indian Union against their declared and established will . . . Each territorial unit should have the fullest possible autonomy within the transitional Union . . ."

Finally Rajaji's formula, as endorsed by Gandhiji and forwarded to Mr. Jinnah, says :

"After the termination of the war a commission shall be appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in the north-west and east of India, wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority. In the areas thus demarcated, a plebiscite of all the inhabitants held on the basis of adult suffrage or other practicable franchise shall ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindustan. If the majority decide in favour of forming a sovereign state separate from Hindustan, such decision shall be given effect to, without prejudice to the right of districts on the border to choose to join either state."

Mr. Jinnah—a Dismal Failure

The New Delhi correspondent of the Leader writes :

Amazement is expressed at the unresponsiveness of Mr. Jinnah and his attempt to take shelter behind the League Working Committee. Since the negotiation was private there was no purpose in submitting the proposals to the Working Committee, unless Mr. Jinnah was himself prepared to recommend it. Political quarters feel that Mr. Jinnah has suffered so many rebuffs in the past two months that he has lost control over himself, and that no other explanation can be given for rejecting the very proposals he had been advocating for four years. There will be the north-western zone and eastern zone, and the contiguous districts in these areas, with a majority of Muslim population, will vote in a plebiscite whether to remain in Hindusthan or form sovereign states. It appears that Mr. Jinnah is now afraid of a plebiscite. He has seen the rising tide of discontent against him and the League High Command.

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, which is meeting in New Delhi, has naturally reacted adversely to the offer. It does not believe in appeasing Mr. Jinnah. But the Congress leaders have never attempted to cater to individuals but have approached the problem from the angle of settling a dispute between two brothers. To the extent to which the Muslim brethren have been worked up by interested parties into a feeling of distrust and suspicion, the formula proposed by Mahatma Gandhi should give them all protection they want. Political quarters expect that various Muslim leaders will now demand acceptance of the offer or removal of Mr. Jinnah from the League's leadership. The tide is already turning against the League leader and this blunder will be his undoing. At any rate Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar has said good bye to Mr. Jinnah and no further move may be expected from the Congress side towards Mr. Jinnah. The general feeling in the capital is that history will write Mr. Jinnah down as 'dismal failure'.

An unreasonably large concession has been made to the reactionary Muslims' demand for Pakistan through Mr. Rajagopalachariar's formula which is as follows :

(1) Subject to the terms set out below as regards the constitution for Free India, the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for Independence and will

co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a Provisional Interim Government for the transitional period.

(2) After the termination of the war a commission shall be appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in the north-west and east of India, wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority. In the areas thus demarcated, a plebiscite of all the inhabitants held on the basis of adult suffrage or other practicable franchise shall ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindustan. If the majority decide in favour of forming a sovereign state separate from Hindustan, such decision shall be given effect to without prejudice to the right of districts on the border to choose to join either state.

(3) It will be open to all parties to advocate their points of view before the plebiscite is held.

(4) In the event of separation mutual agreements shall be entered into for safeguarding defence and commerce and communications and for other essential purposes.

(5) Any transfer of population shall only be on an absolutely voluntary basis.

(6) These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the governance of India.

Bengal has an inalienable right to criticise Rajaji's formula, mainly from two standpoints, which have been made clear by Mr. Bijay Bihari Mukherjee in a meeting of the Indian Association. He has emphasised firstly that out of a total Muslim population of 79 millions in British India, Bengal has 33 millions, and the entire population of this province is divided almost equally. The communal problem provides the least difficulty in Madras while it is the most sharply pronounced and the most intricate in Bengal. As such, of all persons, Rajaji is the worst suited for tackling the communal problem in any discussion of which Bengal must be given her rightful place. In this case, as in the case of Poona Pact, Bengal has been completely neglected and decisions are sought to be imposed on her. The people of this cinderella of Indian provinces desire Mahatmaji to take note of this sentiment here. Secondly, Mr. Mukherjee points out that inclusion of Bengal within a Pakistan zone would mean handing over the land of Sri Chaitanya, of Smartha Raghunandan, of the Digvijayi Palas to a party who refuse to recognise the ancient culture of Bengal as their own. Bengal differs from the rest of India in many vital ways. She follows the Dayabhaga School of Law which applies to the Hindus of this province alone. She has her own literature, her own script, her own philosophy and her own way of life. On our side we want to lay stress on one point. Plebiscites, agreements and all such arrangements are dependent mainly on the good faith between the contracting parties. The parties to

communal settlement are three—the two main communal bodies, Hindus and Muslims, and the third the British Raj. The Congress has through its sacrifices and its actions amply demonstrated its sincerity of purpose, though we cannot say as much about the wisdom of some of the decisions it has taken. Now what of the other two parties, specially what of the British Raj? In the game of hide and seek that has been going on in India ever since the flagrant breach of trust and faith which followed the end of the last Great War, it has been a puzzle to all sincere friends of India as to whether the British Raj is hiding behind the communalists or vice versa.

Mr. Casey on Corruption

In a broadcast speech, Mr. Casey, Governor of Bengal, spoke about corruption in the Province. He said :

"It is common knowledge that there is a good deal of corruption in Bengal and, together with the great mass of decent people in Bengal, I very greatly deplore it. The thing that disturbs me is that such mal-practices are apparently taken for granted by the general public. There is too much complacency and tolerance of corruption. If the people of Bengal—or even the people of Calcutta—would change their attitude in this regard something could be done. If those who have evidence of either the giving or the taking of secret or illegal commissions or bribes would come forward with evidence—and not merely shrug their shoulders—something could be done."

Corruption in administration is not the monopoly of any country or province. It may be found everywhere in varying degrees. Of late, in India, administrative corruption in the provinces under Muslim League influence is the most pronounced. Political jobbery, introduced and encouraged for maintaining League-walas in power, preceded rank bribery and corruption. Political and administrative corruptions go hand in hand, the former supporting the latter by blocking the way to redress. The two cannot be separated. Corruption under the present Ministers have been so rampant in Bengal that even the Governor had to take public notice of it.

In Sind, the Ghulam Hussain Ministry has incurred the displeasure of the Working Committee of the Provincial League Council itself on the ground of corruption. It has passed a resolution calling upon the Ministers to resign and authorising the President to see that the resolution is implemented. The resolution states, *inter alia*:

"Corruption has become the order of the day. The Working Committee has before it a long list of the misdeeds of some of the Ministers. It is unnecessary to draw a detailed indictment but the committee

cannot help putting on record the unsatisfactory character of the foodgrain policy of this Ministry. After enhancing land assessment by 200 to 300 p.c. and giving no return of the same to the people in shape of nation-building activities, the Ministry has brought into being various syndicates whose operations have robbed the cultivators of their dues".

After criticising the Ministry's land revenue and food policy the resolution asks *what justification the Muslim League will have for its existence if it will not actively and energetically advance the cause of the Sindh cultivator who is the backbone of the province?* The Ministry have adopted delaying tactics in regard to the tenancy legislation. The only honourable course, therefore, for the Working Committee is to record its definite findings that it is in the interests of the province and the Muslims of Sind that the Council of Ministers as at present composed should resign.

Definite allegations of corruption in Assam under a League Ministry have been made by the *Sylhet Chronicle*. Under the caption "*Hoarder's Raj in Assam*," the Chronicle gives the following instances in its issue for July 18:

"But what is the real state of affairs? Are the real culprits—the biggest hoarders and profiteers—brought to justice at all?"

We shall only cite a few instances here :

"... In Dhubri, one Hossen Kasem Dada was reported to be a big hoarder. The supply officer raided his firm, 200 bags were discovered. But Mr. Dada rushed to Shillong and moved skilfully among 'influential circles.' Ultimately the supply officer was transferred and Dada was appointed purchasing agent for the Government". (*Reported in "People's War" of July 2, 1944*)

"It has been revealed in the course of magisterial enquiry at Balaganji (i) that the purchasing agents of Messrs. East Bengal and Assam Commercial Syndicate (consisting of some influential persons such as M.L.A's) do not issue any receipts to the peasants. The vouchers which they give to the Government are not filled up in presence of sellers. They buy at the low rate of Rs. 10-11-0 and realise Rs. 15 or so from the Government; and (ii) that they buy from the peasants in the weight of 84 tolas (making a seer) and effect delivery to the Government in the weight of 80 tolas. But no action seems yet to be taken against those agents or their principal" (*Reported in a joint letter of Umesh Ray and Sitendu Bhattacharjee*)

"Without fixing the minimum prices of rice and paddy, a way has been kept open for the agents for cheating the peasants. By stopping purchase, the agents force the poor people to sell at a rate dictated by them. Even of their total purchases, a small fraction goes into the Govt. Store, and the balance into the black market. All these facts were revealed in the magisterial enquiry at Balaganji. But no action has been taken. (*From a Bengali letter of Saradindu Tarkatirtha, Balaganji, in the "Janakriti" of July 6, 1944*)

"Mr. Wars Ali, B.A., LL.B., the Magistrate who held enquiries into the said Balaganji Muddle and proved an honest and conscientious officer has since been transferred from the Supply Department.

"There are several influential shopkeepers at Sylhet who, despite repeated convictions, still continue to enjoy their licenses and permits." (*Reported by a reliable legal practitioner*)

These are all illustrative rather than exhaustive. If these reports be even partially true, we feel bound

to say that there is a most powerful Hoarders' Raj in Assam.

Balaganj affairs, to cite a single instance, have produced a decided revulsion of public feeling, and a sense of disgust and defeatism is creeping over the public mind. People seem to have realised to their cost that there is no remedial justice against powerful parties. And yet tackling of smaller fiefs cannot even touch the fringe of the colossal problems of the new anti-social crimes created by the War. Is there any truth in romantic stories, now current, about a Minister purchasing a tea garden for Rs. 4 lacs and about some others making fortunes out of "contracts" in the benami of brothers, brother-in-laws, cousins, sons and nephews? Is it a fact that there is always an active element of connivance and acquiescence in these matters?

Of these three League Ministries, those in Assam and Bengal owe their existence to the support of the British members in the Legislatures, while the third at Sind continues unabated through the sufferance of a British Governor.

U. K. C. C.

Indian commercial sentiment has been continually hardening against the monopolistic activities of the U. K. C. C. The explanatory Press Note issued by the Government of India in August 1942, which is probably the only one of its kind, has not succeeded in removing the misconceptions of the Indian commercial people. This Corporation is an organisation financed and controlled by the British Government. The Government themselves have admitted that it has a capital subscribed by the British treasury, and that in matters of broad policy it is subject to consultation with H. M. G. This fact alone makes it more influential and powerful and places it in a position of greater advantage in the matter of its purchases and sales. The chief grievance of the commercial bodies of India against the U. K. C. C. have been that a monopolistic organisation of this character has been permitted to intrude in the foreign trade of India, exercise ordinary trade functions in this country and operate in competition with Indian commercial interests. It should be remembered in this connection that no such organisation has been set up in any of the dominions like Canada, Australia or South Africa. During this war, India has been in a particularly advantageous position for supplying raw and manufactured commodities to the Middle East and African countries, the full benefit of which would have accrued to this country had the normal trade channels been allowed to function. But in fact the U.K.C.C. applies controls to this side of the Indian foreign trade and thus saps out a major portion of the profit which was normally

due to India. Government's contention that the U. K. C. C. enjoyed privileges in respect of trading in commodities of essential war importance, has also failed to impress anybody. If this were the real object, the Corporation would have confined itself to the handling of commodities of military importance like arms, ammunitions, railway materials, etc., instead of interesting themselves in the procurement and supply of piece-goods, yarn, jute, sugar, tea and the like. The definition of commodities of war importance is too elastic today, and if the Government desire to take shelter behind this inflated definition, surely no argument can convince them. The position becomes still more objectionable from the Indian view-point when it is remembered that this Corporation utilises all Government, semi-government and transport agencies for its own transactions and carriages while this privilege is denied to Indian shippers and traders in their own country. This Corporation should not be allowed to establish itself in this country. Otherwise the inevitable result will be to enable the British exporters and manufacturers to serve their interests through it by crushing Indian concerns.

Import of Consumers' Goods

Some months ago, the Finance Member of the Government of India expressed the desire to import consumers' goods as a measure for combating inflation. In reply to a question in the Central Legislative Assembly the Commerce Member stated that textile goods had been allowed to be imported although in small quantities. The very recent liberal grants of import licenses for consumers' goods, mostly from England and Empire countries, without regard to the interests of the corresponding indigenous industries, have naturally caused alarm to the manufacturers of consumers' goods. This has been further intensified by the setting up of a Consumers' Council at the instance of the Government, the principle of the selection of whose personnel and the policy of which still remain a mystery.

Large quantities of articles such as toilet requisites, drugs and medicines, chemicals, cycles and parts, electric fans, hurricane lamps, etc., are being imported now with the easing of the shipping position. All these commodities are now manufactured in India and with a very little assistance their production might greatly be stepped up. The country can become self-sufficient in respect of toilet goods provided only a small quantity of raw materials was made

available. The Director-General of the Indian Medical Science had himself stated some time ago that 75 per cent of the medicines, dentifrices and drugs which used to be imported were being manufactured in this country. These like other consumer goods are now being replaced by imported commodities. The chemical industry which had just begun to grow is similarly threatened with extinction.

The handicaps with which these industries had to struggle throughout these vital years were many. It is now becoming apparent that behind these handicaps, a well-planned denial policy had been in operation. The Government had so far pretended their inability to provide transport and coal to the industries, a difficulty which proved to be the most vital. These were particularly in operation against indigenous industries. The control over distribution through the grant of licenses was similarly utilised. Even the price control policy had been operated in favour of the foreign products. Attractive advertisements were published at public cost which mentioned products not of Indian origin. These were published even in the Gazette of India. It was more apparent in the case of products like drugs, medicines, jam-jellies, etc. Signs are quite clear now which leads to only one conclusion, *viz.*, that the Indian consumers' industries today stand face to face with the gravest peril of their life. In no distant future, the Indian market is going to be utilised for the dumping of British and Empire goods which will help Britain to reconstruct after the war with Indian blood and money.

We had anticipated this future of the indigenous industry and had warned the industrialist and commercial people of this country against complacency. We had asked them to combine and prepare for the future. It is not too late yet. Let the entire Indian industrial and commercial people unite and demand that importation of consumers' goods should be undertaken only where such import does not prejudice any indigenous industry engaged in the manufacture of such goods subject, of course, to a general price control and that every possible assistance should be given to such industry for the procurement of raw materials and machinery. The manufacturing interests should immediately make the weight of their opinion felt so that a regular liaison between the Government Department of Industries and their representatives is established.

Scientific Development or Disaster

The urgency of a new approach to Indian problems was stressed by Prof. A. V. Hill in

an address to the East India Association in London. The subject of his address was "Indian Scientific Development or Disaster." He said :

India is a natural geographic and economic unit. But if political discord led to actual strife and upsetting public services tens of millions of people already enfeebled by malnutrition might die and India's progress delayed for many years.

Prof. Hill said, his recent visit to India to advise on scientific and industrial problems had convinced him of the urgency of a new approach to Indian problems both here and in India itself. India's first need was better health. Compared with British standards, India needed of seven times as many doctors as she has now, 20 times as many midwives, and 70 times as many health visitors. He forecast that the report of the Health Survey Committee under Sir Joseph Bhore would be "pretty elastic."

India's next need would be food. Her population would number 730 millions in 30 years. That would require a three-fold increase in food production and involve a very great national effort. Long range planning was required to stave off disaster.

If prejudice, and shortsightedness are allowed to take the place of wisdom, forethought and collaboration then I can see little but misery and *disaster ahead—within 25 years*. India cannot remain as she is in a rapidly changing world. Either she must go forward along the path of modern progress, or else she will certainly go back.

Prof. Hill had made it clear to his audience that the title of his lecture was deliberately provocative but not exaggerated.

Officials' Responsibility in the Past Famine.

A scathing comment on Lord Linlithgow's responsibility for the Bengal famine is contained in an editorial article in the *New Statesman and Nation*. It says of the Delhi bureaucracy of which Lord Linlithgow was the head that it was complacent throughout the calamity; it foresaw nothing; it minimised and denied facts; and when at last it was forced to admit something of the truth, it gave out as consolation that only a million had died. The following is its comment on the responsibility of officials in dealing with the famine :

There is little in this record to flatter our racial pride. The civil servants were as much to blame as the Ministers, and perhaps more so for the neglect and inefficiency of the Provincial Administration, and they, in the senior ranks, are still largely British. The police in Calcutta were mainly responsible for the failure to deal in a human and efficient way with the refugees who camped in the streets: *they are Indians under British Officers.*

At the "Centre" the responsibility fell on Lord Linlithgow and the British officials round him. They were very slow to apply to India the lessons learned during two wars in our own country and elsewhere. They allowed the inflation to get out of control before they thought of any steps to cope with it. They were, for example, several years too late in imposing a

measure of rent restriction in Calcutta; even then it was done in a half-hearted and ineffective way.

This outspoken comment will hardly seem controversial. Indian officials bungled and blundered, but they were allowed and encouraged to do so by their British superiors.

"New Statesman" on Famine Relief

The *New Statesman* and *Nation* disagreed with the Calcutta *Statesman* which stated that little was done by the voluntary effort of Indians to combat the famine. The London paper writes :

It (Statesman) also notes that little was done by the voluntary effort of Indians to combat the famine.

That was, however, largely a consequence of our relations with Indian public opinion, and more especially with Congress. It is usually prodigal in organising voluntary service in times of emergency due to floods or earthquakes.

The Calcutta paper's allegation is wholly untrue in its material particulars as well. Most of the relief during the famine had come from the people in effort and money. It is a monstrous lie to say that voluntary effort of Indians to combat the famine had not come.

The *New Statesman* makes the following caustic comment on British rule in India :

It is impossible to read this story (of the famine) without sense that this tragedy passes judgment on our rule in India. An empire which cannot cite the consent of the governed as its title to rule has only one possible justification in the eyes of history: it must be able to show a convincing record of good government.

The Government in India lacks in both. It is neither based on the consent of the governed nor is it good.

Famine Commission

The personnel of the Famine Commission has been announced. The members will be in Calcutta by the end of the first week of August. Cynics may argue that it would serve no useful purpose to co-operate with this Commission, specially when it has been demonstrated that recommendations of such Commissions are of little value. The Central Government has failed to implement even the first and foremost recommendation of the Food Grains Policy Committee held under the Chairmanship of their own Economic Adviser. We should, however, warn that such a course will be unwise. The Famine Commission must not go by default! In this connection we would recommend Mr. Kali Charan Ghosh's book *Famine in Bengal 1770-1943*, which provides in a comprehensive manner all relevant information from contem-

porary records available in print. Some of the chapters of the book would supply exceedingly valuable basis for individual as well as collective research for unpublished data for presentation before the Commission.

Mr. Dewey's Aims

Mr. Dewey dwelt on post-war problems in his speech at the Republican Nomination Convention held at Chicago. He said :

For 150 years America was the hope of the world. Here on this great broad continent we had brought into being something for which men had longed throughout all history. Here all men were held to be free and equal. Here government denied its just powers from the consent of the governed. Here men believed passionately in freedom and independence—the God-given right of the individual to be his own master. Yet with all of this freedom—I insist—because of this freedom—ours was a land of plenty in a fashion unequalled anywhere else in the world. America grew and strengthened; our standard of living became the envy of the world. In all lands men and women looked toward America as the pattern of what they themselves desired, and because we were what we were, goodwill flowed toward us from all corners of the earth. An American was welcomed everywhere, and looked upon with admiration and regard. At times we had our own troubles. We made our share of mistakes, but we faltered only to go forward with renewed vigour.

In her international policy, America is no longer looked upon with the same regard as was done before. Asia looks with deepening suspicion at the close alliance growing between the British territorial and the American financial imperialism. The close Anglo-American collaboration in the Bretton Woods Monetary Conference, following the U. S. A.'s silent approval of the declaration of the British Premier's refusal to apply Atlantic Charter in India, cannot have two different meanings for the subject peoples of Asia.

Penalised for Fair Comment

A security of Rs. 3000 has been demanded from the editor and publisher of the *Forum* of Bombay. The demand is stated to be in connection with an article published on May 28 about the death sentences imposed on the 16 accused in the Chimur and Ashti cases. The alleged offending article fails to reveal to any sober reader anything to which objection can be taken legally or morally. The *Free Press* gives the following summary of it :

It begins with a plea for restraint in the execution of the sentences in view of the fact that the authorities themselves were not free from excesses in the Chimur area. Secondly, it refers to the black-out of news throughout the Indian Press at that time. The general reactions on evidence of a black-out sponsored under

bureaucratic pressure cannot be favourable to accused persons, and if irrevocable convictions are given effect to in such a surcharged atmosphere, the article points out that there is grave risk of the innocent being subjected to irreparable injustice. Then follows a comment on the notorious Sholapur convictions which many impartial observers all over the country believe to have been unduly harsh and not fair to the accused. Sir John Beaumont who had something to do with the Sholapur trials in their penultimate stages, left the country, we are next told, a much wiser man as to police prosecution methods than when he entered it. The article rises to a high note of dissent for capital punishment as such, on the ground of the universal liability to error of all human judgments however exemplary the probity and rectitude of the judges. It concludes with the warning that this is not the time for embittering public opinion, as it was bound to be, by the mere fact of so many men being doomed to die at one time.

One fails to understand what led the authorities to take this penal step for a comment which will generally be considered not to have exceeded the limits of sober and fair criticism.

Roosevelt Changed His Mind

The *United Press of America* has cleared the Roosevelt letter mystery. Interest on this subject had been raised in America and India because a Washington newspaper had printed an article by Drew Pearson which said that the British refused to let President Roosevelt deliver a letter to Gandhiji through Mr. Phillips or even through the British hands. The *U.P. of America* reliably understands that more than a year ago while Mr. Phillips was still in India, President Roosevelt had an idea of sending a letter to Gandhiji. Although the contents of the letter are not known, says the message, observers judge from the comments of Mr. Hull and others and the statements made in the meanwhile, that Mr. Roosevelt's attitude in this proposed approach to Gandhiji was most cordial and sympathetic. Nevertheless he wanted to suggest at least the implication that the Nationalists should help the Allies.

The reasons why Mr. Roosevelt never actually transmitted the note to Gandhiji, continues the message, were never known, but it is believed in informed circles that they arose from the decision not to interfere during wartime in Indian affairs.

The message finally states that efforts to obtain official comment or clarification at Washington have not proved successful.

In this connection it may be recalled that in the course of a farewell chat with press correspondents at New Delhi on April 23, 1943, Mr. Phillips had stated in reply to a question, "I should have liked to meet and talk with Mr.

Gandhi. I requested the appropriate authorities for permission to do so and was informed that they were unable to grant necessary facilities."

Irish Concern for Indian Situation

The *U.P. of America* cables that the *Irish Freedom* says in its latest issue (July) that in the economic sense India's situation was positively alarming. The paper refers to the fall in industrial production, the rise in prices, and disastrous effects of the Bengal famine. It writes that the position in India is pregnant with catastrophe, unless the short-sighted and obstinate policy, which Mr. Amery represents, is altered. The continuation of that policy can only produce bitterest fruits. Therefore, the present impasse must be ended. To end it the first thing necessary is to release the imprisoned National Congress leaders. Secondly, negotiations need be opened with the Indian peoples' leaders for establishment of provisional National Government, and, thirdly, the right of India to her own National Government must be conceded.

Louis Fischer on World Peace

The *Bharat Jyoti* reproduces an article by Louis Fischer, in which the celebrated author says :

There are already signs of dissension in the United Nations' camp about the terms of peace. The Atlantic Charter, which professed to give a general idea of Allied policy about post-war Europe, has gone by the board, with Churchill's bland assertion that its terms do not apply to the Axis countries.

If the peace is not to prove another armistice affording breathing space for the nations to prepare for a more disastrous war, the United Nations have to think in terms of general well-being of the world as a whole.

The primary criterion of the peace should not be its good or bad effect on Germany but its effect on the world.

If Germany is remoulded by the victors while the rest of the world remains unchanged, we might as well start preparing for the Third World War.

Clear attempts are being made to defend and perpetuate the existing social and economic systems, based on the exploitation of Asia and Africa. No world peace can be conceived without a free Asia. Freedom of Asia has been raised into a live issue. If the war is to end against totalitarian powers, India and China must emerge as great world nations.

Lay the Foundations of Peace Now

The *New Republic* has drawn attention to the fact that it would be a tragic error to wait till the end of the war to lay the foundations of

peace aims. The argument that winning the battle is the first concern and that there will be enough time to talk about the new world after victory is fallacious. Nothing will come out of this war for which foundations are not laid while the war is being fought.

It is obvious to this journal that the American Government is playing power politics both at home and abroad. The President, according to it, disregards most of the supporters who have three times elected him triumphantly to office, because he is afraid of the power of his one time domestic enemies, who might, if they were not conciliated, sabotage the fighting of the war. Abroad his representatives consort with the most shady characters, regardless of principle, if only military expediency can be said to dictate the choice. Democratic movements are rebuffed again and again, indeed the American Government acts as if it believed there were no reality of power in the peoples of the world.

Criticising Britain, the *New Republic* comments that as victory approaches, it becomes ever clearer that the Government of Britain is the same old Tory Government still bent on imperial domain and strongly influenced by industrial combinations and world cartels.

Pointing out the tragic error the journal concludes :

Perhaps the reason for failure to follow up the Atlantic Charter by concrete peace aims has been Mr. Roosevelt's conviction that everything else must wait while the war is being fought; it will be time enough to talk about the new world when victory is won. People can unite on defeating a common enemy who could not unite on anything else. Winning the battle will take all the energy and attention we have, there is nothing left over for anything beyond. These arguments are attractive, but fallacious. For a dozen reasons, continuing to act on them would be a tragic error.

For one thing, nothing will come out of the war for which the foundations are not laid while the war is being fought. For another, the way to unite people is not to avoid any issue that might be controversial, but to give them such a strong lead that they have something to unite about. If either the domestic or the international scene is an example of unifying leadership at present, then the Tower of Babel was an example of complete harmony. Again, one way to help win the war, and one of the most powerful ways, is to give people a conviction that they are fighting. It is not just against something, but for something. It is also a way to weaken the enemy's will to revolt.

Moral Victory for American Negroes

A moral victory for American Negroes is reported from the United States. In a test case, the Federal Supreme Court has handed down a

8 to 1 decision that Texas—and, by implication, all Southern States—must allow Negroes to vote in the Democratic Party's primary elections, hitherto a very jealously guarded privilege of the white South. This overrules the claim that the Constitutional Amendment giving Negroes the political privileges of citizenship did not apply to the primary elections at which party candidates are nominated. At this decision, there was consternation among the defenders of white rule.

The American Negroes' handicaps, political, economic and social, are still real and often galling. Lynchings, those blots upon American law and order, which averaged 152 in a year from 1883 to 1903, continue even to this day. There were 3 lynchings even in 1943, while a threatened fourth was stopped by white and coloured citizens together.

A foreign observer, Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, in his two-volume analysis under the title *An American Dilemma : The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, declares : "America is free to choose whether the Negro shall remain her liability or become her opportunity." It is a moral choice and more than local in its implications and in its repercussions "fateful not only for America itself but for all mankind."

M. P.'s View on Wavell's Refusal to Meet Gandhiji

The *Free Press Journal*'s representative cables from London that political circles of progressive opinion learnt with profound regret the news that Lord Wavell had refused to meet Gandhiji. They are stupefied by this action of the Viceroy and they describe it as inexplicable, unjustifiable, impolitic, and irreconcilable with Lord Wavell's oft-repeated phrase 'a sincere friend of India.'

Commenting on this news, Mr. James Maxton M. P. and Mr. Fenner Brockway, Secretary of the U.P. and Editor of the *New Leader*, said :

"We feel quite sure that within the period of another five years British statesmanship towards India will be regarded as incredibly bankrupt. The Viceroy's action takes this bankruptcy to its lowest point. It is sheer madness that any Representative of the British Government should refuse to see the man most representative of India."

Sir Richard 'Aucland', leader of the Commonwealth Party, declared that this refusal was the greatest political blunder. This refusal once again demonstrates that Whitehall and New Delhi are determined to rule India with the sole aid of the D. I. R. in complete disregard of public opinion in the country.

American Eyes on India

Eliot Janeway writes in the June number of the magazine *Asia and the Americas*, analysing America's prospects in post-war foreign trade relations :

"The most impressive case of a major potentially important country whose ability to pay has been vastly increased by war is India. India is no longer a debtor nation. As recently as March 1, 1939 the public Indian debt on capital account in London exceeded 350 million pounds. This debt is now non-existent. In addition the sterling reserves of India, which were some 58 million pounds when the war began, had risen above 550 million pounds at the end of the fourth year of war.

According to the *Economist*, India's boom in exports, combined with her inability to import and her revenue from her participation in the war, will increase this reserve at the rate of £300 millions yearly until the end of the war. India's inability to import is not of her own choice, but a result of control measures which benefit the foreign traders at a tremendous cost to her own national life. All her protests have been in vain.

Einstein on World Economic Upheaval

Prof. Albert Einstein, in a recent interview in his American home with B. L. Jacot and James Jarche, touring the U. S. from Britain said :

There must be a great revolution in Germany after the war for the people have to be re-educated. I do not know how it will be done. It is a vast problem. Not only the leaders but the people.

There will be a great economic upheaval in the world. Politics—the whole system of government must change. As in Russia the intellectuals will emerge from the war on top. They will be the important people, but, of course, scientists will never govern. Their training does not give them power. The economic system of the world is wrong and that is probably one of the causes of the war.

Community control of production must come even here in America where it will be most difficult to establish. There is the problem of unemployment. Unemployment cannot be separated from capitalism and with unemployment as a factor to be contented with in any system of economy the problem is insoluble.

An unemployed man means a non-consumer, and a consumer the less means an increase in unemployment. The circle is vicious. The system is wrong.

About Britain's Palestine policy, he said :

"I like the British, but I resent the British policy towards the Jews in Palestine. It is unfair. It is likely to lead to trouble. The Jews have not always worked in closest co-operation with the Arabs, but the British could have done much to make co-operation easier."

I would like to see the English hold a fairer balance. You use appeasement policy to the Arabs. It is like Chamberlain's policy towards Germany, and

it gives the idea of weakness. The Jews, of all people, deserve fairness and this I resent of the British who have done so much for the world.

Basis of Calculation of Paper Quota

The year 1943 and not 1939 has been made the basis of calculating the 30 per cent quota. This makes a world of difference in the available supply of paper as has been pointed out by Mr. Raghunath Dutt, one of the leading paper merchants of India. In 1939, according to Government's own calculations, more than 1 lakh tons were available while in 1943 the available supply was only 79000 tons including 70000 tons of production and 9000 tons of imports. In November 1942, the Paper Control Order reserved 90 per cent of the production for the Government which was subsequently reduced to 70 per cent. Thus in 1939 the available supply to civilians was 1 lakh ton while in 1943 it was only 30 per cent of 70000, i.e., 21000 tons plus the 9000 ton import. Therefore, a 30 per cent quota of the available supply for the public comes to 30000 tons on the basis of 1939 and to only about 14000 tons on a 1943 basis.

Mr. Dutt has drawn attention to another important fact and suggests that a uniform weightage per ream of the paper should be introduced. This has not been done so far and the result of the manufacture of paper of higher weights has been an inflation in total tonnage without any corresponding increase in the available quantity. The Mills manufacturing board-and kraft paper should also be asked now to switch off to the production of printing paper.

Government's calculation about the future production, which has been put at 70000 tons, seems overcautious. Since the peak production of 1,00,000 tons, only the Mysore Mill with a production figure of 4000 tons has closed down for want of coal and the Titaghur Mills have reduced production by 6000 tons. This takes out only about 10,000 tons from internal production, leaving, even at a moderate estimate, at least 90000 tons. We still believe, in spite of all pleadings by Sir Akbar Hydari at Bombay, that the Paper Control Orders were unduly harsh.

Scholarships for Indians in American Universities

We have received a communication from Mrs. G. J. Watumull, Chairman, Distribution Committee, Watumull Foundation, announcing one fellowship and ten scholarships to be offered by the Foundation to graduates of Indian Uni-

versities for advanced study in American Universities and technological institutes.

The Watumull Foundation, established by Mr. Gohndram J. Watumull of Honolulu, Hawaii, and Los Angeles, California, for carrying on philanthropic and educational activities which will help to increase national efficiency of India and further better understanding between the United States and India, offers one Travelling Fellowship for one year, and ten scholarships to Indian men and women to carry on higher studies and research in American universities and institutions for advanced agricultural and technical education for two years.

Only graduate students of the best type graduate medical students, graduate engineers, and graduates of Agricultural colleges are eligible for these scholarships.

These scholarships are open to men and women students of Indian parentage without any discrimination of class or religion.

Applications for the Travelling Fellowship and for Scholarships should be sent by air mail to : Mrs. G. J. Watumull, Chairman, Distribution Committee, Watumull Foundation, 937 Malcolm Avenue, Los Angeles 24, California, U. S. A.

Dr. Inge on Britain's Future

In an article to the *Evening Standard*, Sunday, the very Reverend W. R. Inge, D.D., writes with reference to Britain's future :

In my opinion, our episode of prosperous industrialism is coming to an end and will be followed by the kind of civilization which Plato and Ruskin liked best, a nation of farmers and small traders.

A nation which depends for its existence on foreign trade can never be a working man's paradise. We have only to compare the costs of production at home and in foreign countries. The British workman has been in a highly privileged position. Is there the slightest reason to suppose that this privileged position can be maintained? Our wage-earners seem to think that it can. They will certainly not make the sacrifices which alone, in my opinion, might save them. I believe, therefore, that our foreign trade is lost.

Does this mean that we shall cease to be one of the Great Powers? In a sense, yes. We must give up trying to police the world, and giving moral lectures to our neighbours.

Dr. Inge believes that the future of the British Empire will be that of Spanish Empire, and he does not think that the future belongs to the nation with most wants.

Bombay Corporation's Plan to Combat Malaria

The Bombay Municipality has launched a scheme for combating malaria. Thousands of Gambusia fish which live on the larvae of mosquitoes have been

transferred from the Palton Road and Victoria Garden fish-farms to closely guarded wells and tanks in Bombay City. The original Gambusia fish were brought from Delhi to be experimented upon at the Bombay Municipality Health Department (*Malaria*) laboratory and aquarium. About 90 overseers and 200 workmen collected specimens of mosquito larvae from all parts of the city for the Gambusia fish which was found to devour both non-malaria and malaria-carrying larvae. A medium-sized fish may eat as many as 165 larvae in one day and, therefore, it has been decided to breed more of this kind.

The Gambusia adapts itself readily to many natural conditions, inhabiting shallow stagnant water and feeds on larvae of insects. "The species is definitely carnivorous," Dr. Vatre, Assistant Health Officer (*Malaria*), told the Associated Press, "and it is known to eat its young. I have advised the building of small stone structures to protect its young."

Hand-Made Paper

Writing in the *Bombay Chronicle*, Mr. Purshottamdas Tandon draws attention of the authorities concerned to the position of hand-made paper in the face of the new Paper Control Orders. He says :

The Government has attempted by the Order to restrict the use of paper without giving any indication of its intention to make simultaneous effort to increase the production of paper. Such one-sided control is likely to defeat its purpose. The Government should have utilised this opportunity to give an impetus to the paper production of the country, specially the hand-made paper production which cannot be adversely affected by transport and other difficulties and I, therefore, suggest that the Order should be so amended as to exclude the hand-made paper for the purposes of the Order and confine the restriction to mill-made paper only. This would result in increasing the production of paper and relieving thereby to a great extent, the difficulties now being experienced by the consumers due to the restriction in the use of paper.

If there were any vagueness about the inclusion of hand-made paper within the ambit of the Paper Control Orders, Sir Akbar Hydari has removed it. He has definitely stated that hand-made paper is included in the control scheme. In perfect harmony with the general control policies of the Government, drastic cuts will be imposed on the use of hand-made paper with no encouragement to increase production. The reluctance of the Government to create a network of competition centres for imported paper after the war might also provide another explanation for this singularly drastic step which was not wanted by any section of the public.

OUR OBLIGATIONS TO THE NON-OFFICIAL EUROPEAN—III

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D., M.L.A.

I

THAT the non-official European community has always realised that the excessive representation and the economic safeguards demanded by and accorded to it need some kind of justification becomes evident when we remember the plea it put forward before the Government of India on the eve of the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919. The representations it made to the British administration were summarised in the following terms in Paragraph 4 of the First Despatch of the Government of India on Indian Constitutional Reforms dated the 5th March, 1919. It was said there that

They (non-official Europeans) claim a separate electorate and representation in proportion to their importance rather than their numerical strength and they doubt whether even this will sufficiently secure the interests of trade and commerce.

This short and pregnant summary makes three things clear. The first of these is that the non-official European, like his successor a quarter of a century later when the Government of India Act, 1935, was enacted and like most of his Indian fellow-subjects, was out to secure his economic interests by demanding communal seats and that here his democratic heritage and his professed admiration for it as well as his experience of Parliamentary procedure made no difference between him and the politically uneducated and often illiterate Indian. The second fact is that the non-official European to safeguard his interests demanded representation not on the basis of his numerical strength but on the basis of his importance wherein he was in no way different from or superior to the communal-minded Mussalman who claimed weightage on account of his historical importance and the Sikh who stressed his contribution to the Indian Army. The concluding part of the statement makes crystal clear where this importance lay, viz., his trade and commerce.

Be it remembered that all this was said at a time when, under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, the non-official European was about to be accorded altogether 58 seats in our Central and Provincial legislatures.

The Simon Commission was appointed in November, 1927, under Section 81A of the Government of India Act, 1919, to inquire into

the working of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and to offer its suggestions as regards the extension, modification or restriction of the degree of responsible government then existing in India.

For the purposes of the present discussion it is sufficient to state here that the Simon Commission recommended that the total number of seats reserved for the non-official European in the Central and Provincial legislatures should be raised from 58 to 81 or 83.

The Simon Commission referred to the importance of the European community temporarily residing in India in two places. In Paragraph 66 of the first volume of its report it said that

The noteworthy fact is that, over areas so vast and amid populations so immense and diverse, the importance of the small European community, by whatever standard it may be measured, is out of all proportion with its size.

In Paragraphs 81, 82 and 88 of the second volume of its report the Simon Commission referred to the important services rendered by non-official Europeans. Drawing attention to the valuable contributions made by British businessmen, it admitted incidentally in Paragraph 81 that the European communal seats were generally occupied by them. In this connection the attention of the reader may be drawn to the following sentence quoted from page 68 of the second volume of the Simon Commission Report where it was stated that

The numbers of Europeans in India are no fair measure of the contribution they make to the country, or of the influence they exert.

It was probably because the joint authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report realised that at that time their countrymen were more interested in commerce and trade than in industries that they drew attention to the benefits derived by India from the commercial activities of Britons. By the time that the Simon Commission Report was signed, that is to say, about twelve years later, Europeans had come to take greater interest in the development of certain types of industries and that for the same reason which had originally attracted them to commerce—the desire of obtaining high or fairly high profits with minimum risk. It is therefore that we find

the Simon Commission saying in Vol. I, Paragraph 66 of its Report signed in May, 1930, that

It is British organisation and leadership which have promoted the modern industrial development of India.

Similarly, Paragraph 13 of the Government of India's Despatch on the proposals for constitutional reforms dated the 20th September, 1930, refers to

the important contribution which this (non-official European) community has made to the economic development of India.

This refers specially to industrial development for in almost the next sentence, mention is made separately of the widespread commercial activities of Britons and the benefits India has derived from them.

The fact that the above two statements were made in the course of discussions regarding the representation to be accorded to non-official Europeans in Indian legislatures is abundant proof that this was regarded as an important factor in determining its amount.

In what follows, it is proposed to make an attempt to assess the nature and the value of the contribution made to the development of our industries by Europeans and then to find out whether these have been of sufficient importance to justify the representation accorded to the members of this community on this ground and the statutory safeguards provided for it under the Act of 1935.

II

It has been shown previously that the Industrial Revolution in England and improved communications in India due to the construction of railways, the establishment of steamer services and improvements in roads promoted the export of our raw products and the import of cheap manufactures, mainly from England. As a consequence of this, there were such large accumulations of capital in England that the openings available for its advantageous investment in its home land failed to absorb them. A. K. Cairncross in "The Victorians and Investment" which appears in *Economic History* has shown how the funded debts in England "went on yielding decreasing incomes due to falling interest rates," the natural consequence of which was the export of capital.

There were certain very good reasons for the influx of British capital into Indian industries. At that time, a British community engaged in banking and commerce had already established itself in the principal ports and centres of trade. Among the Britons who came

to our motherland in connection with the purchase of raw materials, the sale of British products, shipping, etc., a number, generally ambitious and enterprising, stayed on to take advantage of such openings in business as were available here. Most of these people had either capital of their own or could command easy money in the shape of exported British capital.

These men found that India possessed large amounts of inexpensive raw material, an abundant supply of untrained but cheap and tractable labour and a ready market for such goods as her children needed. Further, Indians lacked the necessary leadership, business organisation and capital to exploit all these advantages. Political subjection stood in the way of the development of our resources with borrowed foreign capital and imported technicians.

At the same time, most British business leaders possessed conspicuous ability. The training they had undergone in Britain coupled with the widening of their outlook due to travel and experience abroad enabled them to plan well on a large scale. Indeed, at this particular stage of our economic development, these men had the monopoly of business enterprise in India. There was no fear of competition from indigenous sources nor was there a jealous national government to place impediments in their way if and when they exploited our material resources and man-power primarily for their own benefit.

Indians may be wrong but they believe that one of the attractions India possessed for these men lay in the fact that, as a dependency and on the principle that blood is thicker than water, these businessmen felt, perhaps not always rightly, that they would meet with greater consideration from their countrymen who were ruling India in behalf of Britain than in the Colonies and Dominions where they would have men of their own race and blood as their rivals and where probably the colonials would have the first preference from their governments. So far as the question of protection of life and property was concerned, India as a dependency was in no way inferior to any of these countries.

Even then, the Britons who took up the task of industrialising India were careful to engage in industries where the minimum amount of risk had to be faced. This is clear when we remember the general order in which three different types of industries were developed.

III

Probably disinclination to face the risks involved in power manufacturing on a large scale

the products of which might not find an immediately profitable market in or outside India and which would require the investment of large amounts of capital in somewhat doubtful enterprises, induced the English investors as well as those engaged in the import and export trade of India to direct their attention first of all to what are called plantation industries, such as indigo, tea and coffee, the market of which was assured as Britain herself stood in need of them.

All the above industries with the exception of indigo are engaged in the cultivation of the crops and their preparation for the market and every one of them is organised along the same lines as the factory industries. They have been established by Europeans with European, generally British, capital mainly in areas formerly sparsely populated. Where Indians have appeared, as for instance in the tea industry, they have been late comers who have found to their dismay that all the best land suitable for cultivation has been appropriated by purchase or long lease by European concerns long before their appearance in the field.

As a general rule, the labour required is recruited from considerable distances mainly from the aboriginal tribes and the same workers are engaged in different times in both agricultural and industrial processes which are carried out scientifically. Each plantation is practically a productive unit employing a large number of workers under capitalistic control and therefore falls under the category of industries.

The returns from plantation industries, the high expectations entertained about their future prosperity as well as the increasing amount of English capital seeking investment combined to lead to the development of Indian mining industries which, beginning with the raising of coal, were gradually extended till today the major part of our mining industries is under European control.

IV

The opening of the Suez Canal which reduced the length of the voyage round the Cape of Good Hope by nearly two months and practically halved the cost of carriage stimulated our foreign trade so much that England which by that time had become "the workshop of the world" was enabled to pour into India and other industrially backward oriental countries an unending stream of her manufactures.

These factories, however, indirectly assisted the establishment of power industries in India for the eminent success achieved by them in England and the facilities for easy communica-

tion brought about by the starting of shipping services between Britain and India and the construction of railways in the latter carried along with them the implication of the easy transplanting of factories to India and the oriental countries. Machinery could be imported, spare parts could be obtained quickly and cheaply, engineers and skilled labour to install, operate and repair them could pass to and fro between England and them at much less sacrifice of time, money and convenience.

Indians believe that Europeans engaged in the gradually increasing import and export business discovered that it would be more profitable for them to start those industries in India the raw products of which were available locally and to export them in a partly or fully manufactured state. There were two factors in their favour the first being that they could use cheap Indian labour thus reducing the manufacturing costs and secondly, that the processes through which the raw materials would pass would reduce their bulk and weight which of course would reduce the cost of carriage.

Still another fact which must have weighed with the more far-sighted among them was that it would be wise for Britons to start industries manufacturing such consumer's goods as had ordinarily to be imported. In addition to the fact that they would have a ready and large market almost next door, the establishment of industries of this type would entitle them to claim the benefits of protection if and when that became the accepted policy of the British administration in India.

These are some of the reasons for the appearance of factory industries in our motherland though, as was but natural they, at the beginning, were confined to the manufacture of a comparatively few lines of goods.

While it is not maintained that chronologically there were three distinctly marked stages in the development of different types of Indian industries under British leadership, it is none the less correct to assume that, in spite of a certain amount of overlapping, factory industries made large advances after the most important among the mining industries had been stabilised and that they in their turn succeeded in securing a firm position after the plantation industries had been established.

V

Though many of the plantations, mines and industries were originally started by individual Britons, it was not long before, the force of circumstances converted them into joint-stock

companies, as for instance when the founder at the time of his retirement thought it necessary to retain some interest in the business and therefore formed a limited liability company in which he retained a large number of shares, the actual management being entrusted to either some individuals or some organisation commanding his confidence.

When India's foreign trade and large-scale industries with their demand for large amounts of capital passed to Britons, it had to be procured from their countrymen and the organisers were therefore compelled to incorporate them in England. Even when such concerns were registered in India with rupee capital, the money had to come from Britons. The capital and influence of these concerns, however, as Dr. Anstey has pointed out

were small in comparison with that of companies registered outside (India).

The organisers, almost always well-known for their integrity and business ability, were able to raise the amount required from their own countrymen without any difficulty and did so because they had not realised the desirability of associating the people of the country where they were earning profits by the exploitation of Indian labour and Indian raw materials, in their activities. Few Indians will agree to the view that any attempts made in this direction would have failed for Indian capitalists are as eager as any other people to invest their savings profitably. There was also the fact that British business enjoyed the confidence of Indians and this would have attracted Indian investors.

Actual experience proved that it was not easy to maintain the requisite continuity of policy and efficient direction and management in these British joint-stock concerns with sterling capital and with their head offices in London because managers with first-hand knowledge of Indian conditions were hard to get and these salaried officers paid frequent visits to England either on leave or for recuperation after illness. There was also the problem of replacing them when they left the concerns they were serving to better their prospects or when they died.

These were the circumstances which called the managing agency system into existence. The firms acting as managing agents not only enjoy an unimpeachable reputation for their integrity and financial soundness but usually have a number of competent and experienced partners able to replace one another thus ensuring continuous expert supervision of the concerns entrusted to their management. As they do business continuously in India, they always

have, in addition to the partners, a European staff familiar with Indian conditions and able to take responsibility thus ensuring efficiency and continuity of supervision for each individual concern under their care.

There are at least three principal reasons for the dominant position occupied by managing agency firms in the industries controlled by them. The first of these is that they invariably hold a certain minimum of shares which, along with those held by their friends, is sufficient to place them in an advantageous position. While theoretically, no one can exercise effective control without holding 51 per cent of the shares, what actually happens is that as they are distributed among people living in different parts of the country the number of whose shares is not large enough to make them take the trouble of organising a movement against the managers so long as they receive satisfactory dividends, the agency firms enjoy perfect freedom to pursue their own policy without any interference.

A method for securing control is through written agreements, terminable and non-terminable. These accord such wide powers that the managing agency firms are, to all intents and purposes, at perfect liberty to carry on their activities without any kind of let or hindrance. The fact that these cannot be revoked or cancelled unless by a 75 per cent majority of the shareholders is sufficient to practically convert terminable into non-terminable agreements.

The financial advances made by the managing agency firms as well as the fact that they are often the largest holders of debentures having a lien on the assets of the company make them the chief creditors and this makes their position almost unassailable.

VI

It would be idle to deny that just as attempts for the attainment of the largest possible measure of commercial and industrial self-sufficiency when they are likely to yield little or no profits or even to involve loss are made only where they are directed by a national government in pursuance of a national policy, similarly all ventures, commercial and industrial, whether undertaken by Indians or non-Indians, can have only one motive—the earning of profits. The British shareholders, directors and the managing agency firms entrusted with the conduct of business enterprises in India constitute no exception to this rule.

It will also be readily admitted that the principal reason why the British managing

agency firms have been permitted to enjoy almost unlimited power is that they have succeeded in this task of earning dividends which, on the whole, have satisfied those who have invested their savings in the enterprises controlled by them. Nor can it be doubted that failure on an extensive scale in this their primary task would sooner or later have led to the withdrawal by their financial backers of the powers enjoyed by them and that, taking all things together, the British managing agency firms stand to lose much more than individual share-holders however large their holdings for, as Dr. Nabagopal Das, Ph.D., (Econ.) London, I.C.S., has pointed out on page 85 of his *Industrial Enterprise in India*:

They have generally regarded their earnings from shares (as shareholders) as subordinate to their (generally much larger) earnings in other capacities and in other fields of activity.

From all this it follows that the desire to avoid loss and the profit motive operate more strongly in the case of the agency firms than in that of the shareholders.

These facts have a two-fold significance. The first of these is the minimum profits which would keep the shareholders contented and the second the industries where these could be secured with the minimum risk. So far as the first matter is concerned, we find that the opinion expressed by several leading business men (*Indian Tariff Board : Paper and Pulp Industries, Evidence, 1925, Vol. I, p. 639*) was that the minimum return necessary to draw capital into new fields was 10 to 15 per cent on the investment with of course the implication that not only would larger returns be more welcome to investors as a class but also that aliens would naturally enough prefer to lay out their savings in those enterprises which offer fair prospects of earning them on the principle that investments in foreign countries ordinarily involving larger risks are expected to yield higher returns. Still another implication equally important is that once experience shows that high or fairly large profits can be earned with comparative ease and with minimum risk in certain industrial enterprises, the tendency to concentrate on them would immediately and automatically manifest itself.

Applying these deductions to the industries organised by Britons in India, we find that the

(European) Bengal Chamber of Commerce in its evidence before the Indian Industrial Commission as referred to by the Indian Fiscal Commission (*Evidence, Vol. II, p. 929*) said :

In Calcutta, the sources from which capital is drawn for enterprise with which members of this Chamber are concerned are two-fold: Europeans in India and the United Kingdom.

Even those with limited knowledge of European business in Calcutta are aware that the Bengal Chamber of Commerce is the stronghold of British big business that is to say of people engaged in commercial pursuits and of those connected with the various managing agency firms which control jute, tea, coal and inland transport industries.

It is true that of late a certain percentage of jute shares has passed to Marwaris but these, generally used as counters for speculation, are rarely looked on as investments for profits. Excepting these, the bulk of the shares are held by non-Indians.

Dr. Vera Anstey on page 209 of her *Economic Development in India* explains the British concentration on these industries in the following way :

The initiative . . . has lain mainly with Europeans who also provided the bulk of the capital. Capital is dear, much of the interests and profits earned is payable in England, whilst only those industries have been promoted which appear most desirable in English eyes.

All these industries satisfy the first requirement—fairly high and regular dividend earning capacity while all except inland transport have earned phenomenal profits at certain times as is easily proved by the following quotation from page 221 of H. N. Brailsford's *Property or Peace* :

It is usually estimated that from £600 to £700 millions of British capital are invested in India. Part of this capital is sunk in industries which in favourable years yield fabulous profits. Coal mines have been known to pay 100 and 120 per cent on a daily wage of 8d. Out of 51 jute mills, 32 paid as much as 100 per cent in one or more years between 1919 and 1927; 29 never paid less than 20 per cent, and 10 never less than 40 per cent. During the early post-war years the profits of these jute mills ranged from six to eight times their total wages bill. For every £12 that they paid in wages to their Indian workers, they remitted £100 in profits to their shareholders in Scotland.

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(To be continued)



ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT
A Champion of the Indian People
By NARAYAN C. CHANDA, M.A.

THE later half of the 19th century of the Christian era had witnessed a glorious Intellectual Revolution in Bengal. It had been a period of ferment. The Western mind came in contact with the Eastern. The soul of India was stirred. It threw off the shackles of age-worn tradition and convention and sought new light and expression in a new-found-land. The spark of the ignited minds could be seen and felt in almost every sphere of national life—social, political, religious, cultural. And it is the life and activities of this band of worthy sons that have shaped Bengal, and in a way India also, of today. The giants of the 19th century have been makers of an age.

The race of Civilian officials, of whom Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt was a bright specimen, has unfortunately been extinct. Native Civilians have multiplied now-a-days. But where is that unextinguishable fire of patriotism, courage of conviction, bold outspokenness, breadth of vision, depth of wisdom and abiding love for the mass of the people that characterised Mr. Dutt? None among the native officials was more respected and trusted by Government than he for efficiency, reasonableness and moderation. And none at the same time was more feared by Government for the spirited advocacy of the cause of the aggrieved people that he espoused of his own accord. Mr. Dutt was a brilliant scholar. "He was a man amongst men, a prince among his peers (*primus inter pares*)," says Sir Surendranath Banerjea. Romesh Chunder had a clear brain that could grasp hard facts and use them with force in support of his arguments. He wielded a forceful pen and could write English with so much ease and grace as a few Britons of his time could do. Coming as he did, in close touch with the English literature and English society, he imbibed a genuine admiration for the noble traits of English character, namely, freedom of thought, love of independence and of fair-play. But he did not sell his soul and spirit in exchange of high honour and position that Government conferred upon him. A keen student of history, Mr. Dutt was not oblivious of India's past and not without hope for her bright future. In fact, he was proud of his motherland's past glories and exhorted his countrymen to re-build her future by their work and devotion.

Placed in the foremost rank of native officials (Mr. Dutt was the first Indian to rise to the

post of Commissioner of a Division) he was not unaware of the sorry plight of the tillers of the soil, a race of dumb, resourceless humanity that produces wealth only to wallow in perpetual penury. Mr. Dutt with his practical wisdom, mastery of facts and burning sympathy for the oppressed was rightly looked upon as a god-gift by the agricultural people of India. He had the strength of a Hercules and the love of a mother for his suffering countrymen. He initiated the movement for the amelioration of the lot of the peasants. India could not have found a bolder and wortheir fighter for her people's cause.

In course of his presidential address at the 15th meeting of the Indian National Congress at Lucknow (1899) he charged Government with ruining the Indian agriculturists and of throwing them in the jaws of recurring famines by exacting too much as land revenue assessments. This charge roused a controversy over the agrarian problems in India which was echoed in the British Parliament too. In support of his views and to make the controversy more poignant Mr. Dutt published in England *Famines in India* and widely distributed copies of the same among the British public. This was followed by another publication, more exhaustive and thought-provoking in nature, namely, *The Economic History of India*. In these books Mr. Dutt focussed a flood of light on the weak spots of the administrative machinery and exposed the loopholes through which the resources of the country are being drained by the alien rulers. Facts are always incontrovertible. And when a responsible personage like Mr. Dutt upon whom the British Government showered honours and favours like flowers from heaven assailed the authorities, there was much heart-burning amongst some section of the English and Anglo-Indians. They expected Mr. Dutt to be docile and obliging like a royal tiger, made drowsy under the influence of drugs, in a circus show. But when contrary to their wishes, Mr. Dutt held Government responsible for financial ruin and the chronic crushing poverty of the Indian people, they must have exclaimed in their heart, "Thou too Brutus!" The *Civil and Military Gazette* indirectly charged Mr. Dutt of ingratitude and disloyalty when it remarked:

"But for the British rule in India Mr. Dutt, with all his ability, could not have hoped to rise above the position, perhaps, of Amil under some Muhammadan

out of the country as Home Charges. An additional sum of several millions is sent in the form of private remittances by European officers, drawing their salaries from the Indian revenues."

India has of late been known as a proverbially poor country with heavy, ever-increasing public debts. She is being administered as a deficit concern. Mr. Dutt dispels the erroneous notion of the public about the causes of such debts. He observes :

"A very popular error prevails in this country that the whole Indian debt represents British capital sunk in the development of India. It can be shown that this is not the genesis of the Public Debt of India. When the East India Company ceased to be rulers of India in 1858, they piled up an Indian debt of 70 millions. They had in the meantime drawn a tribute from India, financially an unjust tribute, exceeding 150 millions, not calculating interest. They had also charged India with the cost of Afghan wars, Chinese wars, and other wars outside India. Equitably, therefore, India owed nothing at the close of the Company's rule; her Public Debt was a myth, there was a considerable balance of over 100 millions in her favour out of the money that had been drawn from her." (Italics mine.)

Mr. Dutt appeals to the good sense and impartial judgment of the wider public when he writes.

"The history of Indian Debt is a distressing record of financial un wisdom and injustice; and every impartial reader can reckon for himself how much of this Indian Debt is morally due from him."

Finally he sums up thus the position of India so far as her wealth and resources are concerned :

"These are the plain facts of the economic situation in India. Given these conditions, any fertile, industrious, peaceful country in the world would be what India is to-day. If manufacturers were crippled agriculture overtaxed, and a third of the revenue remitted out of the country, any nation on earth would suffer from permanent poverty and recurring famine. Economic laws are the same in Asia as in Europe. If India is poor to-day, it is through the operation of economic causes. (Italics mine.)

What Mr. Dutt wrote about half a century ago is applicable today with as much aptitude and poignancy as then. Nothing worth mentioning has been done in these years to revive manufacture and commerce of the people. Bengal with her rich soil and the possibility of surplus crops has deteriorated into a deficit province as regards food supply for her own population. She has of late had to depend upon Burma rice for feeding her children. And the famine of 1943 has served as an eye-opener. Famine with greater or smaller intensity and extensity has been a curse and a blot on British rule in India. Mr. Dutt could recollect horrors of ten such famines in course of forty years. He was pained that no vigorous endeavours were

made to permanently safeguard the people against the ravages of such disasters. The calamities of the people roused his sympathies and put words into his tongue. He spoke warmly and boldly as a spoke-man of the dumb suffering humanity. In course of his spirited speech at Madras in 1902, while reviewing the general economic and political conditions of the people, he said :

" . . . Never were greater misfortunes and deaths crowded together within so brief a space. Never did a civilised, fertile, and industrious country present a scene of more widespread poverty and desolation."

In the same speech he feelingly described the miseries of the people which are a perfectly true picture of the calamities of 1943 also. He said :

"If there is one object which should be above the sphere of party controversy and should appeal to the humanity of all, it is the subject of those famines which are desolating the country so frequently in recent years. And if any of you, gentlemen, have visited relief centres as I have recently done, and seen hundreds and thousands of starving and tottering men and women, our brothers and our sisters, crawling along the roads, resting under trees, lying down on the wayside perhaps to die before the hands of relief can reach them, you will have felt, as I felt, that this calamity, this overwhelming scene of human suffering and distress, and death cries to Heaven for a permanent redress."

A true friend of the Indian people, Mr. Dutt was a dreamer of bright dreams. He was an indefatigable worker, a robust optimist. He trusted in India's future greatness and instilled that noble rage in all those who came in contact with him. Mr. Dutt was a cosmopolitan. He won the hearts of many by the charm of his character and through his numerous writings. He was a finished epistolary. Among many others he made the acquaintance of the Begum of Janjira. To this lady he addressed a fine poem wherein he suggests how real service to the Motherland may be rendered. The poem has a pointed bearing on the pre-existent day politics. We quote below a stanza and a portion of the other :

Help the son of loom and anvil,
Raise the tiller of the soil,
Trust in duty humbly rendered,
Trust in India's future star,
And our unborn sons and daughters
Shall be higher than we are.

* * *

Caste and creed will often wrangle,
Tear apart those who are one,
Greed and selfishness will hinder
What by selfless work is won;
But true-hearted men and women
Moslem or of Hindu faith,
Love of men their high religion,
Serve their country until death.

Unity among the people and sustained efforts for the realisation of the great goal—self-government attained by the people—were the watch-words of Mr. Dutt. He had a shrewd suspicion that greed and selfishness reared and fostered by interested quarters, might hinder the progress of the selfless band of workers. He could prophesy from his fund of political wisdom that division in the rank would weaken motherland's cause. This should not be allowed. Caste and creed should be subservient to the noblest cause of the land of birth.

"This," says Mr. Dutt in course of his speech at Lucknow in 1908, "is Dharma; it is the duty of every nation to strive for progress, as it is the endeavour of the plant to seek for light. If we are true to ourselves

in educational and social reforms, in industrial and political endeavours, our future is assured. Every act of self-seeking and untruth holds us back; every act of self-sacrifice and devotion sees us further on our onward march."

All the political writings of Mr. Dutt were published in English as they were meant as much for the Indian public as for the British. To the larger section of Bengal literates he is known as only a historical novelist of repute who had Sir Walter Scott and Bankim Chunder as his model. It is time that his political aspirations, his sympathies, his unremitting exertions in the cause of his motherland and brother citizens were widely known, evaluated and appraised.

U. N. R. R. A. AND INDIA

BY ASHUTOSH DAS

THE present war has set the mightiest machine of destruction in motion. The ruthless and organised exploitation of resources both physical and human, has depleted the material stocks of the world. The whole apparatus of productive forces has been overworked and is to be reconditioned. These will greatly intensify the forces leading to instability in the post-war world. Therefore, it is necessary and wise to devise policies in advance if the risk of economic depression and unemployment is to be mitigated in post-war years. It should be thought out beforehand to adopt means and measures by which as smooth a transition as possible can be effected from war to peace economy.

The bitter experience of the reconstruction of Europe after the last Great War of 1914-18, is a sharp pointer in this direction. After the war of 1918, there was terrible difficulty and dislocation in making deliveries to some devastated countries of Europe specially to some parts of Eastern and Central Europe. To avoid any such difficulty in post-war years, this time a comprehensive and well-thought-out plan has to be chalked out. The feeding of Europe after the war will be more than a matter of immediate relief shipments, urgent as these undoubtedly will be. It may well be a sound financial and economic policy for governments in a position to do so to make contributions in order to expedite the revival of economic activity in stricken areas. Nothing is gained by dressing such relief in deceptive financial attire.

Therefore, with a view to give relief to disabled and displaced persons and rehabilitate them to proper spheres and positions, as well as

to reconstruct devastated territories, at the instance of the British Government the Inter-Allied Post-War Requirements Committee was formed in London in September, 1941. It consisted in the main of the European exiled governments and the British Government. U. S. A., and Soviet Union were also invited to join the team. The Soviet Government only appointed an observer. The U. S. A., at first, had been an observer, but later on took part in the regular work of the Committee.

After the entry of Japan into the war, the Far Eastern Zone was in a state of ferment. Japan occupied a considerable part of territories in South-East Asia. So, necessity was felt to expand the scope of the Inter-Allied Post-War Requirements Committee, which was mainly concerned with the task of re-establishing production and civilian life in the occupied countries of Europe. Both the Soviet Government and U. S. A. Government, who were more or less outside the Committee, put forward suggestions for the creation of a truly international organisation to restore civilian life and to take up post-war relief work in all war-stricken areas in post-war years. The Government of Great Britain, the U. S. A., the Soviet Union and China held discussions for a long time and in June, 1943, the U. S. A. Government put forth for discussion a draft document envisaging a scheme to establish an organization called the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

To give a final shape to U. N. R. R. A. (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration), representatives of 44 Govern-

ments affiliated to the United Nations, joined a ceremony held at the White House, Washington, on the 9th November, 1943, and signed the agreement implementing the various proposals for U. N. R. R. A. The next day, the representatives of these Nations met at Atlantic City, New Jersey, in the first session of the Council. The Council met continuously for three weeks to frame its plan and programme. The Council is vested with the supreme authority of laying down policies and also general policies of administration. Every country has one representative only to the Council irrespective of her size or population. Under this Council which is the supreme policy-making body, there are four Committees. The first one is the Central Committee composed of the four powers, viz., U. S. A., U. K., Soviet Union and China. The Central Committee has got to exercise the power vested in the Council during adjournments of the Council. But on important matters affecting the policy and principles of the Administration, the ratification of the Council will be imperative. There is also a proviso that if any decision is to be taken in which the interests of any particular country or countries are involved, then the country or countries so concerned will be invited to participate in the deliberations of the Central Committee. The second is a Committee of Supplies made up of the principal supply nations, the third is a Committee on European Relief, while the fourth is a committee for the Far East and consists of the representatives of Australia, China, New Zealand, the Philippines, the U. K., the U. S. A., the Netherlands and the French National Committee.

Now the agreement for U. N. R. R. A. contains ten articles incorporated in it. The salient features of the Articles are given below:

Article 1.—The administration shall have power to acquire, hold and convey property, to enter into contracts, and undertake obligations, to review the activities of agencies so created, to manage undertakings and in general to perform any legal act appropriate to its objects and proposals. Further, it is to plan, co-ordinate, administer or arrange for the administration of measures for relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter and basic necessities, medical and other essential services, and to facilitate in such areas, so far as is necessary, the adequate provision of relief, the production and transportation of these articles and the furnishing of these services.

Article 2.—The members of the U.N.R.R.A. shall be the Governments or authorities as may upon application of membership be admitted thereto by sanction of the Council.

Article 3.—Each member government shall name one representative and such alternates as may be necessary, upon the Council of the U.N.R.R.A., which

shall be the policy-making body of the Administration. The Council shall, for each of its sessions, select one of its members to preside at the session. The Council shall be convened in regular session not less than twice a year by the Central Committee. The Central Committee of the Council shall consist of all the members of the Council or their alternates or member governments within the European area. The Committee of the Council for the Far East shall consist of all the members of the Council or their alternates, representing member governments of territories within the Far Eastern Area.

Article 4.—The Executive authority of the U.N.R.R.A. shall be in the Director-General who shall be appointed by the Council on the nomination by unanimous vote of the Central Committee.

Article 5.—In so far as is appropriate the Constitutional bodies shall authorise each member government to contribute to the support of the administration.

Article 6.—The Director-General shall submit to the Council an annual budget and from time to time such supplementary budgets as may be required, covering the necessary administrative expenses of the Administration.

Article 7.—While hostilities or other military necessities exist in any area, the Administration and its Director-General shall not undertake activities therein without the consent of the military command.

Article 8.—The provisions of the agreement may be amended by two-thirds votes of the Council.

Article 9.—The agreement shall generally come into force with respect of each signatory on the date when the agreement is signed.

Article 10.—Any member government may give notice of withdrawal from the Administration at any time after the expiration of six months from the entry of that Government.

The birth of the U. N. R. R. A. is not due to solely humanitarian motive but to the grim necessities of war. The U. N. R. R. A. will face one of the most formidable tasks that have risen to perplex the nations of the earth. The broad principle of the U. N. R. R. A. is that each nation should endeavour to bear its share of the sacrifice. The liberated people will require 50,000,000 tons of food-stuffs, raw materials and other articles of prime necessity in the first six months after the war. The essence of the scheme is that all should draw upon a common pool of supplies and transport. Relating to the relief to be required for China it is estimated that out of 460 million population of China approximately 200 million have their homes in occupied China and in the war zones. 220 million live in free China and the 10 million are displaced persons. Of the 200 million in occupied China about 30 per cent will need relief, i.e., 60 million. Of the 40 million war refugees, about 60 per cent will need relief, that is 24 million. The total population needing relief comes to the figure of 84 million. In Russia also about 10 to 12 million people will have to be rehabilitated. Besides this relief over 20,000,000 people will require to be repatriated when the 'cease fire' order is given.

The repatriation may land the population to the danger of epidemics. Therefore, the medical side of the U. N. R. R. A. will have to discharge important activities. It is surmised that the nine European countries under U. N. R. R. A. will need 45,000,000 tons of supplies for the first six months after liberation. If the various European countries were left to compete for the limited supply of goods when the war ends, the result would lead to competitive buying and forcing up prices in a progressive inflationary spiral. Therefore, failure to organise relief and rehabilitation would postpone indefinitely a return to conditions which will render the resumption of commerce or anything like pre-war scale possible.

The U. N. R. R. A. has laid it down that supplies made available to small countries should not be limited to their ability to provide foreign exchange in payment of deliveries or shipping for the transport of goods. The main beneficiaries of the scheme will largely be the smaller countries. The powers which will generally make the greatest contribution will be those which will derive the least advantage except in the sense that all of them are interested in the earliest possible resumption of International Trade.

At the first session of the Council of the U. N. R. R. A. held in U. S. A., some resolutions were adopted respecting the repatriation of displaced persons. The Council recommended that the member government and the Director-General of the U. N. R. R. A. should exchange information on all phases of the problem, including such matters as the numbers and places of temporary residence of the nationals of other countries, or stateless persons, with their territories. Its further recommendations are that member governments should consult and give full aid to the Director-General, so that he might in concert with them, plan, co-ordinate, administer or arrange for the administration of orderly and effective measures for the return to their homes, of prisoners, exiles and other displaced persons.

The question of the assistance to be given by the Administration as regards rehabilitation of persons displaced by enemy or ex-enemy intruders in their homes from which nationals of the United Nations had been expelled, should be considered a separate issue. The Committee on Health of the U. N. R. R. A. should co-operate with the Health Authorities of various countries concerned at the initiative of the Director-General and also with such agencies as the

International Red Cross and the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees.

For working the scheme embodied in U. N. R. R. A. a large sum of money is to be raised. So, it was at first settled that financial contributions by the member governments would be based on the principle that each nation whose country had not been occupied by the enemy, should pay a sum equivalent to 1 per cent of its national income for year ending 30th June, 1943. On this basis Britain's contribution will be in the neighbourhood of £80,000,000 while the U. S. A. will be paying \$1,350,000,000, that is, about 65% of the total estimated \$2,000,000,000 of the U. N. R. R. A. funds. Under the agreement India is free to determine the amount and nature of its contribution and also to choose the manner in which supplies should be provided or procured. Later on some modifications were also made by the Council of the U. N. R. R. A. for assessing the amount of the contribution. The Council recognises that there are cases in which the recommendations of the 1 per cent contribution of the national income of each member government may conflict with particular demands arising from the contribution of war or may be excessively burdensome because of special situations. Therefore, the Council has made a provision that the amount and character of the contribution recommended is subject to special conditions.

Considering all these factors it may be said that the U. N. R. R. A. in a sense is the first international organisation to operate in this war. Its constitution providing for regional councils in Europe and Asia and for the exercise of policy and executive power has established a model.

On November 9, 1943, the representative of the Government of India signed the agreement of U. N. R. R. A. On the 4th April, 1944, Sir M. Azizul Haque, Member for Commerce, Industries and Civil Supplies, Government of India, moved the following resolution in the Indian Legislative Assembly :

"This Assembly approves of the U.N.R.R.A. Agreement, signed at Washington on November 9, 1943. In expressing its approval this Assembly recommends that any area important for the military operations of the United Nations should be included in the benefits to be made available by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration."

The Assembly after discussions on the proposals passed the resolution.

It is, therefore, a patent fact that India is closely associated with the U. N. R. R. A. and actively interested in its affairs. The estimate of India's share of administrative expenses is roughly Rs. 13 lakhs for the year 1943-44. Sir

Azizul Haque also said in the Assembly that India's general contribution should be Rs. 8 to 10 crores. But some members of the Assembly thought it expedient that India should only contribute 2 per cent of the Government of India's budgetary income, that is, about Rs. 5½ crores. Sir Azizul Haque informed the Assembly that it would be open to the Government of India to settle the terms under which the appropriation should be made either in the field of foreign credit or in the shape of supplies excepting that India would have to pay for American currency or British currency to the extent of 10 per cent of India's total contributions.

The most pertinent question is as to what is the benefit that India would derive from U. N. R. R. A. Regarding this some justified suspicion arose after the formal inauguration of U. N. R. R. A., when the question of Bengal famine was raised before the Council of the U. N. R. R. A. through a letter by Mr. J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, addressed to Mr. Dean Acheson the Chairman of U. N. R. R. A.; the latter replied to Mr. Singh that the unfortunate situation in Bengal was not within the competence of the Council to discuss at that session.

However, after groping through much technical and legal formulas rather than which was practical and expedient, the U. S. A. House of Representatives passed an amendment of the Congressman Karl Mundt to the U. N. R. R. A. Bill in following terms :

"In expressing its approval of this Act, it is the recommendation of the Congress that, in so far as funds and facilities permit, any area important to the United Nations' military operations which may be stricken by famine or disease shall be included in the benefits available through the U.N.R.R.A."

Another problem of major importance is as to who are the persons to obtain relief from U. N. R. R. A. Now, it is estimated that the number of Indian evacuees to India from territories now under Japanese occupation is not less than 5 lakhs. Moreover, Indian population in the Far East where Japan dominated, will be about 13 to 14 lakhs. Indians born or permanently resident in Burma and Far East, who have sought refuge in India as a result of the war, are expected to have the help of the U. N. R. R. A. in their return home in the liberated territories after the end of the war. Indian nationals who before the war, normally resided in Burma and the Far East in order to earn their livelihood, will come to this category.

As to the question of the representation of

India to U. N. R. R. A., there are also prominent factors to be reckoned with. If India's goods should specially be earmarked for countries, such as Burma, China, Malaya, etc., then it is quite reasonable to demand that as many Indians as possible should be represented on the administrative and technical staffs of the U. N. R. R. A. It is now understood that India will be entitled to the membership of the Far Eastern Regional Committee of U. N. R. R. A., one of whose functions will be to advise the Director-General of the U. N. R. R. A. on the organisation of measures to assist displaced persons. India will also be represented on the Technical Committee on Displaced Persons, which the Council of the U. N. R. R. A. has decided to set up.

But still the position of India in the U. N. R. R. A. organisation is of an inferior status. India has not been taken in the Central Committee of the Council of the U. N. R. R. A. India has legitimate grievances for this. India is now the main supply and defence base of the East Asia-war theatre of the United Nations. Therefore, it behoves that Indian representatives should be taken in the Central Committee.

The intents and purposes of U. N. R. R. A., so far adumbrated, seem to be well-meant. But still it must be said that it has not been ushered into being only to show the philanthropic motive of the U. S. A. and U. K., who will contribute the major portion of the expenses of U.N.R.R.A. If the distress of India's mainland has been brought within the scope of the relief of the U. N. R. R. A., it has been done mainly for the interests of the United Nations. It is to the advantage of the war efforts of the United Nations to ensure that another nightmare of famine does not stalk in India again, which is detrimental to the ultimate victory. In spite of this, India cannot wholeheartedly accept U.N.R.R.A. as an unmixed blessing. The reason is that unless and until India attains full status of national independence, India's representation in U. N. R. R. A. will be strictly official and bureaucratic. India's participation in U.N.R.R.A. will fail to create public confidence and enthusiasm. Then again, India can only contribute such consumer's goods and raw materials as she can spare with the least strain on its own economy. So long it is not definitely ensured that India will have an effective and potential voice in guiding the main policy of U.N.R.R.A. for India's benefits, her participation in this huge show will be one of forced and routine duty according to the dictates of the British Government.

PICTURESQUE VARKALA

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

THE village of Varkala which lies about half-way between Trivandrum and Quilon is famous both as a sanatorium and a great pilgrim centre. Approached from either town by road, rail or canal, Varkala or *Janardanam* is considered as sacred as Benares and Gaya and always there is a rush of pilgrims from far and near to this hallowed spot highly favoured by Nature. The temple is dedicated to God Maha Vishnu, one of whose many names is Janardana. Hence the name of the place, *Janardanam*. Legend and history vie with each other to contribute to the sanctity and importance of this temple. Two interesting stories are current about the origin of this celebrated temple, ideally situated on a piece of cliffy headland and commanding a magnificent view of the neighbouring country.

The great Rishi Narada whom the *Puranas* describe as the wandering minstrel and master mischief-maker, once visited the abode of Lord Vishnu. After a jovial conversation with the God, Narada peregrinated to the abode of Lord Brahma. Lord Vishnu, entrapped by the soul-entrancing and rapturous melodies from Narada's *veena*, followed the songster quietly and unobserved. Narada soon reached the mansion of God Brahma. To his great delight and astonishment Brahma noticed Lord Vishnu standing behind Narada. Immediately Brahma offered salutations to Vishnu. Maha Vishnu realising his delicate and embarrassing position instantly vanished from there. When Brahma straightened himself after prostrating in front of Maha Vishnu he found to his utter bewilderment that he had fallen at the feet of Narada his own son and not Lord Maha Vishnu. The attendant gods of Brahma, nine in number, known as the *Navaprajapatis* who were witnessing the strange turn of events burst out into hilarious laughter and cut jokes at the expense of Brahma. This excited Brahma's wrath and he in his boundless anger cursed the *Navapraja-*

patis to be translated into mortals and decreed them to suffer the throes of birth and death. Narada consoled the nine attendant gods who were forthwith changed into human beings and counselled them to do penance and propitiate Maha Vishnu at a place which he would select by throwing his *valkalam* (garment made out of the bark of trees). The *valkalam* thrown by Narada fell on a tree now identified with the spot in front of the temple at Janardanam. Hence the name Varkala, a corrupt form of Valkala. Legend has it that the fallen *Navaprajapatis* built a temple here and consecrated it to Lord Maha Vishnu, the God of Protection in the Hindu Trinity. This temple is said to have been washed away by the sea sometime



A general view of Varkala—showing the sea, the road and the canal

after the *Navaprajapatis* had left the place after regaining their original form.

Many years after, a mighty Pandyan monarch who was haunted by a *Brahma Rakshasa* (ghost of a Brahmin whom the king had accidentally killed) and who had made numerous pilgrimages to holy places throughout India, and performed numberless ceremonies to expiate his sin, but all to no avail, came to Varkala, on hearing about the sanctity of the place. To his great surprise the King found

that no sooner had he set his foot on the soil of Varkala than the demon left his body. The Pandyan Potentate was overjoyed. The people of the locality advised him to build a temple in the place of the one swallowed by the sea. The King ordered a temple to be constructed and he personally supervised its construction. When the work was nearing completion the King had a dream one night. The God who appeared before the King in dream told him that on a certain day there would float on the sea at a particular spot some flowers and that underneath that surface would be found the original image consecrated by the Navaprajapatis. The God also ordained that the Pandyan King should install that image in the temple. Accordingly,

Umayamma Rani (1678-1684 A.D.) the management of the temple was taken over by the State. The deity's right hand is shaped as if holding water. Orthodox folk believe that holy water is slowly dripping from the hand of God Janardana and that when this process of dripping stops the world would reach the end of Kali Yuga and be destroyed.

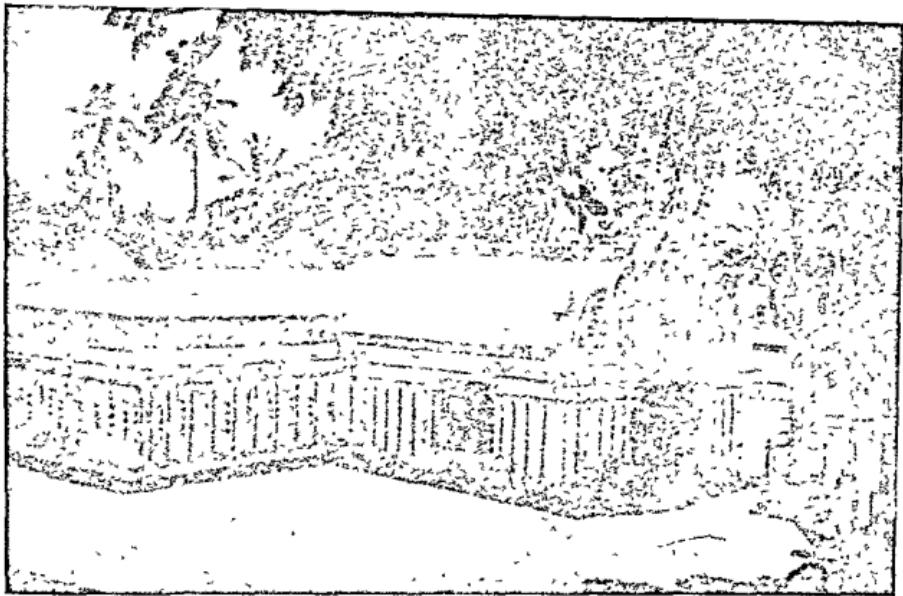
Varkala is a famous pilgrim centre on account of its great antiquity and high sanctity. Orthodox Hindus from far and near flock to Varkala to perform *Sraddhas* (religious rites in honour of departed relations) and worship at this shrine. The shrine is ideally and picturesquely situated on a headland overlooking the sea. A flight of steps leads to the temple. An inscription dating 1252 A.D. indicates that the shrine was rebuilt that year. The Latin inscription on the huge temple bell reveals that it was made by the Dutch and presented to the temple by them. The bell used in the temple for announcing the daily *pooja* is the gift of the Captain of a Dutch ship. Many years ago, a Dutch vessel which was sailing south was becalmed just off the shore facing the shrine. The ship lay there for many weeks. One day the Captain of the ship who had heard about the prowess of God Janardana told the priest of the temple that he would give away his ship's bell to the shrine as a gift if a wind would blow. The priest offered



The famous cliffs at Varkala, portions of which rise abruptly from the beach

the image was brought up from the bottom of the sea by a fisherman; but the right hand of the image was found broken. The broken arm was however attached to the body. When, on an auspicious hour, the image was to be installed in the new shrine, all persons assembled there fell into a trance. On their recovery from the magic trance they found to their awe and amazement that Lord Brahma himself had come to the spot and disappeared after consecrating the image. The Pandyan King stayed at Varkala for sometime, endowed the temple liberally and left it after entrusting the management to a body of trustees, the chief of whom was Karuthadathu Pazhur Nambudiripad. The Nambudiripad and the other members of the Board of Trustees fell out after a time, and during the reign of Queen

prayers to the deity and a wind blew. The Captain kept his promise. The temple contains some of the finest specimens of sculptures and wood carvings. The stone figures of Nataraja, Mammatha and Rati which embellish the front porch of the shrine are masterpieces. The wooden figures on the ceiling of the *namaskara mandapa* are exquisite. The temple, imposing and solitary, stands conspicuous from afar, dominating Varkala. Varkala rose into prominence during the reign of His Highness the Maharaja Martanda Varma, the Maker of Modern Travancore. Aiyappan Martanda Pillai Dalawa who was the Prime Minister of the State from 1758 to 1763 A.D. ordered a number of *matoms* to be constructed close to the shrine at Varkala. These houses, twenty-four



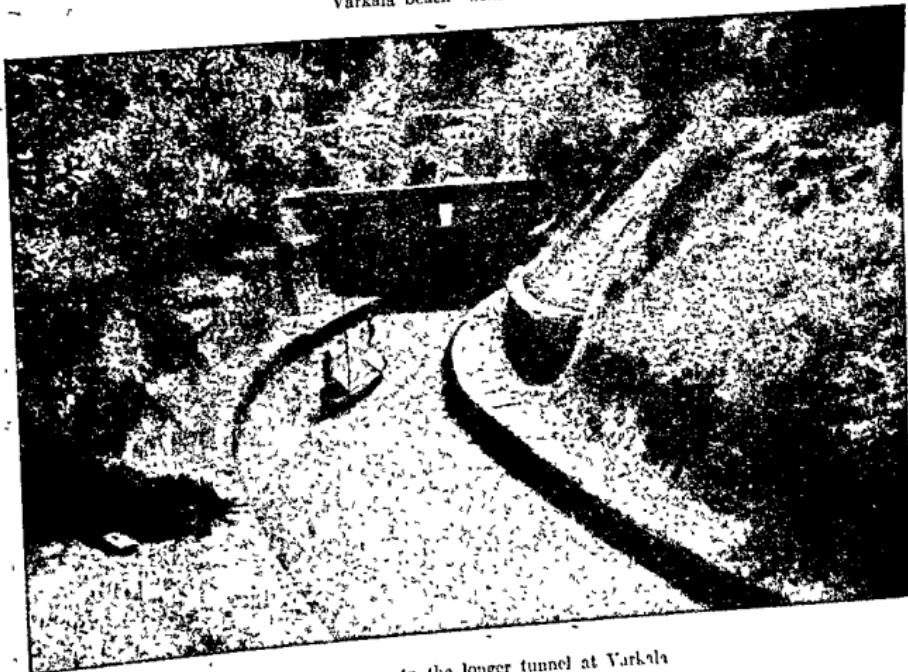
The Temple at Varkala



A general view of Varkala

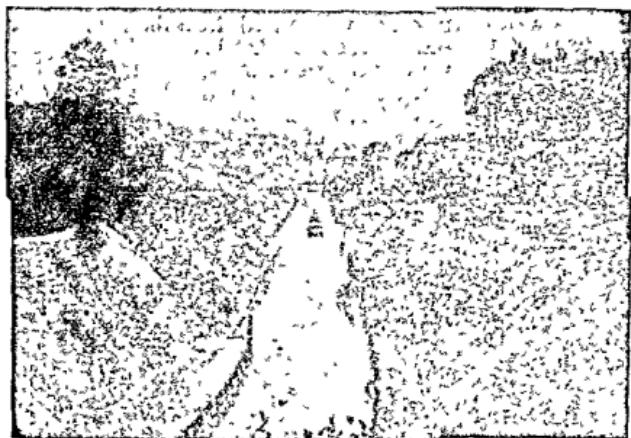


Varkala beach—with the cliffs



The entrance to the longer tunnel at Varkala

in number, were given away by the Maharaja as gifts to worthy Brahmins learned in religious lore. This provided a great impetus to people to come and settle down at Varkala, which till then was too poorly inhabited. Now Varkala is known throughout India as a celebrated pilgrim centre and health resort.



A view of the Varkala canal

At the foot of the sacred hillock the summit of which is adorned by the shrine is a beautiful tank which is separated from the hillock only by the road leading to the surf line. The tank receives its unending supply of crystal clear water from one of the subterranean streams which constitute the pride of Varkala. The stream which feeds the tank flows underneath the temple and the water with which the *abhishekam* (anointing with holy water) of the deity is performed is drawn from this tank. The underground stream falls into the tank in a lovely and lively leap. Bathers swim to this place to be purified and caressed by the cooling cascade of mineral water.

Varkala is very sacred to the Ezhavas, a progressive community in the State numbering more than 8 lakhs. Sivagiri, two miles from the

Janardanam Temple, is a hallowed spot. It was here that Sree Narayana Guru Swami, the spiritual head of the Ezhavas, established a religious centre and consecrated the *Sarada Pradishta* in 1912 A.D. The Guru Swami gave up his mortal coil at Sivagiri and the place of his *samadhi* is supremely sacred to the Ezhavas. He was a modern Yogi, a great socio-religious reformer, and a Sanskrit scholar, who proclaimed the doctrine "One Caste, One Religion and One God for Mankind." Romain Rolland hailed Sri Narayana Guru as a "*Gnani* of action and a great religious man." Every year, during Chaitra Pournami in the month of April, devotees from far and near rush to Sivagiri to participate in the grand and spectacular anniversary celebrations of the Sarada Temple consecrated by Acharya Guru Swami. Varkala is then in her high splendour.

Varkala is a splendid sanatorium, pleasant alike to those who seek recreation and



On the water-route to Varkala—a view of the canal

invigoration and who long for quiet relaxation and idle dreaming. This first-rate spa and watering place is situated amidst sylvan surroundings of exquisite charm. The balmy and steady sea-breeze which continuously blows is in itself

freshing. Varkala is blessed with three holy springs which are famous throughout India for their curative powers. They are popularly known as Chakra Teertham, Papanasa Teertham and Janardana Teertham. Legend and tradition aver that the Chakra Teertham was the result of the supplications of the Navaprajatis to Maha Vishnu through Narada for good water. Maha Vishnu by the use of his Sudarsana Chakram caused the holy Ganges to shoot up from a spring underneath. It is believed by those who are steeped in orthodox faith that God Brahma performed a *yagam* (sacrifice) at Varkala and so the place was purified and turned into a sanatorium. The strata of lignite and the mineral waters bubbling forth from the

in curative properties to the mineral waters bubbling forth from the well-known spas and other watering places of Europe. The water here is wholesome and free from organic impurity. Ailing humanity groaning under pains of various kinds of rheumatism and skin diseases has found the Varkala springs working miraculous cures. The springs are unseen but the mineral waters perpetually gush forth from the solid face of the rocks. The State has harnessed the springs for the convenience of the visitors by collecting the scattered waters into a single spout through galvanised pipes. There are two sets of spouts, the waters of each differing in composition. Baths have been constructed to afford privacy to bathers. Varkala is a natural sanatorium with its perennial springs. It deserves to be called the Brighton of the East.

The red cliffs of Varkala look austere and magnificent. To gaze at these cliffs which rise abruptly from the seashore is to witness a grand sight. Stately cocoanut palms clothe the crest of the cliffs. A marvellous medley of ferns and bushes cover the flanks. Rugged—the partly strangely folded stratified rocks stand on guard round the cliffs greyish brown in shadow but shimmering in shades of red, yellow and brown when the sun warms them. The jagged and serrated ridges of the red cliffs cut sharply into the deep blue sky. The crystal clear waters of



Coir yarn making on the banks of the canal—a familiar sight on the way to Varkala

natural springs at Varkala are attributed to this *yagam*. Tradition also relates that Parasurama who reclaimed the West Coast performed a great sacrifice at Varkala to make the land fertile and charming. Popular belief is that the water with which the God is daily anointed falls into the well on the northern side of the temple and shoots up again as several springs. Pious Hindus believe that the sins of those who bathe in the Papanasa Teertham will be washed away and that its waters are composed of the waters of the 66 crores of holy teerthams scattered throughout India. The mineral waters of Varkala have contributed to the growing popularity of the place as a sanatorium. A scientific examination of the waters of the Varkala springs has revealed that they are equal

to the ocean wash the foot of the cliffs and bedeck it with silvery foams. The destructive forces of the sea have cut ridges into the flanks of the cliffs. Nature revels at Varkala. The land ends in a dizzy cliff. The beach gleams. The gentle hills round the canal and the towering red cliffs near the seashore rise in delicate curves, imposing and lovely. Sixty and more feet above the visitor's head, the feathery leaves of the cocoanut palms wave; they have no community of action, but bow this way and that at their pleasure, only protesting unanimously if the breeze annoys them with full-volumed vigour. When the air is calm they converse with graceful gestures, beckoning with suavest invitation. Inland the plough cuts furrows. Warm breeze, mild and invigorating, caresses the entire area

Colour and light enliven the landscape. Richly coloured and liquid sunshine characteristic of the bright tropical sun, renders the landscape and seascape smart and lively.

He who wishes to see and enjoy one of the most charming of marvels created by Nature's magic wand should travel in a canoe through the Varkala canal. Beautiful are the shores with whispering reeds, and cocoanut palms. This region is like a poet's dream and the most vivid imagination cannot conceive of anything more picturesque than the canal route. Both sides of the canal are heavily wooded to the water's edge. Varkala is a high promontory about six miles in breadth, the loftiest portions of which have been tunnelled in two places to a length of nearly one mile, while the remaining portions have been cut into a beautiful canal. A strip of land from seven to one and a half miles wide separates the canal from the sea. The Varkala tunnels, two in number which are standing monuments of engineering skill were completed in 1880. The big tunnel which pierces the Varkala cliffs is 2364 ft. long. The small tunnel is 924 ft. long. The maximum

height of the tunnel is 17 ft., and the maximum width 16 ft. The lovely sight of the glistening fresh water stream from the interior emptying itself languorously into the sea after a tough fight with the fury of the breakers which seem to resent its entry into the ocean, is a thrilling sight. The battle between the stream and the surf fills the visitor with awe and wonder. Two hundred yards to the north of the Varkala beach is hidden a precious secret of Nature. There a bubbling stream shooting up from a subterranean source embraces the sea. This strange phenomenon has baffled geologists who endeavour to unveil this guarded mystery.

Mahatma Gandhi paid a fitting tribute to the charms of Varkala when he, in the course of a reply to an Address presented to him by the people of Varkala, spoke thus:—"You have tickled me by inviting me to come and settle down here. The temptation is really great. This is one of the pleasantest spots in India and the weather here is magnificent." This epitomises in a masterly manner the impressions of a visitor to Varkala, a Paradise on Earth.

EARLY HISTORY OF SILK IN BENGAL

By DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

INDIA and China are the two oldest centres of sericulture and silk manufacture; but it was from India that silk was first introduced into Europe. The earliest varieties of silk were undoubtedly the product of the non-domesticated worm. No mention of the mulberry-eating silk worm has yet been discovered in the early Indian literature. There is one opinion that the domesticated silk worm is not an indigenous product of India, it has come from China. The Imperial Gazetteer of India¹ writes on the history of the silk industry in India:

It is probably correct that the most ancient references to silk by Sanskrit authors denote one or other of the non-domesticated worms and not the true silk worm of modern commerce. All the passages that speak of the mulberry-worm in early Hindu literature refer to an imported and not a locally produced silk. Neither this worm nor the plant on which it feeds has ever been found in indigenous condition in India—certainly never in the parts of India where sericulture exists.

Mention of silk garments is found in the contemporary literatures of India and China about 5000 years ago. In our Vedic and Epic literatures, mention is made of *Kausheya*, *Kshauma* and *Patta* cloths. From time immemorial "the natives (of Bengal and adjoining provinces) have manufactured this (Tussar) silk into cloth called *Tusseh-doot'his*".²

Kautilya³ mentions four varieties of textile commodities which were produced in Bengal in his time, viz., *kshauma*, *dukula*, *patrona* and *karpasika*. Of these *kshauma* and *patrona* were silk. "Patrona appears to be wild silk. Amara (II. vi, 3, 14) defines it as 'a bleached or white *kausheya*', while the commentator says that it was "a fibre produced by the saliva of a worm on the leaves of certain trees".⁴ In the

2. Thomas Wardle, *Paris Industrial Exhibition 1878. A Monograph*.

3. *Arthashastra*, Bk. II, Ch. II.

4. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 655.

Sabhaparva of the Mahabharata we find Sakas or Scythians from the northern Himalayas bring silk cloths as presents to Yudhishthira. Mention of Chinangshuk in Kalidasa's dramas does not prove that silk was not manufactured in this country. Even if there were indigenous produces, Chinese silk of different qualities might have been imported.

Earliest mention of silk in China is found in ancient Chinese literature where it has been stated that Tsi Ling Tsi, Queen of Emperor Hwang Ti, was the first to spin silk thread from the silk worm and weave silk-cloth.⁵ This was about 4600 years ago. It is, however, not at all clear whether these worms were wild or of the mulberry-eating variety.

The current belief that China was the first to cultivate and manufacture the mulberry-eating silk and that India imported them from China, needs close examination. It has been claimed that the Seres were the earliest people who knew silk. Ptolemy, Pomponius Mela, Pliny and Pausanias, all mention the Seres as celebrated for their silk. Arrian calls the country of the Seres, Thinae. *Se* is the name of silk in China and it is supposed that from this word the name of Seres is derived. "It was conjured by an ancient author, that the name, by which the silk worm was designated, was the origin of the term Seres."⁶ Taylor has proved that the name of Seres occurred before it was known that silk was the production of an insect. Virgil, Dionysius and Pliny mention the Seres, but describe the silk as a substance that is obtained from the flowers or leaves of certain trees. It has been thought probable that the name of Seres was derived from a city of Sera. There is a place of this name, the site of a monastery, in the vicinity of Lhassa, which had been supposed by Malte Brun to be the Sera of the ancients. According to information supplied by Csoma de Koros, this monastery was built only in the 8th century, and it is obvious therefore that it is not the Sera of Ptolemy.⁷ Taylor believes that the city of Sera stood near the sacred fountain of the Brahmaputra, and he identifies Seres with Assam. Taylor also regards the Scythic Seres as the Thinae or Sinoe who occupied Upper Assam and the region extending to the Gulf of Siam, opposite to which was island of Abosa or Sacaea, which is apparently Java.⁸ Pliny mentions the

Seres as celebrated for silk which their woods produced. Taylor thinks that Pliny in describing the Seres, seems to allude to the aboriginal tribes of Rungpore bordering on Assam. The forests of their country produced silk (*tassar*) which was bartered on the banks of a river described as the first in their territory and which was perhaps the frontier between Bengal and Assam.⁹ This barter has also been described by Arrian and Pomponius Mela. Pliny mentions that the first river in the country of the Seres was called Psitaras which may be taken to have been the Teesta in Rungpore. He said that in carrying on traffic with them, the merchants placed their merchandise on the further side of the river.

As regards the variety of silk manufactured by the Seres, the following statement of Dionysius needs examination:¹⁰

He describes the Seres as possessing neither flocks nor herds, but as employed in gathering from the flowers of the desert, a substance that was carded and woven into precious or costly fabrics, which surpassed in the variety and richness of their colours the mingled beauties of the enamelled mead, and which rivalled in their delicate texture, even the fineness of the spider's web. Taylor thinks that the material here referred to is *tassar* or *moonga* silk, which abounds in the forests or jungles of Assam (the desert *Arumi* mentioned in the text), and the rich and varied colours that are mentioned were no doubt, imparted to it by the indigenous dyes of Assam, namely, *lac*, *root-manji*, and *mismeetila*, which gave the beautiful red and blue colours with which the silks of that country are prepared in the present day.¹¹

Which was the original home of the mulberry worm? No definite answer has yet been returned to this query, but Taylor thinks that it was Bengal. He says:¹²

The substance, the produce of the trees of these forests, which, after being sprinkled with water, is described as being spun out into the finest threads, is evidently the indigenous silk of Assam. There are six species of silk worms found in that country, namely, the mulberry worm, the eria, the muga or moonga, the kontkuri, the deo mooga and the naumpollance. The mulberry worm is supposed to have been originally introduced into Assam from Bengal, but the other five are indigenous to that country.

It may now be stated almost definitely, that country of the Seres, the ancient home of sericulture, was Assam which might have included some portion of Northern Bengal within its boundary. It was from these Seres that knowledge of sericulture spread to Europe.

5. Rajendralal Mitra, *Silpik Darsan*, p. 33.

6. Taylor, *Remarks on the Sequel to the Periplus of the Erythrian Sea*, J.A.S.B. Jan. 1847, p. 64.

7. *Ibid.* p. 64.

8. *Ibid.* p. 45.

9. *Ibid.* p. 45.

10. *Ibid.* p. 45-46.

11. *Ibid.* p. 46.

12. *Ibid.* p. 63.

Dionysius, the geographer, whom Augustus had sent to compile an account of the Oriental regions, 14 A.D., informed the people of Europe that precious garments were manufactured by the Seres, from threads finer than those of the spider which they combed from flowers.¹³ This precious manufacture found its way to Rome, where it was sold at a most enormous price, so that the use of it was restricted to a few women of the greatest fortunes. What its price was on its first appearance, we are not informed; but it must have been extremely high: for even in the latter part of the third century, the Emperor Aurelian, when his wife begged of him to let her have but one single gown of purple silk, refused it, saying he could not buy it at the price of gold.

By 527 A.D. silk had come into general use among the Romans; and notwithstanding the very high price of it, it was sought after with astonishing eagerness by the inhabitants of Constantinople. The manufacture of silk goods from raw silk imported from the east, had long been carried on in the ancient Phoenician cities of Tyre and Berytus, whence the western world used to be supplied. But the enhanced prices the manufacturers were obliged to pay to the Persians, in whose hands the trade in raw silk was at that period, made it impossible for them to furnish their goods at the former prices, especially in the Roman territories, where they were subject to a duty of 10 per cent. The Emperor Justinian, however, ordered that the silk should be sold at the rate of eight pieces of gold per lb. (12 ozs. av.), on penalty of forfeiture of the whole property of the offender. This price control measure made it necessary that the trade in raw silk should be taken out of the hands of the Persians. Justinian himself endeavoured, by means of his ally the Christian Prince of Abyssinia, to wrest some portion of the silk trade from the Persians. In this attempt he failed; but he obtained, in some measure, the object he had in view, in an extraordinary and unexpected manner. Two Persian monks, inspired by their religious zeal, or curiosity, had penetrated into the country of the Seres, and lived in it long enough to make themselves masters of the whole process of silk manufacture. On their return to the westward, instead of communicating the knowledge to their own countrymen, they proceeded to Constantinople, and imparted to the Emperor the secret, hitherto so well-preserved by the Seres, that silk was produced by a species of worm, the eggs of which

might be transported with safety, and propagated in his dominions. By the promise of a great reward, they were engaged to return, whence they actually brought off a quantity of the silk worms' eggs concealed in a hollow cane, and conveyed them safely to Constantinople in 552 A.D.¹⁴ The eggs were hatched in the proper season by the warmth of a dunghill; and the worms produced from them were fed with the leaves of the mulberry-tree, spun their silk, and propagated their race, under the care of the monks, who also taught the Romans the whole mystery of the manufacture. The important insects, so happily produced, were the progenitors of all the silk worms in Europe and the western parts of Asia; and the cane-full of the eggs of an Oriental insect became the means of establishing a manufacture, which luxury and fashion rendered important, and of saving immense sums of money to Europe. These were the mulberry-eating worms, and it is, therefore, definitely established that the Seres cultivated this species of silk worm at least as early as the 5th century A.D.

By the time of the crusades, 1096 to 1186 A.D., scarfs and mantles of silk, velvet and satin were in use amongst the nobility who had embarked in these religious wars. Ebn Haukul, an Arabian traveller, stated in 947 A.D., that the countries adjacent to the Caspian Sea produced great quantities of silk, whereof that of Meru in Khorasan, was most esteemed, the eggs of the silk worms being carried from there to other places. But the seats of silk manufacture were extended to Rome and Sicily through Greece, and it was carried to Spain by the Saracens. This was by the end of twelfth century.

England at this time, i.e., when India attained the zenith of silk manufacture, imported large quantities of silk but did not know how to manufacture it. The earliest account of silk manufacture in England is found in a petition from the silk women of London to the Parliament, in 1454 A.D., when they complained that "the Lombards and other foreigners seeking to deprive women of their honest employments, imported the articles made by them, instead of bringing unwrought silk, as formerly." At this period, the silk manufactures of England were confined merely to ribands, laces and other trifling articles of haberdashery which shows that silk manufacture then had just begun. The desired protection was granted, by the enactment 33rd Henry VI, Cap. 5 which provided

13. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, II, p. 241.

14. Milburn—*Ibid*, p. 245.

that during the five ensuing years no person these factories sometimes employed as many as whatever should import any wrought silk, twined ribands or chains, girdles, or any other articles interfering with the manufactures of the silk women, except girdles of Genoa. This Act was tariff walls. In 1504, an Act, 19 Henry VII, afterwards prolonged. In 1481 A.D., when this Act was no longer in force, such an inundation of corsets, ribands, laces, call-silk and coleyn silk poured into the country that all the English markets of such goods were thrown idle. Again protection was granted by prohibiting the import of all such goods under 22d. Edw. IV, Cap 3. but only for four years.

Bengal's silk manufacture about this time was well known to the foreigners. The Chinese traveller, Ma Huan, who visited Bengal about 1406 A.D., during the reign of Ghiasuddin Azam Shah, found silk handkerchiefs and caps embroidered with gold.¹⁵ About the same time, two other travellers, Varthema and Barbosa, mentioned silk manufactures in Bengal. Barbosa observed that a kind of sash named *sriband*, made in Bengal, was much esteemed by Europeans for the head dress of ladies, and by Persians and Arab merchants for use as turbans.¹⁶ By the 16th century, dhoties and saris of silk were manufactured in large quantities for internal consumption. Various accounts refer to saris with dyed borders and to other silks with many coloured stripes.¹⁷ During the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, silk industry of Bengal was in a very flourishing state. There were Royal factories at Delhi and

these factories sometimes employed as many as 4000 weavers of silk alone.¹⁸ While the Bengal industry thrived, England was frantically trying to build her own behind tariff walls. In 1504, an Act, 19 Henry VII, Cap. 21, for the advancement of smaller silk manufactures in England, prohibited the importation of any manner of silk, wrought either by itself, or with any other stuff, in ribands, laces, girdles, corsets, upon pain of forfeiture of the same. It was, on the other hand, made lawful for all persons, foreigners as well as English to import all other kinds of silk, as well wrought as raw and unwrought; by which it appears that at this time there was no broad manufacture of silk made in England.

By the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the French laid the foundation for the establishment of silk manufacture at Lyons and other places in the southern part of France. They obtained workmen from Milan and made great progress, supplying many parts of Europe with silk goods; yet it was long after this time when France acquired the method of rearing silk worms. England obtained a large number of silk artisans. The persecution of protestants in France drove a large number of silk workmen to England who had escaped the massacre of St Bartholomew in 1572. These men were kindly received in London and were protected by Queen Elizabeth. It were these men who developed the art of silk weaving in England. Silk industry continued to thrive in England under Royal patronage, although, previous to the commencement of the trade between England and the East Indies. She was dependent on Turkey for the silk consumed in her manufactures.

(To be continued)

15. J.R.A.S. 1895, p. 532.

16. Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. II, p. 145.

17. K. M. Ashraf, *Life and Condition of the People of Hindustan* (1200-1550), J.A.S.B., 1935, p. 209.

18. Ashraf, *Ibid.* p. 206.

RIGHT TO EDUCATION

By ACADEMICIAN VLADIMIR POTEMKIN,

People's Commissar of Education and President of the recently organised Pedagogical Academy

THE Constitution of the U.S.S.R. guarantees to Soviet citizens a right to education. A wide use of this right is made in Russia, the country with a fully literate population and the country where general compulsory education is in force. In the twenty-six years of the Soviet power, the

higher schools of the country have trained an army of almost half a million teachers.

A great work has been carried out in liquidating illiteracy and raising the cultural and the technical level of the adult population. In the past twenty-six years over forty million people

have become literate. In addition, a wide network of secondary schools for adults has grown up in the country.

The last five years preceding the war were marked by construction of schools on a wide scale; ten thousand new schools were opened in the cities and the villages of the country. A whole new branch of industry—manufacture, technical study-aids have been developed. The factories annually produce visual aids worth one hundred and fifty million roubles; the total number of text-books published in the last five pre-war years amounts to 440 million copies.

Notwithstanding the war, the Soviet Government is continually improving the material conditions of the teachers. A considerable increase in salary has been given to school teachers, pedagogues in children's homes, teachers in universities and institutes, and the museum workers. In many cities special dining rooms have been opened for workers in the field of education, while the scientific research workers receive special supplementary food rations.

In the years of the war, when the country is struggling to expedite the final defeat of the Hitlerites, public education in the U.S.S.R. is continuing its uninterrupted development and approaching solution of the task of general compulsory education.

Work of lecturing has attained a wide development in Russia. In 1942 there were over five hundred scientific workers and specialists in various fields engaged in such activity.

According to rough calculations, over 25 thousand lectures were held in 1942, and over 35 thousand in 1943. The Sunday universities, organized in large cities of the country in wartime, are attended by tens of thousands of people.

The schools have greatly helped the collective-farms in the years of the war. In the summer of 1943 about four million pupils and teachers worked in collective-farm fields. The school children collected hundreds of thousands of tons of scrapmetal and medicinal herbs. Many uppergrade pupils of the Soviet Union are partaking in political and educational work among the population.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

With still one month left of summer, the Russian campaign is now rapidly mounting to a climax. The German defence-line has now become unstable all the way from the Baltic zone down to the foothills of the Carpathians near the Polish-Czechoslovakian border. The Baltic corridor has been further constricted in Latvia and Estonia by the forward thrust of the Soviets' forces west of Dvinsk, in the course of which Schaulen has been captured. The evacuation of Kovno which has followed this thrust, now brings East Prussia within the orbit of the Russian campaign. South of this zone the Soviets' forces are now advancing along a line that will gradually tend to form a bulge, outflanking the defences of East Prussia, as it progresses beyond Bialystok towards the north-west of Warsaw. Further south the Russian forces are now fast approaching the foothills of the Carpathians where the German line will have natural barriers to reinforce their defence organization. Whether these will compensate for the loss of

the great fortress cities of Przemysl and Lvov is yet to be seen.

The Russian campaign that started with an "all-out" character has not only kept up its intensity but has enlarged its scope and enhanced its tempo very fast. At no time during last year's Russian campaigns did the Soviets' forces move over such great zones of enemy defence in such mass and with such speed. The continuous evacuation of great defence centres by the Germans indicate that the defenders are not in a position to organise large-scale "hedge-hog" defences without incurring the serious risk of being outflanked and cut off by the great waves of mechanized and armoured forces of the Soviets, surging forward on widely extended fronts with immense momentum. These movements have so far been of such a character that the defender, having been denied any chance for stabilization at set points, the Soviets' advance having the tendency to bye-pass such concentration points and to

develop into a wide enveloping movement with great masses of mechanized and armoured forces thrusting forward on the flanks. All this means that not only are the Germans outnumbered by far within these battle-zones but in addition the advancing Russian forces are employing immense concentrations of fast-moving mechanized forces, with great panzer spear-heads in front and massed self-propelled artillery in support, on a scale that has surpassed even that of the Russian campaigns of 1942 and 1943.

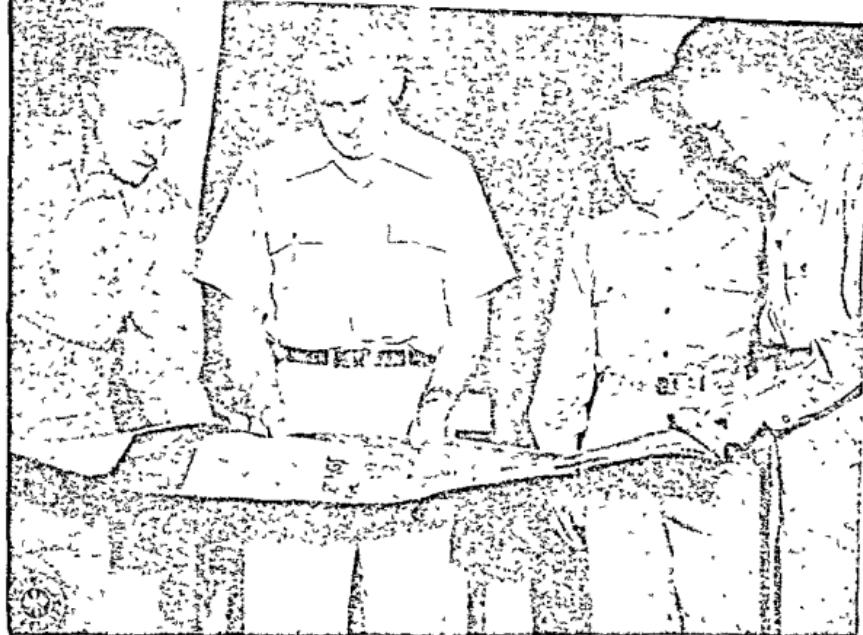
In short, the Soviets' campaign is fast approaching the climax. It is evident that the Russian High Command is now rapidly throwing into the battle the maximum force that can be mobilized, in an effort to obtain a decision before the autumn is over and winter clamps down restrictions on mechanized movements. Up till now the Germans have not been able to fight this forward movement to a standstill in any sector between the Baltic and Southern Polish battle-zones. But, on the other hand, the German defence has been able so far to maintain a continuous and organised front against the Russian advance, filling breaches and keeping contact by means of orderly retreats. They have so far "traded space for time." But soon that space will be very near the home-land and the shortening of the line would soon cease to make up for the heavy losses incurred in this ceaseless battering that is being delivered with increasing force by the Soviets. There is talk about the "East-wall" defences and there are the Carpathians. It remains to be seen whether they can help the Germans to stem the flood-tide of the Russian campaign which will reach its peak within a very few weeks from now.

Compared to the Russian advance the Battle for France is going very slowly indeed, but very recently there have been signs of a major assault developing in that area as well. It is too early as yet to gauge the extent of the effort but the latest reports tend to indicate that the battle for positions is climbing to a new intensity. It is time that this hold-up was terminated as summer is now two-thirds over and the peak of the Russian effort not very far off. There is no doubt that the Invasion of France has already substantially aided the Russian effort as it is hardly likely that the Soviets would have plunged into this "all-out" attempt at smashing up the Eastern defences of Germany, had they not been sure that a very large portion of the German reserves would be pinned down in the

West to meet the Allied assault on France, but that is not by any means the sum-total of Allied aims in the West.

In Asia the Japanese attempt at developing decisive offensives is slowly diminishing down into minor engagements. The Chinese defenders of the Canton-Hankow railway are proving to be as tough as ever and the pace of the Japanese advance has been slowed down considerably. But the position of China is still serious and as such the intensification of the American offensive in the Pacific is very welcome. The Allies have yet a very long way to go in Asia, however, and therefore over-optimism may well be a source of danger. Japan's attempt at the staging of a major diversion in the Manipur and Naga Hills area is petering out now, no doubt, but what she did manage to do in that area should dispel all ideas that Japan is now gone into a rapid decline, and that one good push is all that is needed to overthrow Nippon for well and good.

Latterly it has been the practice to lay emphasis on the Japanese losses in men and material and on the inability of Japan to make good her losses. There is no doubt some justifiable grounds for such assumptions and the fall of the Tojo Cabinet goes a long way to strengthen the hands of optimists. But too little is being said about the other side of the picture. What is the condition of China and what are the conditions prevailing in India? We cannot help thinking that the reason behind all this flood-lighting of Japanese losses and defeats rests, at least in part, on an attempt to persuade the peoples of the United Nations that the failures and shortcomings of the Democracies in Asiatic areas would not materially affect the course of the war against Japan. We may be wrong but we cannot forget the shocks we received at the news of the Japanese thrusts in the Arakans, the Manipur and Naga Hills areas, and later on in China, after being fed for the whole of 1943 and the early part of 1944 with facts and figures showing how Japan was going downgrade at an increasing speed. The fact remains that India and China had ample resources in men, material and basic industrial resources for the destruction of Japanese aggression in Asia, if only there had been efficient organisation and augmentation along truly democratic lines. And in this complex organisation of modern total warfare failure in one sphere means greatly enhanced costs elsewhere.



General Stilwell's Headquarters men in Chungking greet Vice-President Wallace



Three Red Cross girls serve Vice-President Wallace coffee and pie to enlisted men's American Red Cross Club, Hqrs. USAAF, Chungking



In this picture the R.A.F. undergraduates are being instructed in navigation



Seventy per cent of workers employed in making the Sabre engine—the power plant for Britain's latest fighters and fighter-bombers—are women

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

LETTERS OF RT. HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI, P.C., C.H., LL.D., DLITT: Edited by T. N. Jagadisan. Published by Rockhouse & Sons, Ltd., Madras, 1944. Pp. 392. Rs. 6.

The Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri has been a public man of varied career and outstanding importance. From the head-master of a high school in Triplicane to the leadership of an important political organisation, with the status of a political ambassador to other continents, a statesman trying in his own way to steer India's course to independence, the confidante of Indian princes, Viceroy and Gandhi, brilliant speaker, a stickler for correct English, a loving husband and father, a warm-hearted friend, his has been a life eventful and with many facets.

The letters of public men have an abiding interest in that they often help us to interpret events of public importance in a new light, by affording to us inside glimpses and lighting up hidden nooks and corners. These letters of Sastriji describe and comment. They present a sample of his activities and at the same time make out a picture of the times.

Three groups of letters rivet attention, those to Gokhale to whom he felt drawn almost by a parental tie, to Gandhiji whom he loves and respects in spite of fundamental differences in political aim and technique, to his daughter, friends and other relations. In the letters to Gokhale we have evidence of the writer's affection and respect for the senior statesman; incidentally there is an account of the political activity in East Bengal in the Swadeshi days when Sastriji visited the country; it makes interesting reading across the interval of time. The letters to Gandhiji (whose letters are also included in the volume, carefully edited by Mahadev Desai) reveal affection, humour and understanding on both sides. Sastriji's estimate of Gandhiji will bear scrutiny and it will be enjoyed in the reading and cause occasional amusement. Those to his daughter are a father's intimate, personal talk, the record of his impressions of the world at large, England, New Zealand, etc., as also his reactions to the homage of the world which he has so richly deserved. But why did the father and the daughter—especially such a father—write to each other in English, and not in Tamil? The non-Tamilian reader is grateful, though, for the medium.

There are many passages which have more than a passing interest for us to-day. One will suffice: he wrote to Ramsey Macdonald in 1932, "To quench demonstration of discontent is neither to cure nor to disable it permanently. In the second place, it brutalises both police and public, and is calculated to poison the conditions of life for many years.... I am

not one of those who would deny to the Government extraordinary powers in extraordinary circumstances. But I cannot approve of a body like the Indian police being authorized to strike respectable people with lathis in the streets as though they were cattle and dogs and their persons entitled to no respect. The use of physical violence in human relations is being confined within the narrowest possible limits, and the sentiment of civilised society revolts against barbarous usage even of animals. The Government of a great and ancient people must, even in the worst extremity, hold themselves precluded from certain modes of punishing their criminals, let alone political demonstrators."

The reading public will be thankful to the editor and publishers for this opportunity of sharing Sastriji's reminiscences.

P. R. SEN

STUDIES IN LATER MUGHAL HISTORY OF THE PANJAB, 1707-1793: By Dr. Hari Ram Gupta, Ph.D., Minerva Bk. Shop, Lahore, 1944. Pp. xvi + 348, one map. Rs. 10.

This is a very important and interesting addition to the growing literature of the critical history of the Panjab. The volume does not consist of a number of detached essays merely united by being bound within the same covers, but there is a string of organic connection running through it, and it gives a good and necessary conspectus of the Panjab land and people. In addition to a geographical survey of the province and a detailed tracing of the route from Kabul to Delhi, we have a picturesque survey of the conditions in this province (which then included the Cis-Satlaj country) during the dissolution of the Mughal Empire and the consequent rise of the Sikhs into political power in the land. Then comes much new information in the form of life-sketches of the makers of Panjab history, such as Adina Beg Khan, Mughlani Begam (the widow of Governor Mum-ul-mulk who died in 1753), Ahmad Shah Durrani (d. 1772) and his son Timur Shah (d. 1793). The administration of the Panjab under the Durranis of Kabul, after the province had been severed from the Delhi Government and before the rise of Sikh royalty is treated in detail and this chapter has much to teach us. The critical bibliography of 20 pages will be very helpful to other workers in the field.

In short, it is a volume which serious students of Indian history will find indispensable and the author deserves our praise for the high quality of his research and his admirable method of presenting the results. The printing and get-up are a pleasing revelation of the great improvement made in book production in Lahore.

OLD PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ACHAEMENIAN EMPERORS: By Dr. Sukumar Sen, Ph.D., Calcutta University, 1931. Pp. xii + 220, 2 plates of cuneiform deciphered. Rs. 6.

This is a *Corpus* of the ancient Persian inscriptions of the kings of the Achaemenian dynasty (from Cyrus, 559 B.C.). First comes the text in the old Persian-Aryan language as transcribed from the cuneiform alphabet to the Roman according to the system known to European scholars as normalisation; this is followed by a word for word translation into what is popularly called Vedic (rather post-Vedic) Sanskrit, an English translation and philological notes (embracing comments on grammar). From this the importance of the volume to students of Indo-Aryan comparative philology will be at once understood. The advanced student will be further helped by Dr. Sen's Old Persian Glossary (66 pages) and Outline of Old Persian Grammar (30 pages) at the end.

This is the first attempt on an exhaustive scale in this branch of Oriental study by a Sanskritist, and though the translation from old Persian into Vedic Sanskrit must often be a *tour de force*, Dr. Sen deserves high praise for his courage, persistence and accuracy. Details of his work will no doubt be criticised by specialists working in the same field and such criticism cannot be expected in a general review like this. But it can be said in support of him that the extant Vedic vocabulary is so meagre that some of his translations from Old Persian must from the nature of things be conjectural; or in other words, if the rules of grammar were strictly followed in old usage, the Sanskrit equivalents of Persian words coined by him would have been found in our old Sanskrit, as certainly as an algebraic equation is correct. Scholars, of course, know that languages do not grow within the iron bounds of logic and grammar and that every language has *crises* of what used to be called its *idiom* as distinct from *idiom*. But this cannot be a disparagement of Dr. Sen's scholarship. He has presented a very sound basis for further work, for possible improvement of details and not for scrapping up altogether.

A note in the author's preface excites our curiosity: he thanks Professor Kishetrosh C. Chatterji of the Allahabad University for lending him his copy of Herzfeld's *Alt-persische-Inscriften* (in 1940). All the inscriptions brought to light by Herzfeld are printed at the end of the volume, whereas in point of chronology they should have come first. Are we to conclude from this that the Calcutta University did not care to buy Herzfeld's monumental work as soon as issued, or to make it available to its teacher of Avestan studies?

H. B.

THE ATLANTIC SYSTEM: By Forrest Davis. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. 1943. Pages 528. Price 16 shillings.

The Atlantic System, as opposed to the Continental System, is old, rational and pragmatic, having grown organically out of strategic and political realities in congenitally free climate and its roots running deep and strong into the American tradition. The co-operation of England and America at sea for the protection of the Atlantic world and the preservation of its political institutions and economic interests is the foundation of the Atlantic System. Forrest Davis, who is steeped in the writings of the great naval theorist Mahan, has written nothing less than an historical brief for the Atlantic Charter. The history

of the Atlantic System is the story of Anglo-American relations during the last half-century: the quarrels and misunderstandings, the forces operating both to attract and to repel; the "broad entente" existing between these strong-headed and individualised peoples. The author repudiates the isolationist contention that America has been "dragged" into the war in defence of Britain, and observes: "Twice within this generation, after owing neutrality, it has gravitated into the support of a beleaguered Britain from motives strictly American and in defence of the Atlantic System. In neither case did its Government have any option if it wished to preserve the true security afforded by its oceans."

The author's analysis of Anglo-American relations during the last 150 years is extremely illuminating, and proves once more that the foreign policy of a country is fundamentally simple because it is always governed by national interest. This book is interpretative historical writing at its best and provides admirable insight into the labyrinths of Eur-American diplomacy during the last two centuries, with particular reference to naval politics. But some of his conclusions regarding the functioning of the New Order, assuming Allied victory and survival of the Atlantic System, will provoke sceptical questionings in certain quarters. Typical instances are the author's references to China that should be "helped to unity and strength", and to the Soviet Union which should be "encouraged and tutored by the Powers committed to political liberty and progress by evolution." This provides an interesting sidelight to the Atlantic Charter.

MANINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

SOME EMINENT BEIHAR CONTEMPORARIES: By Lt.-Col. Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, D.Litt., M.L.A., Bar-at-Law, Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University and Editor of the "Hindusthan Review". Himalaya Publications, Patna. Pp. 44+xxviii+218. Rs. 3. With foreword by Lt.-Col. Dr. Ananath Jha, an illuminating introduction by the author himself—giving the story of the constitution of Bihar into a separate province, and an appendix on Dyarchy Minister's Powers.

This is a collection of pen-portraits of men hallored in the history of modern Bihar, written in a charming style by one who himself is one of the makers of modern Bihar. Dr. Sinha's biases and sentiments are well known; but his outspokenness, as well as his appreciation of other people's merit are to be admired.

Minus the jacket, everything of this book is excellent.

M. C. SAMADDAR

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLAND: By Dr. R. N. Dubey, M.A., D.Litt. Published by Kilab Mahal, Allahabad. Price Rs. 5.

The book seeks to give the story of the economic progress of England to the eve of the present war, tracing the development of British agriculture, industry and commerce. As such, it has been a poor imitation of Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*. It appears that the author's main objective is to prove that only the English people, and nobody else in this world, has got any national character. He declares: "Germany, France, U. S. A., Japan and Russia all vied with one another to introduce as quickly as possible the economic system that England had evolved

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for herself. The race is not yet over; even the "backward countries like India and China are joining it." Then he says: "There is no other country in the world where, in normal times, the public opinion is so unfettered as in England. In other countries vested interests try to corrupt public opinion by bribes or intimidation of one sort or the other. In England such an attempt is found to be greatly resented by the public. The strength of the Englishman lies in his character. The result is that the English economic system that has been reproduced in other countries of the world differs from the original in essential features." Then again he says: "The key to the English economic development lies in the English character. It is true that the factor that brought this character into play was the developing commerce. But the other nations of Europe, the Dutch, the French, the Spaniards or the Portuguese had also similar opportunities of developing commerce. None but the English succeeded."

The author deserves congratulation for his daring statement that the keynote for the development of capitalism was character which only the English, and nobody else, had. Here he has treaded on grounds not his own. The main reasons for the development of English commerce were, amongst others, the crushing of the Spanish and Dutch Navies, the acquisition of vast colonial empires, adoption of a policy of protection whenever it was needed for the development of any of her industries and the exploitation of Africa and Asia, backed whenever necessary by force. With the growth of U. S. A., Germany and Japan as great rival industrial countries, she had begun to contract her market within her Empire. In this respect, specially with reference to India, the English industrial policy pursued a course which at any rate, did not evoke much respect for English character. Industrialisation of England was prompted by the acute need for her livelihood and she was clever enough to develop her trade and industry through diplomacy and force. Character might have some relation with this development, but it was certainly not the keynote. Her rivals were not altogether devoid of it.

D. BURMAN

KASTURBA GANDHI : By Miss Dhan Chandra.—Free India Publications, The Mall, Lahore. Pages 44. Price annas twelve.

This small life-sketch of Kasturba Gandhi has been written by a young girl fresh from school. Kasturba as wife and disciple of the greatest man of India is adored by all and her life of sacrifice will remain ever an ideal to emulate by the womanhood of India. This little book has been written in simple and chaste language which even a school boy will read and understand without any difficulty.

The book is recommended for the young and it is also suitable as a prize book.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT-HINDI

ATIARVAVEDIYA CIKITSASASTRA : By Priyatratna Arsha, Vedic Research Scholar, Vedanta sandhan Sadan, Janapuri Road, Hardwar. Published by Sarvadiksh Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Delhi. Royal octavo, 14 + 237 + 12. Price Rs. 2.

This is an interesting book which seeks to give a new interpretation to a selected number of hymns of the Atharvaveda. According to the learned author, the hymns are not incantations or magical formulae as is generally supposed, but refer to different aspects of Ayurveda or medical science. He is of opinion that the

hymns really deal with topics belonging to one, or other of the sections of Ayurveda, e.g., *subasthana*, *sarasthana*, *nidanasthana* and *cikitsasthana*. Under each section he gives the interpretation of a number of hymns so that we have a vivid picture of Ayurveda on the basis of the hymns of the Atharvaveda. As examples of his interpretations reference may be made to a few words occurring in *Atharva v. 22* (p. 272-3 of the book under review). *Dasi* and *Sudra* are here names of herbs while *Bahlik* is a covered place and *Mujbat* is a place covered with munja grass. In the first two cases authorities are cited in support of the explanation, but nothing is said to substantiate the explanation of the remaining two words as of many more throughout the work. Reference is seldom made to traditional meanings and there is no glossary of words for which new senses are suggested. In spite of these defects, the book reflects the ingenuity and diligence of the learned writer and may be commended to the notice of specialists in Veda and Ayurveda for thorough study and proper evaluation.

CHINTAHANAN CJI KRISHNAMURTI

HINDI

BIHAR-VIBIJAKAR ! By Tarkeshwar Prasad Varma. Published by Pustak Bhawan, Lakhisarai and Patna. Price Rs. 4.

Bihar can vie in the glory of her past with any other part of ancient India. Her contribution to the new era of renaissance and national awakening in modern India is also by no means mean or insignificant. This 415-page volume, under review, contains biographical sketches of some notable personalities of Bihar, who have made valuable contributions, in their own way, in different fields of life and activities of the Province. The publication can well serve the purpose of a handy reference-book.

M. S. SINGH

TELUGU

YUVAJANODYAMAMU : By K. V. Rama-krishna, Advocate, Anantapur. Pp. 32. Price annas two.

It is a small, orderly pamphlet dealing with "Youth Movement". The author, who is of Communist leaning, seems to have a fairly good grasp of youth organisations functioning all over the world; and as such his comparative study of them bears the label of earnest research. His suggestions with regard to national reconstruction sound quite feasible. They will surely attract a good deal of attention.

A. K. ROW

GUJARATI

KABARAJI SMARAK ANK : Edited by K. C. Desai and Mrs. Jevi Kabaraji. Published by the Street-boda Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. Thick Cardboard. Pp. 312. Illustrated.

Streetbudi, a monthly journal started eighty-seven years ago, by the late Mr. K. N. Kabaraji and after his death continued by his son's wife, the late Mrs. Putalibhai Jehangir Kabaraji, has been consistently devoting itself to the cause of the uplift of Indian womanhood—Hindu, Muslim, Parsi, Christian. This Memorial Issue (of May 1943) contains numerous contributions on the subject dear to the hearts of the late Editors, describing their activities. A short introduction by Mr. K. C. Desai describes realistically the state of the women of Gujarat at the time when the Kabarjis worked and a short memorandum by Lady Nilkanth gives a sketch of Mrs. Putalibhai's life.

K. M. J.

FREUD'S THEORY OF RELIGION*

BY PROFESSOR PARESNATH BHATTACHARYYA, M.A.

FREUD is generally recognised as the founder of psychoanalysis merely. But the far-reaching consequences deduced by Freud from psychoanalysis are hardly recognized. Psychoanalysis can no longer be narrowed down to one of the branches of applied psychology. In the vindication of its claims it has gradually evolved an enormous structure of theoretical psychology. No present treatise on psychology can afford to ignore the contributions of psychoanalysis to the solution of many a vexed problem of mental life. The matter has been admirably discussed in a symposium opened by Dr. S. C. Mitra and participated by many eminent psychologists (*Contributions of Abnormal Psychology to Normal Psychology*).

The later phases of the development of Freud's psychoanalytical theory synchronise with an increasingly extensive application of psychoanalysis to cultural subjects. He applied the method of psychoanalysis in the interpretation of art and literature, folklore, myths, legends and fairy-tales. He did not exclude sociology, ethics, religion and even philosophy from the domain of psychoanalysis. All these cultural manifestations are attributed to the same mechanism of the human mind as underlies the varied forms of mental disorders. Freud says, "In one way the neuroses show a striking and far-reaching correspondence with the great social productions of art, religion and philosophy, while again they seem like distortions of them." (*Totem and Taboo*). All arise from the same intrapsychical conflict of opposite desires leading to repression which forms the basis of the unconscious—the storehouse of man's phylogenetic and ontogenetic past. There goes on a ceaseless conflict between the repressing and the repressed forces making it impossible for the unconscious to burst upon the conscious except in an indirect and disguised manner. The distortion of the unconscious desire sometimes goes to the extent of making it unrecognisable and its intrinsic nature can be laid bare only through psychoanalysis. The motivation behind the process of distortion is to escape the censure of the conscious, to facilitate the indirect fulfilment of a wish which cannot be directly satisfied.

The devices adopted for this motive are sublimation, replacement and reaction:

"Sublimation is the diversion of the trends of a complex into useful, social, moral and ethical directions. The maternal complex may be diverted into attendance at a creche, interest in societies for infant welfare, or taking up the nursing or teaching profession." (Stoddart : *Mind and its Disorders*)

Replacement differs from sublimation in that it does not subserve, like the latter, any useful function. For example, repressed maternal instinct may be displaced in an interest in dolls. Reaction formations are those devices in which the conscious activities are the very contrary of the unconscious desires. For example, persons who have repressed a desire to steal may be scrupulously honest.

In normal life the repressed desires or complexes are kept down by the conscious and are expressed through the abovementioned mechanisms. Should a complex fail to express itself in any of the above ways, it manifests itself as a neurotic or psychotic symptom, such as (1) somatic manifestation in the form of motor and sensory disturbance, i.e., Conversion Hysteria, (2) transference of the affect belonging to the complex to some related but less repugnant conscious idea, i.e., substitution as in Compulsion Neurosis and (3) the ascription of the complex unacknowledged by the patient to other people, or projection as in Paranoia (Stoddart : *Mind and its Disorders*). Ethics, religion, art and philosophy are the manifestations of repressed complexes through one or other of these psychotic and neurotic symptoms. In Freud's language,

"We may say that hysteria is a caricature of an artistic creation, a compulsion neurosis a caricature of religion and paranoid delusion a caricature of a philosophic system." (*Totem and Taboo*)

Freud did not develop any systematic doctrine of religion. He suggested a theory as early as 1912 in his *Totem and Taboo*. This fundamental position was adhered to and developed in his subsequent writings, mainly in *The Future of an Illusion*, *Civilization and its Discontents*, *Moses and Monotheism*, and incidentally in many other works like *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life*, *The Ego and the Id*, *New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, *Leonardo Da Vinci* and numerous papers on psychoanalysis. An exhaustive survey of Freud's attitude towards religion is too ambitious a programme for this paper. We shall content ourselves with attempting here a general outline of Freud's views on religion.

* A word of caution should be interposed. Freud is concerned with the psychological aspect of religion with the determination of the psychic mechanism behind religious manifestations. The question as to whether religion represents any truth or not in any metaphysical sense, is outside Freud's province.

depending mainly upon deductions made on the basis of what Freud left as the brief statement of premises. From the manner how Freud proceeded step by step beginning with his earliest remarks on religion in *Totem and Taboo* to the latest position advanced in his last work, *Moses and Monotheism*, it appears that Freud might have the intention to work up a whole system of religious theory which could not be materialised for some reason or other.

Freud traces the genesis of religion to man's ontogenetic and phylogenetic past. It is associated with the Oedipus wish which constitutes the strongest among the repressed contents of the unconscious. The desire to kill the parent of the same sex and possess the parent of the opposite sex forms the most inveterate desire of man's early childhood. "The beginning of religion, ethics, society and art meet in the Oedipus complex" (*Totem and Taboo*). Freud seeks to establish the Oedipus complex by availing himself of the story of Oedipus as depicted by Sophocles and more effectively as a historically established fact by appropriating the Darwinian conception of the primal horde. A violent and jealous father drives away the growing sons and keeps all the females for himself. The expelled brothers one day unite and put an end to the father. Considering this as an inadequate basis for totemism, Freud adds, "One day the expelled brothers joined forces, slew and ate the father, and thus put an end to the father horde" (*ibid*). So, totemism, the first religio-social institution of mankind, is based upon the gratification of the repressed Oedipus wish. The son's wish for father-identification could be satisfied only by murder and the subsequent assimilation of the father's being with that of the son through cannibalism. The band of brothers, Freud continues, not only hated their father, but loved and admired him too. So "after they had satisfied their hate by his removal and carried out their wish for identification with him the suppressed tender impulses had to assert themselves" (*ibid*). The conflict between love and hate constitutes the ambivalence of all Oedipus desires and this ambivalence, according to Freud, lies "at the root of important cultural formations." The brothers tabooed the murder of their father-substitute and denied themselves the liberated women. "Thus they created the two fundamental taboos of totemism," viz., patricide and incest. The antagonism of the ambivalent components of the Oedipus complex, viz., love and hate, gives rise to the sense of guilt. "Totem religion issued from the sense of guilt of the sons as an

attempt to palliate this feeling and to conciliate the injured father through subsequent obedience" (*ibid*).

Freud regards totemism as the prototype of all religion. All the advanced types of religion repeat the same story of totemism merely in different forms of language. For example, the sense of guilt found in its unsophisticated form in totemism is theorized into the "Doctrine of Original Sin" in Christianity. "The unmentionable crime was replaced by the tenet of the somewhat shadowy conception of Original Sin" (*Moses and Monotheism*). But this sense of guilt may not be acknowledged.

"The Jews do not admit that they killed God, whereas the Christians do. Through this they have shouldered a tragic guilt. They have been made to suffer dearly for it." (*Ibid*)

So, according to Freud, men suffer the pangs of remorse for the sin of patricide committed by their ancestors. For the expiation of this crime men replace their father by God or some religious ideal and address all their prayers and solicitations to him. The parent who was hated and killed is now idolised, worshipped and adorned. The sense of guilt seeks revenge through the sufferings inflicted upon the ego by the punishing conscience in the form of penance, self-mortification, rituals and other formalities of a painful type. God is nothing but a surrogate of the father or a father-substitute. "God is nothing but an exalted father" (*Totem and Taboo*). "The situation created by the removal of the father contained an element which brought about an extraordinary increase of longing for the father. So the deification of the murdered father is an expiation" (*ibid*). Freud's view of God as the father-substitute can be substantiated by quotations from his other writings too. The "derivation of a need for religion...from the longing...for a father seems to me incontrovertible." (*Civilisation and its Discontents*). In *The Future of an Illusion* also Freud regards the "primal father" as the prototype of God. "Men's helplessness remains and with it their father-longing and the Gods" (*The Future of an Illusion*). "Longing for a father contains the germ of all religious" (*The Ego and the Id*). The spirit expressed in *Totem and Taboo*, *The Ego and the Id* and *Moses and Monotheism* differs from that maintained in *The Future of an Illusion* and *Civilisation and its Discontents* in that the emphasis of the former upon the father complex is transferred in the latter to the feeling of helplessness. He says:

"The connecting link between the father complex and man's helplessness is not difficult to find" (*The Future of an Illusion*)

So the "derivation of the need for religion from the child's feeling of helplessness" (*Civilization and its Discontents*) becomes well-grounded and a short step is needed to arrive at the conclusion :

"The whole thing is so patently infantile, so incongruous with reality, that to one whose attitude to humanity is friendly it is painful to think that the great majority of mortals will never be able to rise above this view of life." (*Ibid*)

So religion is a regression to childhood—the abnormal manifestation of the repressed long-forgotten and unconscious Oedipus wish. Of course, the Oedipus wish need not pertain exclusively to the individual but also to his racial inheritance. This infantile regression accounts for the characteristic attitude of religion comprising the feelings of admiration, awe and gratitude.

"The first effect of the reunion with what men had long missed and yearned for was overwhelming. There was admiration, awe and gratitude." (*Moses and Monotheism*)

Freud continues :

"Infantile feelings are more intense and inexhaustibly deep than are those of adults; only religious ecstasy can bring back that intensity. Thus a transport of devotion to God is the first response to the return of the Gleat Father." (*Ibid*)

This is how Freud reduces religion to an infantile attitude and man's relation to God to the child-father relationship in every detail. But why this regression? This return to childhood? Freud says that life is too hard to bear and we cannot do without palliative remedies. Man suffers defeat at the ruthless hands of reality. So he retreats and takes shelter in some fortress of his childhood left behind in the onward march of life. The buffets and misfortunes of the present drive him back to the past of his forgotten childhood which he has not been able to outgrow on account of fixation. This fixated past serves as a substitute gratification of the ungratified desire due to the impact of reality. Religion, thus, becomes the resource of the coward, the misfit in life who has admitted defeat. It is a *res peurialis*, a childish affair due to the stunning of growth caused by the failure to attain maturity. Freud says :

"Even the grown man is just as helpless and unprotected as he was in childhood and in relation to the external world he is still a child. Even now, therefore, he cannot give up the protection which he has enjoyed as a child." (*New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*)

But why this return to the father-child relationship? Does not the religious man know that his father is as weak as himself? Does he

not know that the protection sought from the father cannot be given by him who himself seeks protection? Freud, in anticipation of this possible objection, says, "Though his real father might be weak, the over-rated father image of his childhood is exalted into a Deity" (*Ibid*).

Religion is an illusion just because it is a regression to childhood. The religious ideas are "fulfilments of the oldest, strongest and the most insistent wishes of mankind; the secret of their strength is the strength of these wishes" (*Future of an Illusion*). The estimation of the value of religion as a truth is not Freud's enquiry. Psychologically considered religion is an illusion—that is enough for his purpose. It is a mockery, an illusion as deceptive as will-o'-the-wisp—it defeats itself.

"Religion is an attempt to get control over the sensory world, in which we are placed, by means of the wish world, which we have developed inside us as a result of biological and psychological necessities. But it cannot achieve its end. Its doctrines carry with them the stamp of the times in which they originate, the ignorant childhood days of the human race. Its consolations deserve no trust." (*New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*)

Religion is comparable to compulsion neurosis and its accompanying projection.

"As a matter of fact, I believe that a large portion of the psychological conception of the world which reaches far into the most modern religions is nothing but psychology projected into the outer-world." (*Psychopathology of Everyday Life*)

It is obvious that Freud does not distinguish religion from superstition and magic.

"To it, as to magic", says Dalbiez, "he applies the projection interpretation". (Dalbiez: *Psychoanalytical Method and the Doctrine of Freud*, Vol. I)

It follows that Freud understands religious phenomena "only on the model of the neurotic symptoms of the individual, as a return of long-forgotten important happenings in the primeval history of the human family. They owe their obsessive character to that very origin and therefore derive their effect on mankind from the historical truth they contain" (*Moses and Monotheism*). Again, the neurotic form of religion is exposed in the most extreme manner in the following :

"It is said, that each one of us behaves in some respect like the paranoiac substituting a wish fulfilment for some aspect of the world which is unbearable to him and carrying this delusion through into reality. The religion of humanity must be classified as a mass delusion." (*Civilization and its Discontents*)

Religion is a device adopted for the achievement of happiness. It is a defence mechanism for guarding ourselves against pain. When happiness cannot be achieved for the frustra-

tions and privations imposed by reality, the help of God is implored and when we have to forget the pains resulting therefrom, God becomes the solace and consolation of our troubled mind. But this dependence upon God turns out fruitless.

"Its method consists in decrying the value of life and promulgating a view of the real world that is distorted like delusion and both of these imply a preliminary intimidating influence upon intelligence. At such a cost by the forcible imposition of mental infantilism and inducing a mass delusion—religion succeeds in saving many people from individual neuroses." (*Ibid*)

But religion cannot keep her promise of achieving happiness. Unconditional submission to 'God's inscrutable decree' becomes the last-remaining consolation and source of happiness. In what then, does religion culminate? It intimidates the intelligence, arrests its normal growth by the imposition of mental infantilism for consolation. But this consolation even it cannot give. What do we gain by this sacrifice? —simply nothing except unmitigated retrogression. Freud concludes, "and if man is willing to come to this, he could probably have arrived here by a shorter road" (*ibid*).

The view that religion is a mass delusion, a universal neurosis of humanity is also expressed in the *Future of an Illusion*. "Thus religion would be the universal obsessional neurosis of humanity." In explaining the emergence of the conception of one Great God, Freud says :

"It has an obsessive quality; it simply must be believed. As far as its delusion goes, it is a delusion; in so far as it brings to light something from the past it must be called a truth." (*Moses and Monotheism*)

This view is worked out by drawing the close parallels in the development of the neurosis and the evolution of the Jewish doctrine of Monotheism. Freud finds in the evolutionary process of the Jewish religion an analogy to the genesis of neurosis in two points, viz., (1) both the genesis of neurosis and religion go back to very early impressions of childhood and (2) there are cases which we single out as "traumatic" ones. (The impression we experienced at an early age and forgot later are called traumata). Freud also reminds us that the three points, viz., early happening within the first five years of life, the forgetting, the characteristic of sexuality and aggressivity belong closely together. In this way Freud proceeds to develop the parallels in the formation of neurotic symptoms and the manifestation of religious phenomena.

The consequence which follows from leveling down religion to neurosis is that the origin of religion becomes no less sexual than the neurotic and psychotic symptoms. Repressed

sexuality attaching to the Oedipus wish is the determining factor of religion. The attitude towards God is a substitute for the repressed attitude towards the parents, so that one's religious attitude can be predicted from an analysis of the parental attitude. The feeling of the sublime or the vast or what Freud describes as the 'oceanic' feeling of the religious man can be fully explained as the feeling of oneness with the love-object—for love, obliterates the distinction between the lover and the loved and produces a vague feeling of oneness or vastness. Moreover, that God is the father-substitute is also established on the ground that all of the major religions worship God as the Father. The worship of God as the Mother is a variant of the triangular nature of the Oedipus situation. This point is explained in *The Ego and the Id*.

The chief lesson inculcated by psychoanalysis is "education to reality." Man is retarded when he relies on religious delusions. He must be enlightened and convinced that the objects of religion are projections of his own mind and not realities. The antidote against his delusion is science, for "Science is no illusion," whereas religion is nescience, an illusion. The psychoanalyst takes upon himself the task of re-educating humanity by disillusionising them. He must undo the misdeeds done throughout the generations. Freud makes these interrogative and persuasive appeals :

"Why should not man be able to do without the consolation of the religious illusion? Is it not the destiny of childhood to be overcome? Man cannot remain a child for ever; he must venture at last into the hostile world. This may be called 'education to reality'." (*The Future of an Illusion*)

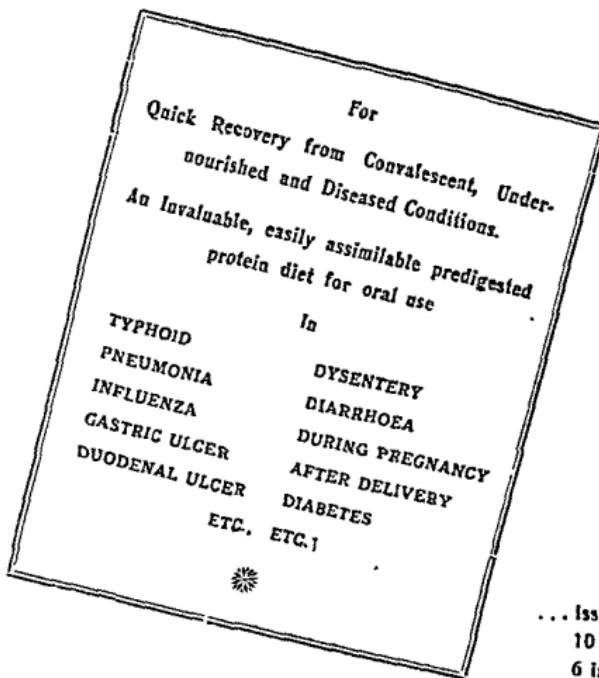
Freud suggests a revision of the whole system of education which is mainly based upon the retardation of sexual development and the early application of religious influence. But religious training stuns intellectual growth.

"When the child's mind awakes, the doctrines of religion are already unassassable." (*Ibid*)

But it is not at all conducive to the strengthening of the mental function that so important a sphere should be closed to the child's mind by the menace of hell pains. The result is the enfeebling of mentality and incapacitating it from detecting the absurd contradictions besetting religious doctrines. Freud's final conclusion is :

"So long as a man's early years are influenced by the religious thought-inhibition and by the loyal one derived from it, as well as by the sexual one, one cannot really say what he is actually like." (*Ibid*)

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Surendranath Banerjee
1848-1925

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha writes in *The Hindustan Review*:

For over fifty years Surendranath's supremacy as the most eloquent Indian orator, in English, remained unchallenged. Though some other athletes with more snappy arms rudely wrested from him, towards the close of his life, the leadership in political assemblies, and tried to belittle his remarkable services to the country, posing as more skilful pilots, he held till the end of his great career the proud position of being the foremost orator in the country. In the earlier days "clouds of incense rose about him from the prodigal superstition of innumerable admirers." His implacable energy, the heroic strength of ideas, a Spartan sense of duty, the extraordinary compass of his mind, amazing vivacity, and variety of appropriate gesture, "the vibrating voice now rising to an organ peal of triumph, now sinking to a whisper of entreaty", swayed vast masses of his fellow-countrymen, thrilling their imagination and holding it spell-bound.

It has been said by a great authority that neither purple patches, nor epigrams, nor aphorisms, nor overwrought rhetorical imagineries, are the test of oratory.

There must be dignity, elevation, lucid exposition of complicated facts, sustained and fiery declamations, impassioned apostrophes, the power to touch the emotions—making the hearers laugh and weep as occasion may demand—while there must also be rallying battles and the thunderbolt of invective, and not merely meek-spirited, dull, prosy sermons. Let me quote Surendranath's own remarks on the subject.—"The qualifications of an orator are moral rather than intellectual. It is the emotions that inspire the noblest thoughts and invest them with their colour and their distinctive character. Let no one aspire to be an orator who does not love his country, love her indeed with a true and soul-absorbing love. Country first, all other things next, is the creed of the orator. Unless he has been indoctrinated in it, baptized with the holy fire of the love of country, the highest intellectual gifts will not qualify him to be an orator. Aided by them, he may indeed be a fluent debater, an expert in the presentation of his case, a fascinating speaker, able to please, amuse and even to instruct; but without the higher patriotic or religious emotions he will not possess the supreme power of moving men, inspiring them with lofty ideals and passion for the worship of the good, the true, and the beautiful. The equipment of the orator is thus moral, and nothing will help him so much as constant association with the master-minds of humanity, of those who have worked and suffered; who have taught and preached great things, who have lived dedicated lives—consecrated to the service of their country or their God." No one could have put it better.

There is a good deal of truth in the saying that an orator is born and not made.

Nevertheless study and preparation go a long way, and Surendranath's own record and the method pursued by him systematically, confirm the soundness of this view.

There can be no doubt that almost all Surendranath's greatest orations were set speeches—very carefully prepared, written out word for word, committed to memory, and then faultlessly produced, making the audience marvel as much at his oratorical powers as his mnemonic feat. Even Gokhale—who never aspired to be an orator, but was content to be regarded as the most skilful debator of his time—had acquired mastery, and his great hold on the public mind, by adopting the same method as Surendranath.

Negro Literature

The Negro creative imagination has encompassed all literary forms. V. M. Inamdar observes in *The Aryan Path*:

It is an interesting item of history that the first Negro poet should have been writing even when slaves were still being imported and that the second Negro poet should have been a lady, Jupiter Hammon, a Long Island slave who published his poem in 1760, was the first Negro poet, and Phyllis Wheatley (1753-1784) the second. Both were greatly influenced by the religious movements of their time. Hammon died in 1800 and twenty-nine years later appeared *The Hope of Liberty* by George Horton, who was the first slave poet openly to protest against his status and treatment. From 1840 up to the Civil War anti-slavery propaganda was at its height and the Negro poets used poetry more or less as a vehicle for propaganda. A number of poets sprang to fame, the prominent among whom are Daniel Payne, Charles L. Reason, George B. Vashon, Elymas Payson Rogers, E. W. Harper, James Bell and James Whitfield. In their protest against slavery they wrote with genuine passion though in their anxiety to refute the accusation of intrinsic difference and inferiority they followed their American and English models rather too closely. Yet with scorn and denunciation they demanded democracy.

Negro poetry of the Reconstruction Period and of the closing years of the last century shows interesting developments.

The poet was confronted with the false picture of his people presented by his white fellow poets, whose creations were more or less analogues of the contemporary "stage Irishmen" of the English writers about Ireland and the "Babus" of the Anglo-American literary tradition. In order to undo this literary mischief the Negro poets followed a twofold course: (1) They denied the stereotype by creating its antithesis and (2) they deepened the delineation of the

Negro character by a detailed, careful and sympathetic portrayal. Albery Whitman and Paul Laurence Dunbar represent these two tendencies. While the former in his *Not a Man and Yet a Man* swings the pendulum to the opposite extreme, the latter substituted for the pathetic and comic postures intimate and sympathetic portrayals. Dunbar's is a great name in the Negro poetic tradition, not merely for his close insight into Negro life but for his dialect pastoral poetry which earned for him the recognition that he was the first Negro poet "to feel the Negro life aesthetically and express it lyrically". Dunbar had many imitators and his subtle protest against the unjust treatment of his race gradually deepened into bitterness in poets who followed, particularly after the wide-spread disenfranchisement and the increasing violence the Negroes met with during the first decades of this century. W. E. B. DuBois, though not primarily a poet, expresses his burning hatred of racial injustice in such well-known pieces as "A Litany at Atlanta".

The Negro achievement in the field of the novel is not less remarkable.

The same general features of motive and the same variations of tone and tendency are observable here also. William Wells Brown's *Clootz*, published in 1853 was the first Negro novel. It was franker than *Uncle Tom's Cabin* on the subject of miscegenation in the South. It was followed six years later by Delany's *Black or The Huts of America*. But it was not till 1892 when Frances Harper's *Iola Leroy or Shadows Uplifted* was published, that the Negro novel started on its triumphant career. The complications due to miscegenation and the suffering which it meant to the victim form the central theme in a very large number of novels which followed until Charles Chesnutt opened the field of social analysis and criticism in such of his best known novels as *The Marrow of Tradition* (1901) and *The Colonel's Dream* (1906). Chesnutt's insight into social realities and his capacity to combine criticism with an interesting narrative were equalled by W. E. B. DuBois, whose trenchant discussion of the many political, economic and educational problems of the South won immediate recognition for his novel like *The Quest of the Silver Fleece* (1911) and *The Dark Princess* (1925). DuBois is an unsparing critic and his mordant attacks are levelled impartially against the American treatment of the Negroes and the Negroes' own weaknesses. James Weldon Johnson's *Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man* (1912) heralded the portrayal of Southern rural life just as Walter White's *Fire in the Flint* is symptomatic of a type of novel that could do without lynching as a dominant feature. Yet the latter depicted ambitious and successful life leading gradually and indirectly towards a more sympathetic delineation of the Negro middle classes. Misra's *Comedy, American Style* (1933) is a tragic story of colour prejudice. Nella Larsen's *Pastime* pictures upper-class Negroes while Rudolph Fisher's *The Walls of Jericho*, a pioneer social comedy, provides an intimate, intelligent, but satirical account of Harlem. *The Conjure Man Dies* (1932) is the first Negro detective novel. Langston Hughes' *Not Without Laughter* is only less remarkable than Richard Wright's *Native Son* (1940). Both, most discussive novels are specimens of social realism. The Negro story of the frustration of the human personality under the pressure of a cramping social environment is here told with great power.

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The American Character

Many Europeans have tried to describe and appraise the American character, and the composite portrait that emerges deserves thoughtful consideration. Arthur M. Schlesinger writes in *The Indian Review*:

An American is the product of the interplay of his Old World heritage and New World conditions.

The Old World heritage consists merely of that part of European culture which was shared by the people who settled in America. They and their ancestors were artisans, small tradesmen, farmers, day-labourers—the firm foundation upon which rested the superstructure of European civilization. Shut out from a life of wealth, leisure, and aesthetic enjoyment, they tended to regard the ways of their social superiors with misgiving, if not resentment, and, by the same token, they magnified virtues of sobriety, diligence, and thrift.

The act of quitting a familiar life for a strange and perilous one demanded uncommon qualities of hardihood, self-reliance, and imagination.

The conditions thus offered by an undeveloped continent fixed the frame within which the American character took form. Farming was the primary occupation. At first resorted to by the settlers to keep from starvation, it quickly became the mainstay of their existence. This apprenticeship to the soil made an indeleble impression on the developing American character, with the following results:

First and foremost is the habit of work. For the colonial farmer, ceaseless exertion was the price of survival. Probably no legacy has entered more deeply into the national psychology. If an American has no

purposeful work on hand, the fever in his blood impels him nevertheless to some form of visible activity. As one traveller put it: "America is the only country in the world where one is ashamed of having nothing to do."

This worship of work made it difficult for the early Americans to learn to play and left them indifferent to aesthetic considerations.

On the other hand, the complicated nature of the farmer's job, especially during the first two and a half centuries of American history, provided an unexcelled training in mechanical ingenuity.

The early American farmer's success in coping with his multitudinous tasks aroused a pride of accomplishment that made him scorn the specialist or expert.

He was content to do many things well enough rather than anything supremely well. This was a marked contrast to the European custom of following permanent occupations which often descended from father to son. This versatility became an outstanding American attribute.

Foreign commentators have found it difficult to reconcile worship of the Almighty Dollar with the equally universal tendency to spend freely and give money away. The fact is that for a people who recall how poor their ancestors were, the chance to make money is like sunlight at the end of a tunnel. It is the means of living a life of human dignity; a symbol of idealism rather than materialism. Hence the American has had an instinctive sympathy for the underdog, and even persons of moderate wealth have gratefully shared it with the less fortunate, helping to endow charities, schools, hospitals, and art galleries.

The American character, as we at present know it, is thus a mixture of long-persistent traits and newly acquired characteristics.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

East and West—"The Twain Shall Meet"

In an article under the above caption in *The Month*, H. Van Straelen appeals to the Western youth for a better understanding of the Far East:

Not the least among the many changes that are taking place to-day is the fact that the Far East has come nearer to us than ever before in history. Everywhere we meet with a lively interest in things oriental. In the United States all kinds of educators recognize that vital need for information about the peoples and countries of Asia. Educational agencies are concerning themselves with the problem, working out various programmes suited to the needs of special groups, ranging from highly trained specialists who will go to the Far East immediately the war is over to school-children whose education will no longer be considered up-to-date, if they have not been given a peep into the culture and history of peoples of the East. In so far as the United States are concerned, an intensive study of a large group of adults, especially in the armed forces and Government bureaus—this being a more immediate need—started with the pace we expect from the New World.

When the white man in the early years of the century burst upon the Chinese with all the evidences of invincible Western civilization—moving pictures, chewing gum, telephones, jazz, fox-trots, Scotch whisky, machine guns, golf clubs, cars, cocktails, and other fascinating gadgets—he easily awed the modest orientals by his superiority, his wealth and his prodigious brain. The white master slapped the cook for serving underdone breakfast bacon and delivered a kick to accelerate his ricksha coolie's speed. Glorified, the white man swaggered through China, confident of his supremacy. But to-day the story is different. China sees now in the civilization of the West not so very much that would benefit her teeming millions. The Chinese have learned more than ever to appreciate themselves and their own culture. They have at last justified their suspicions that the civilization of the West is not all that it is reputed to be. Maybe they observe Western amenities in intercourse with foreigners. Now and then they can be impressively accommodating, especially in words, but that is the end of the matter, because beneath their tough racial epidermis they retain their oriental character and outlook more than ever intact.

But it is not only China that can give a lot to the West. When this war is over, and the curtain falls

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upon the fronts scattered all over the world and when the soothing hands of time and nature which heal all wounds and the swift repair of peaceful industry have effected the bomb and mine craters and the demolished towns, and the ruins have been replaced by new buildings, when only cemeteries, monuments and ruins preserved here and there for history's sake remind the lonely traveller of the fact that tens of millions fought and millions perished in this by far the greatest of all human conflicts, when I say—a new youth has come forth for whom merciful oblivion has drawn its veil, and who have no bitter memories or severe judgments and who are free from resentful, angry and revengeful thoughts and who keep alive no "sacred hatred" nor a narrow patriotism which limits its interest to those only who are of the same race as itself, then the West will be disposed to accept and digest the cultural products of other Eastern lands also. Then the beautiful symphonies and oratorios—to mention only music—of Yamada Kosaku, Moroi Saburo, besides the works of Akiyosi Motosaku and Go Tajiro, the delightful suites and dances of Oki Masso, Hayashaka Fumio and Otaka Hisatada, will make themselves heard on our concert programmes and will get a worthy place besides the music of Sir Edward Elgar, William Walton, John Ireland, Benjamin Britten, Arthur Bliss and other masters of contemporary Western music. Then besides the periods of Norman Kings, Plantagenets, Merovingians, Carolingians, Tudors, Capets or Hohenstaufen will be mentioned in our schools on an equal footing not only T'ang, Sung or Ming, but also Nara, Heian, Kamakura or whatever these cultural periods in Japanese history may be called.

I appeal therefore to the youth of the world for a better understanding of the Far East. They will throw overboard all haughtiness and racial pride and

hold aloft the principle of the absolute equality of human nature before its Creator. Then the wide eyes of the idealistic Western youth will look with deep understanding into the slanting eyes of his yellow brother.

Then indeed will "the twain" have met.

Assam

From the paper on "Assam," read by Sir Robert Reid, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Governor of Assam (1937-1942) and published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* we reproduce below that portion only which deals with the physical aspects of the province, called the North-East Frontier of India :

The province of Assam covers an area of 67,000 square miles and has a population of 11 millions—a population which is just about the same as that of Canada with its area of 3,700,000 square miles. The province falls into two main divisions, the hills and the plains. The plains consist of the basins of two rivers, the Brahmaputra and the Surma, and it is in them that the bulk of Assam's inhabitants are to be found, for out of her 11 millions, some 9½ millions are in the plains and only 1½ millions in the hills.

The Assam Valley averages a width of about 50 miles, and is a fertile tract which has been reclaimed from jungle and brought under cultivation at a steadily growing rate during the last hundred years. The process is still going on, and the indigenous Assamese tribes who originally populated the area have been largely reinforced, not to say overrun, by a

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stream of vigorous Mohammedan immigrants from Mymensingh in Bengal. This gives satisfaction to the Moslem, but not the Hindu, community, for the more Mohammedans you have in Assam, the stronger the case for Pakistan. On general grounds, however, these immigrants deserve to be welcomed, for they are good cultivators.

The Surma Valley, which contains two districts, Cachar and Sylhet, has its natural affinities with Bengal; and the rivalry between the two valleys is intense, pervading every aspect of political life.

Tea is grown in large quantities in both valleys, and it may interest you to have a few facts about that great industry. Of the 841,000 acres under tea in India, 440,000 are in Assam, and of the 500,000,000 lbs. of tea that were produced in 1941, 259,000,000 lbs. were produced in Assam. A daily average of 540,000 labourers were employed in this industry in the same year, and it can be reckoned that at least twice that number in addition were dependent on it.

Assam's second great industry, oil, takes its origin from 1888, when the first well was sunk at Digboi, in the north-east corner of the province, by the Assam Railways and Trading Company. From 1921 onwards there was a great expansion in production which, in 1931, was ten times what it was in 1921.

Coal is mined in the proper sense of the term, as opposed to the surface working carried on in the Khasi Hills, at Margherita in Lakhimpur district and at Borjan on the edge of the Naga Hills. The name Margherita, by the way, that of the then Queen of Italy, points to the fact that the leading spirits in this enterprise were Italians.

Communications on this, our present land frontier with Japan, are of particular interest just now and are worth looking at for a moment. Compared with the North-West Frontier, where millions of pounds have been spent on strategic roads, railways and aerodromes, the North-East Frontier was poorly equipped as a base for military operations. There was a single-line narrow-gauge railway running throughout the province, with one serious bottle-neck, the unbridged Brahmaputra river, at its western end near Guwati. The road system was a good one for peace-time purposes, but quite inadequate for heavy and continuous military traffic. Aerodromes there were none. On the great rivers was a good system of river steamers and flats, which have done magnificent service, albeit much of their craft had been carried off before the outbreak of war with Japan to other theatres of war.

There was only one road leading towards Burma,

the Manipur road, 134 miles in length from railhead at Dimapur to the capital of Manipur State, Imphal. It was a metalled road, not surfaced, and wide enough only for one-way traffic. In December, 1941, the Civil Government of Assam were asked if they could turn their Public Works Department engineers on to drive it through to Tammu on the Burma frontier. I should explain that beyond Imphal to Tammu was a distance of about 60 miles of very hilly forest-clad country, along half of which was a fair-weather earth road only fit for very light traffic and along the other half a 6-foot bridle path fit for pack transport only. It was a stupendous task to attempt to drive a road through with half the working season gone, but the Assam engineers threw themselves into it and made good progress until the Military Engineers took it over. By May, 1942, the road was through, just in time to allow the retreating Burma Army to pass down it. Not only was it through to Tammu, but the work of widening the original road throughout was also undertaken, so that now it carried four lines of fast and heavy traffic. The successful accomplishment of this work is largely due to the ungrudging and efficient service rendered by the great Tea Industry in providing the labour force.

Not only did the Burma Army pass down this road, but also the bulk of the Indian refugees from Burma, a continuous stream of whom had been moving along this route since February. And all the time in the opposite direction was a steady flow of men, vehicles and munitions of war on their way up to reinforce the defence of the Burma Front against the invading Japanese.

Existing facilities have, of course, been improved, extended and supplemented. We know for instance that a second land route into Burma has been opened, a long way north of the Manipur road, by way of the Hukwng Valley. The newspaper accounts show that this work has been carried on through the year, regardless of the immense physical and climatic obstacles and at great speed. It would have been impossible to carry it on through the rainy season, which is a very long one, if the engineers had had to rely on normal methods of road-making and it had been necessary to house, feed and attend to the welfare of thousands of coolies from all over India. Success I imagine, was only rendered possible by the use of such modern mechanical appliances for road-making as enabled the Americans to construct the Alaska Highway, and of every modern device for the welfare of the men working on it.

IN THE RAINY SEASON
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NOTES

The Russian Lesson

Rajaji has ably confused the issues by drawing a parallel between India of the present day with the emergence of the Soviets from the Tsarist regime of Russia. Historically there are many differences. Firstly, the Tsarist regime was not overthrown by the Bolsheviks, an outside force disrupted it. The Peace of Brest Litovsk was negotiated between Kerensky's government and the Germans who delegated Von Kohlmann to it. Kerensky's government was overthrown in the civil war and chaos that followed when the Kerensky government failed to obtain honourable terms from the Germans. So there was civil war and chaos at the beginning of Bolshevism. Next followed the impact of internal disrupting forces aided by outside foreign interests which tended to cut up the whole Russian territories into numberless small groups. The "White" Russians under Denikin Kolchuk and others, Winston Churchill's expedition to Archangel, the Rumanian thrust into Bessarabia and the Polish filibuster's attack on the Russian territories beyond the Curzon line, these were the real factors that tended to weld together the many republics that coalesced into the U. S. S. R. The German puppet regime in Ukraine and the virtual control of large tracts by the released Czechoslovak war-prisoners helped in driving the smaller groups into the arms of the bigger units for protection. This is what history tells us about the emergence of the U. S. S. R. out of the chaos that followed the collapse of Tsarist Russia at the end of the last war. So where is the parallel with India of to-day?

It may be argued that when all these troubles were overcome the minorities did not exercise their right to secede although they had

no fear of aggression if they did so. But that is not true either. Japan was slowly eating her way through Manchuria and the Mongolias, and the Western European powers were hostile in the extreme, while waiting beyond the *cordon sanitaire* to recoup and regroup before they started on the hunt for the Russian bear's skin. Later came Hitler and with him the anti-comintern Axis which was the greatest factor in keeping the U. S. S. R. household in unity.

Then let us take the case of those who were separated from Tsarist Russia in order to form the Cordon Sanitaire separating the U. S. S. R. and the rest of Europe. Look at the uneasy time they have had ever since they were separated from the Russian Empire. It was not the democratic concept of self-determination that had brought them into independent existence, it was merely the exigency of creating a barrier between the "Semi-Asiatic" Russians and the rest of Europe.

Now let us get to the fundamentals of the self-determination principle enunciated in the constitution of the Soviets. Sir N. N. Sircar has shown that equal rights for the citizens of the U. S. S. R. irrespective of their nationalities or race, in all spheres of economic, cultural, social or political life was the irrevocable law, and that the Russian constitution has not a word about the protection of minorities. But India of to-day should be referred to the Russian constitution of 1918 and not to the constitution of 1937 which alone granted the right to secede. The Soviet Government started unification of the country from the very day it came into power by overthrowing the Mensheviks. The 1918 constitution abolished private property, established socialisation of land carrying it only the right of use, nationalisation

But all this sage counsel falls on plugged ears at Downing Street. The opinion of Horace Alexander, who certainly cannot be accused of having any anti-British bias, may be noted with interest in this connection. In a recently published Penguin special, *India Since Cripps*, Mr. Alexander writes :

The difficulty that Mr. Gandhi is up against in India is this. The Government starts out from an assumption that he and his Congress colleagues cannot accept. The Government claims that it is the only lawful authority and, therefore, it has the right in the last resort to enforce obedience. If it cannot either convince or be convinced it will enforce the law against objectors, however "conscientious" they may be. Nor can it admit that a third party should be called in to arbitrate.

But Mr. Gandhi and the Congress deny all this. They do not admit the legitimacy of the Government; they do not consider themselves bound by any social compact, even a tacit one. The present Government is to them a usurpation. They have, therefore, not only the right but even the duty to resist it. But Mr. Gandhi has insisted that such resistance is to be confined to non-violent actions. And the most perfect weapon of all, in his view, is the pressure that can be exercised through fasting. This is, in his opinion, an appeal to the "Highest Tribunal," which may mean both the conscience of mankind and God.

Amazing Propaganda

The contempt with which anti-Indian British propaganda in America is viewed there, may be illustrated by a comment of the New York magazine *Nation*. Describing a pamphlet issued by the Smithsonian Institution, *Peoples of India* by William Gilbert, the magazine calls it an "extraordinary document" following "the typical line of propaganda in India which has been so overworked." The *Nation* says, "When one learns that Indian poverty is due to overcrowding and Indian malnutrition to ignorance, while poverty and famine in turn are cited as evidence for overcrowding, both the logic and the propaganda seems equally amazing." Concluding it asserts that the booklet will "not help Americans to understand either the Indian people or the vital issues at stake in India."

Roosevelt on British Possessions

Although the desire for a sympathetic understanding of Indian aspirations for freedom is gradually gaining ground in America in spite of sinister British propaganda, it should not mislead Indians to believe that American help in India's struggle for freedom would be forthcoming. The American official mind about India has been made quite clear on a number of occasions, the last of which was the Bretton Woods Conference. There is no doubt that British and American capital would combine after the war for a joint exploitation of this country. President Roosevelt's broadcast from Washington on August 12 would continue this apprehension. He said:

"Everybody in Siberia and China knows that we have no ambition to acquire land on the continent of Asia. We, as a people, are utterly opposed to aggression or sneak attacks but we, as a people, are insistent that other nations must not, under any circumstances, through a foreseeable future, commit such attacks again."

"There are hundreds of islands in the South Pacific which are important to us commercially and from the defence point of view. These islands are possessions of the British Empire and the French.

"We have no desire to ask for any possessions of the United Nations. But the United Nations who are working so well with us in the winning of the war, will, I am confident, agree with us completely and collaborate with us."

The President, the main signatory to the Atlantic Charter, had not a word for India. He told the world in plain language that British and French Empires will continue as before.

Russian Interest in Indian Freedom

The New Delhi representative of the *Leader* reports that "there is a feeling in New Delhi that Moscow's silence will not last long and that as soon as Stalin has won his final military victory over Hitler he will throw his whole weight on the side of freedom for all the subject races." In anticipation of this danger, the Government of India have made a plan to open an Information centre at Moscow.

Moscow has however broken the silence earlier than was anticipated. A London cable to the *Hindustan Times* states that "for the first time since the war began Soviet Press has featured India on front page," and that *Pravda* and other Moscow newspapers prominently published a U. S. report that important discussions on India between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt are about to take place." The report adds that "the American President acting on the advice of his personal envoy in India made a definite suggestion to the British Premier that the time had come for the application of the Atlantic Charter to India."

Soviet Russia is interested in Indian freedom from the viewpoint of world peace and security. The simple, brief and direct way in which proposals on future world security were submitted by Russia at the International Security Conference at Dumbarton Oaks, surprised the British and American delegates, but confirmed the popular view that Russia wants to solve world security problem in its fundamentals, i.e., on the basis of human rights and liberties. In the case of America, the *Leader's* correspondent believes that she probably holds the view that "unless India is a strong self-governing power the Asiatic main land will lack balance of power to insure security in this zone." This development proves Gandhiji's wisdom in going over the head of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State in his appeal to British, American and world opinion.

The correspondent finally adds that "although official quarters at New Delhi are reticent on Moscow's sudden interest in Indian situation it can be presumed that the development has caused considerable nervousness and it will no be surprising if propaganda guns are turned on Moscow in an attempt to cloud the Indian issue by raising the racial and communal bogey."

Government's Duty to Save Lives in a Famine

Referring to the Indian Famine, the *New Republic*, an American Magazine, says—

The Government says about a million died; a London weekly thinks the total will be closer to three millions, as cholera, malaria and smallpox follow in the wake of starvation. Whole areas are almost depopulated, sometimes the survivors are too weak to bury the dead, and leave them to the competition of dogs and vultures.

The *New Statesman* makes the interesting point that *the Indians might have pulled themselves together and done better, except that nearly all their best leaders were in jail*. All in all it is a tragic record.

The Calcutta *Statesman* seem to have been primarily responsible for propagating the idea that the Indians did not do what they could. The *New Statesman* gathered this queer notion from this Calcutta paper. In our last issue, this portion of the London paper's comment has been quoted.

In any discussion of this problem, the foremost question that comes to one's mind is, "Whose duty it was to save human lives during the famine?" Some of the ex-Viceroy's of India have their answers to this question on permanent record, from which some extracts are given below:

In the famine of the Bundelkhand and Upper Hindustan in 1868-69, Lord Lawrence laid down the principle that the officers of the Government would be held personally responsible for taking every possible means to avert death by starvation.

In his despatch to the British Government dated Nov. 7, 1873, Lord Northbrooke wrote: "Her Majesty's Government may rely upon the Government of India not shrinking from using every available means, at whatever cost, to prevent, so far as they can, any loss of lives of Her Majesty's subjects in consequence of the calamity which now threatens Bengal."

To Lord Northbrooke belongs the unique credit having averted a great calamity by a generous organisation of State relief. He had proved to the hilt that human lives can be saved by an honest and efficient relief organisation.

Sir Richard Temple wrote in his *Men and Events of my Time*:

The officers of Government began to feel that they would be impeached if any failure were to occur, or if life should be lost through any shortcoming of theirs.

In the Madras famine of 1876-8, Lord Lytton made the memorable declaration that "we say that human life shall be saved at any cost and effort" and that "there are no circumstances in which aid can be"

Lord Curzon had to face one of the greatest famines which India has endured in modern times. The total area affected amounted to 475,000 sq. miles with a population of 60 millions. In July 1900 the number of people in receipt of relief reached the total of 6 millions. The amount spent by the Government in relief exceeded 9 crores of rupees (£6 million). Lord Curzon threw himself with characteristic energy into the task of coping with this calamitous affliction. He not only supervised the details of the campaign, but also personally visited the smitten areas in the midst of the pouring rains of the monsoon; and afterwards, at the instance of Sir Anthony MacDonell conducted enquiries which finally settled the principles upon which famines were in future to be fought. Lord Curzon declared in the Legislative Council on Jan. 12, 1900:

"I am the last person in the world to prefer the mere interests of economy to those of humanity, and I acknowledge to the utmost the obligation of Government to spend the last rupee in the saving of human life and in the mitigation of extreme human suffering."

Private charity was always invited, but its scope was clearly explained by Lord Curzon in a meeting held at the Calcutta Town Hall on Jan. 16, 1900. Summing up, Lovat Fraser says:

Perhaps it may not be understood why private charity is needed to supplement the efforts of the Government in time of famine. The reason is that there are many things which the *Government, engrossed with the single task of saving life*, are unable to do.

All these go to show that the responsibility for providing food for the people belonged entirely to the Government. The callous apathy of Lord Linlithgow, Sir John Herbert and Mr. Amery to the last famine, particularly some of the latter's utterances, has created a deep impression that there has been an attempt at evasion of such responsibility on the part of Government.

What Did the People Do During the Last Famine?

It is a deliberate lie to say that the people of Bengal or of the other provinces "did not pull themselves together and work better." They did pull themselves together and public charity accounted for 90 per cent of the relief.

The Government of Bengal have admitted, in a circular letter to the District Magistrates, that the whole province was in distress and that even a help of Rs. 10 per head for 3 months to 10 per cent of the population would mean a cost of Rs. 18 crores which was much more than the annual income of the Bengal Government. We have shown before that Lord Curzon spent more than 9 crores of rupees on Famine Relief on one occasion alone. He secured that because he was conscious of his

and was determined to discharge it. The Bengal Government sanctioned Rs. 3,50 lakhs only for gratuitous relief while Rs. 5 crores were provided for wastage in foodgrain transactions. It is not yet known what portion of this sanctioned amount has actually been spent. Assuming that all of this sum had been spent on gratuitous relief, and that salaries and travelling allowances of relief officers were not included in this amount, it accounts for the relief of only 7 lakhs of people at the rate of half a pound of foodstuffs a day for 100 days from mid-August to November, if we assume that the cost of a maund of foodstuff, including rice, wheat products and other ingredients of the gruel amounted to a figure as low as Rs. 20 per maund. There was no control price of rice for that period. The sanctioned quantity of rice per head of adult population was 4 chhataks, or half a pound. In addition to this, there were other ingredients of the gruel. Similarly, relief organisations pulled together a total of about Rs. 55 lakhs which, in the same way, accounted for the relief of about one lakh people. Thus the Government and organised public charity relieved only about 8 lakhs of people, while at least 60 lakhs, even accepting the exceedingly low figure of 10 per cent given by the Government, were badly affected. Thus 52 out of 60 lakhs of victims, i.e., 90 per cent, were thrown upon private charity.

Private charity had to be given amidst inconceivable difficulties. The denial policy of Sir John Herbert snatched away the means of livelihood of lakhs of boatmen, fishermen, and cultivators in the riverine areas where access to the field is obtained only by means of boat. These people who could earn their livelihood were thus thrown on the charity of an already overburdened society. An overall shortage of foodstuffs was finally revealed. People had no control over the procurement or movement of foodgrains as shipping and railway space would be allotted only by the Government. If the normal channels of trade and transport had been left open, there would have remained some chance of procuring food grains by means of organised public effort. But neither did the Government themselves do anything, nor did they allow the public to import food into Bengal. At the beginning of the famine, the Editor of *Janmabhumi* from Bombay came to Calcutta and he was met in a meeting of the Indian Chamber of Commerce. When the Editor offered to collect money for famine relief, the then President of the Chamber declared that he could raise a crore of rupees in two days, but no food was procurable. It was food which was needed not money. Mention may also be made of letter from a responsible government official

to a leader of public opinion in connection with the opening of a relief kitchen in his native village :

"The sufferings of the people specially the landless labourers and professional beggars are indescribable. Rice and paddy are scarcely to be found in the market. We have been straining our nerves to find out hidden stocks and place it in the markets but the available stuff scarcely suffices to meet even 25 per cent of the demand. Kindly try your best to procure for the Sub-Division enough foodstuff in whatever form it may be."

A glance at the accounts published by the Relief organisations would show that almost everywhere a surplus has been left, for all the money could not be spent.

The private relief organisations had to work against all sorts of obstacles put in their way. They were not permitted to work in certain areas, and in some places they were discouraged in every possible way. In Calcutta the Government went so far as to ask the people to stop private charity.

The overall shortage was further aggravated by huge purchases by employers of labour in Calcutta. The mill hands, mostly people from outside Bengal, were fed full meals out of whatever slender stocks there were in this province.

If we accept the Government's mortality figure of 6,88 thousand, and their estimate that at least Rs. 10 was needed for 60 lakhs of people for 3 months, it must be admitted that 53 lakhs of survivors did get Rs. 10 per head for 3 months, i.e., a total of Rs. 15 crores 90 lakhs have been spent on famine relief. Out of this, Government gave 3 crores and 50 lakhs, and about 30 lakhs came from outside the province. The rest was provided through private charity by the people of Bengal themselves.

What Linlithgow Did Not Do

Lovat Fraser has recorded graphic description of how Lord Curzon had personally exerted himself in grappling with the famine of 1900. He quoted the following report from the *Pioneer*:

"Lord Curzon did not merely content himself with halting at this or that station and summoning the famine staff to his carriage. With his characteristic energy and desire to know everything in detail, he went conscientiously into the camps and hospitals, seeing with his own eyes how the people fared and how the operations for the relief were carried out. If he had to ride through pelting rain and wade deep in mud, any feeling of personal discomfort was outweighed by the thought that the long continued drought had come to an end, and that his presence was hailed by that of a god who had commanded the rain to fall."

Lord Linlithgow did not consider it his duty even to come down to Calcutta during the last famine. Much has been made about the fixation of responsibility for the last famine. The constitutional question has been raised that

famine being a provincial responsibility, how proceeded with lends support to the view that could the Centre step in? But this attitude does not bear scrutiny. The foremost relief operation during a famine is to rush foodstuff to the affected areas. This can be done only by means of railways and ships, both of which are completely under Central control. Under Sec. 126 of the Government of India Act, the Centre can and did intervene in provincial spheres on more than one occasion. During the last famine, when the Centre found that it was impossible further to permit Bengal Government to have free control over railways and ships for the import of foodgrains into the Province, it was their moral and legal duty to assume full control over famine relief themselves. This the Linlithgow Government did not even attempt to do, and the Wavell Administration did only partially.

Again, in the matter of the procurement of foodgrains complete reliance was laid on middle-men who were out to make fortunes out of the people's blood. The Government never tried to revive the co-operative organisations for the procurement and distribution of foodstuff. According to the latest available figure, there are about 37,000 agricultural and non-agricultural co-operative societies in Bengal.

Lord Linlithgow as Director of I.C.I.

Lord Linlithgow has joined the Imperial Chemical Industries as one of its Directors. This British company holds a monopoly in the manufacture and trade of heavy chemicals, fertilisers, explosives, dyes, etc. The small industries and agriculturists of this country are at the mercy of this foreign company for the supply of their basic chemicals and fertilisers. For some time past, during the Linlithgow regime, the I.C.I. set its mind towards the establishment of basic chemical factories in India, and in this endeavour obtained special facilities from the Linlithgow Government. The special treatment enjoyed by the I.C.I. in priorities and facilities during Lord Linlithgow's regime is common knowledge to-day. It acquired important concessions from the Linlithgow Government in the Khewra Salt Mines of the Panjab and also in the neighbouring areas containing good gypsum. If cheap electricity is supplied by the Panjab Government, which owns in that province all the hydro-electric power stations, it will not be long before the industries included in the salt group are started on a large scale, which seems quite possible now with Linlithgow to move the Whitehall in London. The concessions in the Khewra Salt Mines were granted to the I.C.I. without giving any opportunity to any Indian enterpriser to apply for a license. The manner in which the Fertiliser Plant Scheme is being

this important industry, which should have been a national one, will also be completely under the grip of this British monopolistic corporation.

Banking Legislation for India

Considerable interest has been roused by the disclosure made at the Reserve Bank Board meeting that the Government of India has agreed to a comprehensive legislation on banking in India. Those who remember Sir James Taylor's Banking Bill and the opposition it met with all over the country and in the Central Assembly, may believe that this decision is due to the Government's feeling that in the Assembly as at present constituted and weakened by Congress boycott they will get through a conservative one on the lines of the Taylor Bill, which aimed at the strengthening of the foreign Banks in India at the cost of the Indian small and medium banks.

Commercial quarters demand that the Reserve Bank Act itself should be amended. The Bank can at present hold only sterling securities as foreign assets and cannot open its branch in any foreign country without the Government's permission. Since New York will be the financial capital of the world after the war, Reserve Bank Act should be amended to enable it to open a dollar portfolio and a branch in New York. The Reserve Bank has served during the war more as an instrument of British finance than a guardian of India's financial interests. Otherwise the huge accumulation of sterling securities could have been prevented by the Bank if it had acted independently. The profits of the Reserve Bank are now running into several crores every year and are credited to the general revenue. This is objectionable. Reserve Bank's profits should not go to the general revenues but should be credited to a separate fund, as is done in France, to finance agricultural research and development. The Government of India is finding legal difficulty in setting up central committees on rice and oil seeds because taxation needed for the purpose is a provincial subject. If the Bank's profits were earmarked for research and development, the various central organisations could be financed easily.

Misuse of Viceregal Veto

The *Free Press* reports that in reply to a question Sir Mohammad Yamin Khan, Secretary of the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislative Assembly, said: "I have found a great misuse of the powers which are vested in the Governor-General for his individual judgment. The Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly will never allow misuse of the p

of veto in the name of emergency after the experience we have gained. It is the misuse of this power which has opened our eyes."

Tagore Anniversary in London

London, August 11.—George Bernard Shaw and others have sent messages to the Secretary of the Tagore Society, London, in commemoration of the fourth anniversary of the death of Tagore. In his message, Bernard Shaw says that as he knew Tagore and regarded him as a fellow missionary and as the world at present is violently engaged in doing the opposite to what they taught, this is hardly the moment for them to blow one another's trumpets. Tagore is happy in being beyond earshot of his (Shaw's).

Professor A. V. Hill, M.P., Secretary, Royal Society, says: "Had learning, science and medicine had no other gifts at all to offer mankind, their habit of transcending language, nationality and prejudice would have made them more perhaps than anything else worth while."

Pearl S. Buck from America sent a message to the Indian students in London, in which she referred to Tagore's "greatness of spirit, which transcends all boundaries, nationality and race."—Reuter.

How England Came Under Rationing

Sir Henry French, Permanent Secretary to the Food Ministry in London, who is now touring India, narrated his own experience on rationing in a press interview at Karachi. He said that in 1936 he was appointed head of a department which was to deal with food matters in the event of war. The preparatory work done by this department for three years, until 1939, had stood the country in very good stead. Thus on the declaration of war, orders which had been kept in readiness were enforced and within a few hours the Government became the sole owner of all the foodstuffs in the country as well as of all the imports that would come to it thereafter. The advantages of this were many. It fixed prices at reasonable levels by eliminating speculation and created confidence among the growers and consumers alike. Sir Henry pointed out that the poorer people in Britain are at present better fed than they were before the war.

This may be compared to conditions in India. The department of food here was created about two years after the Japanese war, and more than four years after the beginning of the present conflagration. Rationing was introduced in Calcutta after the last year's devastating famine, and that too, under orders of the Central Government. Even after 29 weeks of rationing, the most fundamental defects as to the bad quality of foodgrains supplied have not been removed. Rationing in Calcutta may generally be called unsuccessful; people have submitted to it simply because they have been compelled to do so.

Rationing in a free country and that in a dependency have a gulf of difference between them. In the latter it tends to become a source of unmitigated evil for the rich and the poor alike. Calcutta has the experience that even metal and saw dust can be thrust down human throats in the name of rationing. Even women, children, and the sick are not spared.

Cloth Famine in Bengal

Indian Finance reports :

In his report at a recent meeting of the Board at Bombay, Mr. Thackersey claimed not only a reduction in the price of cloth by about 60 per cent from the pre-control level, but also an increase in Indian cotton mill production to 4,800 million yards last year, as against the average mill production of 3,500 million yards prior to the War. Handloom production, too, has increased considerably and is expected soon to reach 2,000 million yards. Out of about 6,800 million yards of domestic production 1,200 million yards were earmarked for export and the defence services, leaving approximately 5,600 million yards for domestic consumption. That, Mr. Thackersey emphasised, "must clearly prick the bubble of cloth scarcity". For the period ahead, the Chairman of the Textile Control Board emphasised the importance of some provinces getting abreast of Bombay in the stiffening of control measures through prompt action against infringement of the rules. Some of the Indian States are notorious for serving as "a fertile field for fictitious transactions and benami sales by many traders and illicit exports." Not only should these loopholes be plugged, but care should also be taken against production being reduced by worsening of the coal position or by more serious scarcity of fuel.

In spite of this huge production, cloth famine in Bengal continues. The position has not improved to any visible extent even after the visit of the Textile Commissioner Mr. Vellodi. Excuses for inefficiency know no limit.

Europeanisation of Services

The Leader writes editorially :

Lieut.-Gen. J. B. Hance, Director-General of the Indian Medical Service, is going to England to make inquiries on behalf of the Bhore Committee. In his absence Col. Paton, Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Bengal, will officiate for him. Sir Leonard Wilson, Chief Commissioner of Railways, proceeds on leave preparatory to retirement. Sir Arthur Griffin, General Manager of the N. W. Railway, will succeed Sir Leonard Wilson as Chief Commissioner of Railways.

The authorities will contend that they choose the best person available. But in respect of qualifications the Indian members of the I.M.S. do not suffer by comparison with the European members. In fact, while the quality of the European members has been deteriorating that of the Indian members has been improving. It was Sir Parday Lukis who in 1913 referring to the "steady deterioration" of the quality of European candidates for the I.M.S. said, "This had culminated in the fiasco of July last when only 22 men had competed for 12 vacancies, and of these only 16 obtained the qualifying marks of 50 per cent".

A second line of argument has sometimes been that the claims of senior men cannot be ignored. But these and similar posts are not necessarily given to

the seniormost men in the service. Sir Guthrie Russell was not the seniormost officer in the state railways when he became a member of the Railway Board. The present Home Member of the Governor-General's Council is not the seniormost member of the I.C.S. The conclusion is irresistible that in the selection of candidates for key posts in the public services those in authority are influenced by racial considerations. The two concrete examples mentioned above show how much truth there is in the statements of Mr. Amery and other spokesmen of the British ruling class that they want to transfer power to Indians. Those who are not willing to Indianize even two posts, will surely not transfer the entire Government of India to Indians.

There is another circumstance which deserves attention. One of the causes of unrest in Egypt has been the increase in the number of British officials. In India there has been large multiplication of British officials during the last four years. The process still continues.

Sir Nilratan Memorial Lecture

The Calcutta Medical Club has decided to perpetuate the memory of Sir Nilratan Sircar, Kt., M.A., M.D., D.C.L., LL.D., its founder and first president, by instituting a Fund of Rs. 25,000 from the interest of which, as a first step, will be created an Annual Oration called Sir Nilratan Sircar Memorial Oration, which will be delivered annually, at the Calcutta Medical Club, by a medical man of outstanding abilities from any part of India. The Committee appeal to the public to donate to the above Fund, which should be sent to the Hon. Secretaries, Calcutta Medical Club, C.M.C. House, 91B, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta.

Weldon Prize for Prof. Mahalanobis

The University of Oxford has awarded the Weldon Prize for the first time to an Indian scientist, Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, (the Calcutta Statistical Laboratory), "on account of his contributions to biometric science during the preceding six years." The prize was instituted in 1907 in memory of W. F. R. Weldon, Professor of Biology at Oxford. He and Karl Pearson under the leadership of Sir Francis Galton were the great pioneers of the new science of biometry or the application of mathematical and statistical methods to biology.

Creation of a Reptile Press in India

The special representative of the *Hindusthan Times* writes:

A chain of Government-financed newspapers in principal political centres in India and a chain of so-called Information Bureaus in Washington, London, Moscow and Chungking, arrangements for which are already under way, will soon begin to function collectively. The object is, of course, to dope the public in India and abroad with anti-nationalist, anti-Congress and anti-Gandhi propaganda so that when the war is over it may facilitate the British Government shelving the question of Indian self-government.

The Ordinances must be so administered as not to permit accession of strength to nativistic journalism (vide refusal to let Pandit Jawaharlal's *National Herald* re-appear). The 'friendly' Press, such as the Anglo-Indian journals, should be given extra quota on the plea that they are sold among the troops. The Government should encourage its supporters to group themselves as minority or special interests, form parties and demand opportunities for voicing their views through their own newspapers.

Anti-Congress Muslims, depressed class leaders, pro-Government zamindars and careerists should be encouraged to start journals and promised adequate financial support besides war-inflated Government advertisements. But care must be taken to create the smoke-screen that it is an organized party or group that wants to start an organ of its own.

The war controls give the Government a unique opportunity to build up its own Press, and it must be fully exploited so that the Government may emerge from the war with a sufficiently vocal Press whose opinion can be widely broadcast in India and cabled abroad to counteract the voice of the nationalist Press.

Ordinary commercial competition makes it difficult for any newspaper enterprise to turn the corner without at least a decade's struggles. But the papers created and maintained by the Government do not have to work on commercial lines. Indian taxpayers' money are spent lavishly on them both by granting cash subsidies and by giving advertisements at high rates. The Government's backdoor entry into private enterprise will prove ruinous to honest journalism in their commercial career as well. The real danger, however, is not from the subsidised paper as such, but from its ability to masquerade as an independent paper.

Britain to Take Second Place

Bertrand Russell writes in Asia:

National arrogance, which used to be a British characteristic, is always an accompaniment of world power. So long as Britannia ruled the waves, the English were inclined to despise other nations, and were not always careful to hide their contempt. But now the American Navy is larger than the British, Washington is the governmental centre of the world, and New York is the financial centre.

The English, after being dominant for 200 years, have got to learn to take second place, and to do it as gracefully as possible. The arrogance which formerly was theirs is now rapidly crossing the Atlantic along with sea power. Oddly enough, it takes the same moralistic form.

The English used to boast of being more virtuous than Continental nations; now the Americans boast of being more virtuous than Europeans. And as the narrow barrier of the Channel makes the English appear insular to Continental nations so the Americans seem insular to Europeans, in proportion as the Atlantic is wider than the Channel.

Russell however believes that both this arrogance and insularity can be cured through right type of education and international association. He has noticed that Americans who have lived for some time abroad, have developed quite a different bend of mind. He

fore concludes that "if it were customary for Baigas, the Father went to the place and fasted for 12 days with the result that the Tahsildar went to the spot and made the Baigas become Christians and thus abroad it is to be hoped that this insularity might be diminished on both sides of the ocean."

Danger of Malnutrition

A pamphlet on Nutrition by Dr. W. R. Aykroyd, at present a member of the Famine Commission, has recently been published. In it the author discusses Indian nutritional problems, the relation between public health and nutrition, and the developments and changes in agricultural production which are needed to make the food supply more satisfactory from nutritional standpoint. He is of opinion that an increase of 15 to 20 per cent. in cereal production, 15 to 23 per cent. in pulse production, 10 to 20 per cent. in sugar supplies, 100 per cent in vegetables, 200 per cent in the production of vegetable fats, 100 per cent in milk supply and 100 per cent in fish supply, are needed to meet the nutritional requirements of the country. He observes that it is along these lines that the problem of adjusting agricultural production to nutritional requirements should be approached. He has pointed out how malnutrition leads to the deterioration of public health and that "an attack on malnutrition is an essential part of the broader campaign to ameliorate conditions of life in India." Unless this is done malnutrition and the danger of starvation will continue to increase.

An interesting discovery made by Dr. Aykroyd is that the first faint beginnings of the decline in fertility are discernible in India. If this process develops along lines similar to that in Europe, which is faced with the problem of declining population, then the danger of indefinite growth of Indian population will be eliminated.

Proselytisation in C. P.

Mr. Ram Bharose Agarwal, Vakil of Mandla, C. P., toured in the interior of the Mandla district in order to see for himself how far the recent statements of Dr. Verrier Elwin in the missionaries' activities in the district were true. What Mr. Agarwal saw only confirmed Dr. Elwin's statement, which has already been published in *The Modern Review*. Mr. Agarwal's statement is given below:

The most sensational incident in Mandla recently was the fact of a Dutch Roman Catholic priest to force scores of Baigas to become Christians. The Father had called many Gonds for the Christmas to a great feast of liquor and mutton. He asked them to remove their sacred threads, but they refused and would not accept the feast. The Father, being angry, increased the interest on the debts they wad him four times and then turned his attention to the Baigas. One large village was converted to Christianity and when a neighbouring village refused to eat with the Christian

Pavitra-pahi (holy water blessed by the priest), take Param-prasad or Maha-prasad as they now call it (which is blessed bread), and attend the Church on Sunday. Nearly all the Fathers are registered money-lenders. They only relax their efforts to recover their money if the debtor attends Church every Sunday. If he does not attend, he is terrorized to pay back the money and the poor fellow has to submit. The Fathers use liquor freely to get the aborigines into their control. The Munshis hold a drinking bout to get documents thumb-marked. The Father give liquor at the opening of schools and on other occasions. The teachers are given increments only when they pass in the examination of the Dharam-pustak (laying down Catholic feasts and customs). They must arrive for their salaries on Saturdays, must attend Gurja-puja (Church prayers) on Sundays and then only they are paid their salaries. One of their teachers told me that in his presence on Sunday Gurja-puja, about 8/10 very young children were given Param-prasad.

In villages where there are churches, young children are given Param-prasad to swallow, and are taught to greet each other by saying 'Jai Jee!' Some may regard such schools as educational centres. I differ. I say they are simply proselytizing centres. It will be for the Educational Department whether to recognize them or not, or whether to continue grants or recognition. As tax-payer, every Hindu at least should oppose their grants, and their recognition. I express my opposition with all emphasis at my command. I do not forget the fact that the head of the Education Department in C. P. is a Roman Catholic, nor do I forget the fact that the Governor of C. P. told Mr. Savarkar that the Government was giving no support at all to the missionaries. Under the circumstances, only one remedy appears feasible, that not only all grants be withdrawn, but that none of the mission schools be recognized by Government, and that where recognition has been given, it should be withdrawn.

Need for an Institute of Agriculture and Rural Economics in Bengal

The Bengal famine has demonstrated once for all the thoroughly unsound position of the cultivators in rural areas, the complete inefficiency of the administrative machinery to grapple with the chronic problem and at the same time the helpless unpreparedness of intellectual leadership to contribute any well-thought-out constructive programme. The Agricultural Education Committee of the Calcutta University has seriously taken up this problem and is considering proposals to expand its Agricultural Institute at Barrackpore. The signal failure of the Government Agricultural Department has made it imperative for the University to step in. We have received the proposal submitted to the Committee by Mr. Bijay Bhari Mukherjee, retired Director of Land Records, Bengal, and Examiner for M.A. in Agricultural Economics of the Calcutta University. His proposal in concrete shape is given below:

I would suggest that the University should plan out for a First Class Institute for Agriculture and Rural Economics. Its scope and objective should be to start

seems to be out of question for the German forces in the North of France for the present, if the latest reports about the Allied crossing of the Seine on a broad front be accurate. American spearheads are now operating in the region between the Seine and the Marne and it would not be long now before it would be clear whether the German High Command is willing to face large-scale field engagements in Northern France.

In the south of France the German defence is still trying to tie down the Allied forces to the narrow and cramped areas bordering the French Maritime Alps and although an American spearhead has struck deep and far, right across to the Swiss frontier, this attempt on the part of the defenders has not been overcome as yet. The Allied forces in the south have a difficult job ahead of them in their attempt at linking up with the Northern Invasion forces and although the daring and the determination of the American forces and their commanders has been amply demonstrated, both in the North and the South, the terrain the Southern Invasion forces have to traverse before they get through the broad valley of the Rhone would undoubtedly hamper their mobility and correspondingly help the defenders, if the latter are at all able to mobilise any strength to oppose the advancing American forces.

In Italy the advance of the Allies has been maintained though the progress has not been spectacular in any sense. The German forces here are facing undiminished pressure and though they have as yet been able to impede the advance of the Allied forces in substantial measure, there can be no questioning of the fact that they have not succeeded in fighting the Allied forces to a standstill.

The overall picture of the progress of the War in Europe as presented at the time of writing these notes (Aug. 29) shows that the Wehrmacht is facing its greatest crisis at any time of this World War. The month of September will probably witness the peak of the joint offensive of the United Nations against the Axis in Europe. In men and in material the Wehrmacht can show nothing in the point of quantity that can match that of its opponents. Indeed in the point of manpower resources both America and Russia can individually outnumber many times over what the Germans can possibly mobilise. On the score of production of war material the difference is still more marked and lastly in the field of aerial warfare the supremacy of the United Nations is still almost absolute. In the field of diplomacy Germany suffered a major disaster in September last when Italy collapsed, and this year, almost on the anniversary of the Italian capitulation, the third

Axis component in the order of strength is crumpling up threatening a total collapse of the Axis defence plans in the South-Eastern Zone and in the Balkans. Mr. Churchill's prediction about the possibility of the war in Europe ending in October evidently had the above factors in view just as his earlier statement suggesting that this War might be over by the end of the summer must have had the chance of success of the attempt at coup-de-etat against Hitler's regime in consideration. Against all these odds, the Wehrmacht can only pit the high efficiency of its war-wise generals and the technical ability and discipline of its fighting forces. In Italy the crisis was substantially overcome by the organising capacity and tactical ability of the German command, but even there the tremendous weight of aerial supremacy and the great difference in the numerical and material strength of the opponents has continued to tell in the favour of the Allies. It remains to be seen whether Hitler's Supreme War Council had made arrangements in advance for the possibility of Rumania cracking up under the strain.

The war against Japan is still following its slow meandering course. After a sharp rise in the tempo, the war in the Pacific has again settled down to a slow uphill fight against suicide defence. In China the picture is the reverse of cheerful and in Burma the progress is painfully slow. The main problem before the United Nations now is the preservation of China's powers of recuperation. China has not as yet received any aid from her allies that would go to enhance her fighting capacity. Indeed it is an open question whether she has received enough to enable her to balance her losses by adding to her own meagre supplies. China's internal conditions are undergoing a grave crisis so we are told. And considering what she has undergone in the course of seven years of a savage and highly organised war, during the first four years of which she received only lip sympathy from her friends while her enemy received all the material aid it could pay for, it is a wonder that matters are not far worse. China has still about three quarters of a million of picked Japanese troops tied down on her soil which fact is beyond all doubt a factor of very substantial importance to the Allied offensives in the Far East and the Pacific. People seem to forget that but for the super-human ability and determination of the Chinese forces to continue fighting in spite of appalling losses, the Japanese drive would have travelled far beyond the borders of Burma and New Guinea. All this glib talk about helping China to stand up again should in reality be done in a spirit of gratefulness. Aid to China is a matter of repaying a very substantial debt of honour in a sense.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

BY KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

We wrote in the last issue of this journal, "the Russian campaign is now rapidly mounting to a climax". Great changes have taken place within the month that has elapsed since the above was written. In the southern extremity the Rumanian line is in a state of flux due to the acceptance of the Russian terms for a truce by the king of the Rumanians and the partial laying down of arms by the Rumanian armies in consequence. The situation in that region is complex and up till now the news that has been released has not cleared up the haze that seems to have enveloped that front since the first news came through. Some sections of the Rumanian army seem to be still fighting against the Russians, whereas others have laid down arms. Whatever the situation, the German High Command can no longer count on the Rumanians as being a rigid and coherent part of its defence scheme as armies in a state of flux are undependable in the extreme to say the least. With Rumania in chaos, the frontiers of Hungary are threatened, which state of affairs mean an added strain on the Hungarian defence forces. If Rumania goes the German defence will be faced with a serious shortage of petroleum, since the 6 or 7 million tons of petroleum from the Rumanian oil fields formed a substantial portion of the oil supplies of the German forces. The capture of Focșani and Ramnicul Sarat on the Cernauti-Ploesti-Bucharest Railway makes this danger imminent.

From the purely military point of view the Germanic forces had attained a position of partial stabilisation on the Eastern front after fighting fierce defensive battles and launching large-scale counter-attack during the six weeks following Russian halt at the approaches to East Prussian and Warsaw sectors, which took place about the beginning of July. In the battles for the East Prussian border and the drive for the Baltic States the Russian armies made hardly any advance till very recently when a fresh assault in great force resulted in the occupation of Tartu, some 25 miles west of Lake Peipus. In the Polish sectors of Warsaw and the upper Vistula—near the approaches to Cracow—the Soviet forces have not been able to advance in any appreciable measure up till now. But this latest political breach in the defence-lines has altered matters very seriously and with dramatic suddenness. Unless the German High Command can devise some means of defence which would be even more rigid than that in Italy, the Balkan situation may well develop into a major debacle even surpassing that of the Stalingrad offensive in its serious consequences.

The Rumanian army has begun to disintegrate and it would be surprising indeed if that process of dissolution can be halted by any outside force, if all the reports we have been receiving are even substantially true. This development will give major relief to the forces of the Soviets who up till now seemed to have been almost fought to a standstill by the German defenders.

This new disaster to the German defence plans in the East would be of the greatest value to the Allied forces operating in France. The situation in the Balkans has created most urgent demands on the resources of the German fighting machine. Large tracts of the defence zones in the south are now open to the invading Russian forces and large groups of the German armies in the southern sectors are in imminent danger of being wiped out. Under these circumstances, substantial portions of the reserves of the Germanic forces must now be in the process of being rushed to that sector of the Eastern Front. If the estimate that Mr. Churchill gave the world a very few months back of the present condition of the German army be anywhere near accuracy, then the German armies in France and Italy cannot expect any further reinforcements in quantity either in men or in material. Which in its turn means that if the Allied commanders in France can force the German defenders to accept battle on a continental scale, then the defending armies would rapidly dwindle down to a state when no further planned defence of the French terrain would be possible against the Allies.

In France the American armies have achieved major successes in the North. They have overcome the German attempts at denying them space for major field operations after an extremely fierce struggle lasting for over ten weeks. The first stage in the formation of the Second Front is now definitely over in the North, and with the immense superiority of the forces at the disposal of the Allied Commanders in France—which includes almost absolute mastery of the air—they ought to be able to maintain this fluid condition to the advantage of the Allied arms. The German defenders in France have been facing tremendous odds right from the beginning and up till now their main counter-measure to balance the odds lay in the denial of space to the Invasion forces of the Allies for the adequate employment of their strength. Germany has not been able to answer the challenge of the Allies in the air to any appreciable extent and in this lies the greatest handicap of the defenders. Static defence

seems to be out of question for the German forces in the North of France for the present, if the latest reports about the Allied crossing of the Seine on a broad front be accurate. American spearheads are now operating in the region between the Seine and the Marne and it would not be long now before it would be clear whether the German High Command is willing to face large-scale field engagements in Northern France.

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PROBLEM OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIAN INDIA

BY SUDHIR KUMAR LAHIRI

Before the problem of constitutional development of India is solved in a suitable manner, it is imperative that proper public attention should be focussed on the various phases of the question so far as it affects the Indian States. It must be acknowledged with regret that this aspect of this important matter has of late received very inadequate consideration at the hands of the general public. If the unity of India is to be maintained, it is of absolute importance that Indian India should move in unison with British India. If, as a preliminary towards the attainment of this ideal, it is needed that expeditious efforts should be made for allaying communal differences, is it not of equal, if not of much greater moment, that prompt steps be at the same time taken for settling the very complex and delicate problem of constitutional development of the Indian States as a whole?

The discussion that preceded the introduction of the present constitution of British India, along with the declarations of some of the more advanced and prominent among the Rulers and their Ministers made from time to time since then, created an impression that the urgency of the problem of constitutional development in Indian India was fully realised, and a move would be made in earnest in this direction by a few at least of them to bring their States in line with British India. Let us see what is their position in this matter at the present moment after the lapse of so many years. This is what Prof. Coupland says on the subject in his Report on the Constitutional Problem in India, published in 1944, in the course of his discussion of matters relating to constitutional development of the Indian States:

"In most of the States it (development of parliamentary government) had not yet begun, and even in the more advanced of them it had barely reached the stage which the Provinces had attained twenty years or more ago. In some thirty States the traditional forms of consulting the people in *durbars* had been regularised or modernised. Representative Assemblies and Legislative Councils had been established. In legislation, and to an increasing extent in matters of administration the people now had a voice not only by custom but by a constitution. But it was only a voice; the last word in everything was still the Prince's. Thus the point of advance reached by 1937—to speak only of the more progressive States—lay roughly between the points reached by the British Provinces in 1909 and 1919."

New constitutions have of course been promulgated later in a few of the States, such as Jh. Cochin, Rajkot, Mysore, Baroda, Indore, Kashmir; Hyderabad, Ram-

pur, some of the Rajputana States, such as Jodhpur, Bharatpur, and Jaipur, etc. Of these the new constitution of the small State of Aundh in the Deccan is, perhaps, the most advanced, at least—as far as it may be judged from appearances. The advance so far made has, however, generally been most inadequate, and can, in no sense, be described as of a material or substantial character.

The attitude of the Rulers of Indian States is illustrated by the very inadequate—almost insignificant—pace of constitutional advance in Indian India, coupled with their anxiety still to cling to their ancient autocratic rights and privileges. This betrays an utter unreadiness on their part to keep themselves abreast of the spirit of the times together with almost complete disregard of the points of view of the people constituting these States. While expressing their readiness "in the interest of the Motherland, to make their contribution in every reasonable manner compatible with the sovereignty and integrity of the States, towards the framing of a new constitution for India," the States Delegation to the Cripps Mission urged,

"that any scheme to be acceptable to the States must effectively protect their rights arising from the Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads or otherwise and ensure the future existence, sovereignty and autonomy of the States thereunder guaranteed and leave them complete freedom duly to discharge their obligations to the Crown and their subjects;"

as set forth in a Resolution adopted unanimously by the Chamber of Princes on the occasion. In the following words, Professor Coupland very appropriately exposes the absurdity and extravagance of the claims thus put forward by the Rulers of Indian States:

"The law can only take account of usage and sufferance, but there is also a moral proviso which is unsusceptible of legal definition. No undertaking can be rightly interpreted without weighing the effect of the lapse of time and change of circumstance. It is not only a question of material factors: it is also a question of morals. No compact can endure when owing to the evolution of ideas, it has ceased to square with general conceptions of right and wrong. And certainly things no longer stand in India as they stood when most of the Treaties were made."

Without entering into the intricacies and ramifying complexities of the problem as a whole, for a proper discussion of which the needed space is not available here, it may be briefly pointed out, as Professor Coupland has rightly suggested, that 'manifestly the whole situation is different now,' that 'pledges, again, to protect the dynastic rights of the Princes

must needs read differently now from which they read a century or more ago,' that 'democracy as practised now in Britain or in an Indian Province was almost as inconceivable to the British governing class in the early nineteenth century as it was to an Indian Prince,' and that it could not be expected or urged 'that the British Government should lend its aid to prevent the development of constitutional government in the States' when it had promoted that development in the neighbouring Provinces. Now, in the twentieth century, when autocracy was doomed, they should, therefore, adapt themselves to the progress of democracy throughout the world.

The main features of the new constitutions of two States, e.g., Hyderabad, the largest of the Indian States and Porbandar, a small State in Western India, may be cited as illustrating the nature of outlook of the Rulers and throwing light on their actual attitude towards constitutional advance in their States. The Nizam of Hyderabad in a Firman, dated the 17th July, 1939, issued by the Government of His Exalted Highness, gave an outline of the new constitution of that State. The nature of the constitution is further elucidated by the Report of the Reforms Committee on the basis of whose recommendations the constitution is framed. Along with these official papers, rules have been issued regarding the establishment of Statutory Advisory Committees as a means of effecting a close association of the different interests with the administration on the following matters: Agricultural Development, Education, Finance, Industrial Development, Public Health, Sanitation, Hindu Religious Endowments, Muslim Religious Endowments and Religious Affairs. There will besides be a Civil Service Committee; local municipal bodies are to be reconstituted; panchayets to be established for villages having a population of between 2,500 and 5,000 only, with Rural Reconstruction Societies with a smaller population; annual District Conferences to be held, etc.

There is to be a unicameral legislature to be known as the Legislative Assembly. It will consist of 42 members to be elected as follows: 4 holders of Samasthanas and Jaighirdars and 2 Morashdars (these are considered as classes of quasi-feudal landed proprietors or grantees), 16 agriculturists and 2 representatives each of labour interests, industries, banking, the legal profession, the medical profession, graduates, district boards, district municipalities and town Committees and the Hyderabad Municipal Corporation. The candidates representing these groups are to be members of them. There will also be 33 nominated members, 5 of whom will be chosen by the Ilaqas and 28 members to be

nominated by the Government, of whom 14 shall be officials and 14 non-officials. In addition to the above the members of the Executive Council and 3 representatives appointed by the Nizam shall also be members of the Assembly.

The essential features of the constitution of Hyderabad are (a) that a system of new fangled electorates or groups for electoral purposes has been introduced, based on profession, class, or interests described as functional representation, (b) that the communal principle has been introduced by fixing representation in the proportion of 50:50 as between Hindus and Muslims, although the Hindus constitute nearly 90 per cent of the population, (c) that the legislature will be of a recommendatory character. The official language of the State is to be the official language of the legislature, namely, Urdu. The President may, however, permit those members who do not know Urdu sufficiently to address the House in Telugu, Marathi, Canarese or English. The term of the Legislature will be five years. "The expansion of the present Legislative Council to the proportions of the proposed Assembly," declares the Nizam, "will be of help to me whenever I may require it in a particular case, in going outside the usual circle of noblemen and officials for selecting Members of my Executive Council, as I shall then have before me the names of such members of the Assembly as may by their character, loyalty and judgment of public affairs have merited my confidence and proved their ability to discharge the onerous duties attached to members of my Council."

The new constitution of Porbander was inaugurated on the 9th June, 1944. The main features of the Constitution are:

"The Rajsabha (Legislative Assembly) constituted under this Act will comprise of one representative from each of the Social Units named below—Koh, Khoja, Nagar, Parsi, Brahmin, Memon, Mehr, Rajput, Lohana, Vanik and Vohra. One seat is allotted to the Artisan Class comprising of—Masons, Potters, Coppersmiths, Dyers, Tailors, Bhos, Shoemakers, Blacksmiths, Salats (also Masons), Carpenters and Goldsmiths. One representative is allotted to each of the following Occupational and Economic Units and other interests—The Sailor Community, Cattle Owners, Weavers, Industries, Merchants' Association, Bhayatis, 16 Mehr Pasta Villages, other holders of Alienated Lands, and the Municipalities of Porbandar, Ranawao and Madhavpur. The three Mahals (Districts) of the State will be represented by one cultivator from each. That makes a total of 24. Added to that, will be 6 nominations by the Ruler. The total strength of the Rajsabha will thus be of 30 members, or one or two more as provided for in the Act."

The representative of each unit will be its own Patel or Mukhi (i.e. headman) and elected in accordance with what is described as the ancient system of open voting by heads of families only. Heads of families who as State

subjects of the respective unit as well as other heads of the families of such units who may be owning in their own names, immovable property in the State of value of not less than Rs. 3,000 for at least five years prior to election and who may be present in the State, will assemble at such meetings and openly elect their respective Patel, Headman or President. The elected representative will, therefore, be one owning substantial property in the State. The Chief Minister will be the President of the Assembly. The Assembly will elect from its members a Deputy President by open voting. The term of the Assembly will be three years.

The executive of the State of Porbandar will be composed of the Chief Minister along with two other Ministers. The appointment of the Chief Minister will be made by the Ruler of the State. The appointment of other Ministers will be made by the Ruler from a panel of four names elected by the Assembly as a result of open voting. The powers and functions of the Assembly will be somewhat on the lines of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms in the British Provinces. The Ruler's 'dynastic inherent prerogatives' will continue unimpaired. An interesting feature of the constitution is the introduction of a series of social and occupational *panches* for popularising the principles of local self-government and decentralisation and the conferment on them of limited functions in the field of civil and criminal justice.

It has been seen that the pace of progress in the constitutional sphere of even the few most advanced among the States has been exceedingly slow. This cannot in any way be compared to the progress—extremely unsatisfactory though it certainly is—already achieved in British Indian Provinces, and be regarded as encouraging and helpful to an adequate and proper development of the States and their people. Professor Coupland is right in estimating that the point of advance attained by most of them did not pass beyond the points reached by the British Provinces in 1909 and 1919; in fact his view that in most cases the advance was almost from the starting point of pure autocracy was not at all exaggerated.

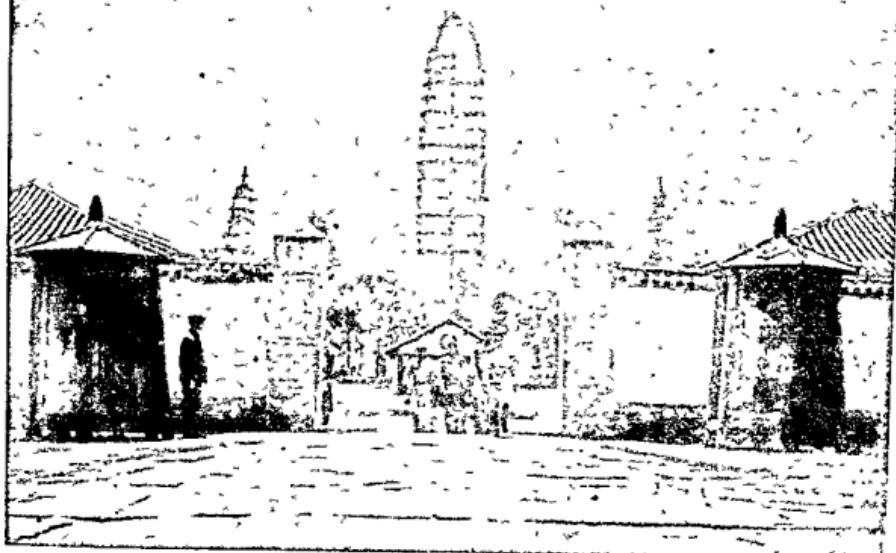
The main object of a suitable system of electorates in a country in the position of India is to select such representatives as were properly enlightened and public-spirited and would serve the best interests of the country and the people as a whole, instead of confining their attention, particularly, to the limited and circumscribed interests of classes, communities and special groups. The methods of representation adopted both in Hyderabad and Porbandar contravene the most essential condition. Varieties of such prevailed in many States in ages

when feudalism and an aristocratic governing class were still in the ascendant and autocracy was untempered by any the slightest tinge of the spirit of any system of popular government. In backward areas where education has not made much headway, and trades and occupations are not properly organised, systems like those introduced in Hyderabad and Porbandar will have the effect of intensifying rigidity of distinction among classes, castes and groups, create afresh differences where the aim should be to unify, and stabilise backwardness and unenlightenment. No criticism of such a system could be more appropriate in the existing conditions than that made by Professor Coupland. He properly points out, as had already been done before him by eminent political scientists in western countries, that the most obvious difficulty in any general adoption of functional representation is that of fixing the proportion of seats to be allotted to each interest. He writes :

"It must be remembered that nine-tenths of the Indian people are engaged in roughly the same agricultural occupation. Functional representation in India, moreover, cannot wholly cut across communal divisions, because some occupations are communal. Most leatherworkers, for example, are Moslems, and there are other kinds of work on which no caste-Hindu can be employed. There is another serious drawback to representation by occupation. Trades in Hindu India are mostly a matter of caste, and against the weakening of communal divisions by functional representation would have to be set a hardening of caste divisions which are likewise a serious hindrance to the development of genuine democracy in India."

Professor Coupland observes that since the system introduced in Hyderabad provided that half the representatives in each group must be Moslems and half Hindus it could only partly be called functional, and adds : "It might almost seem, indeed, as if the establishment of this communal balance was the main object of the scheme."

Any system of functional representation could be thought of, if and when, any country adopted genuine socialism. Professor Coupland cannot certainly be described in any way as either unsympathetic or hostile to the Rulers of Indian States and their interests. He cannot, at the same time, be considered as either an enthusiastic or helpful observer of things and events from the point of view of progressive Indians, who advocate the development of genuine democratic and popular institutions, in pursuance of solemn declarations repeatedly made by responsible spokesmen on behalf of the British Government. Many of his proposals and suggestions cannot be accepted; yet it cannot be denied that there are important matters in respect of which he has made thoughtful and weighty observations that deserve careful consideration.



American soldiers aiding the Chinese Armies in their campaign against the Japanese blockade of the Burma Road halt before a temple at Hina which abounds with templed hills

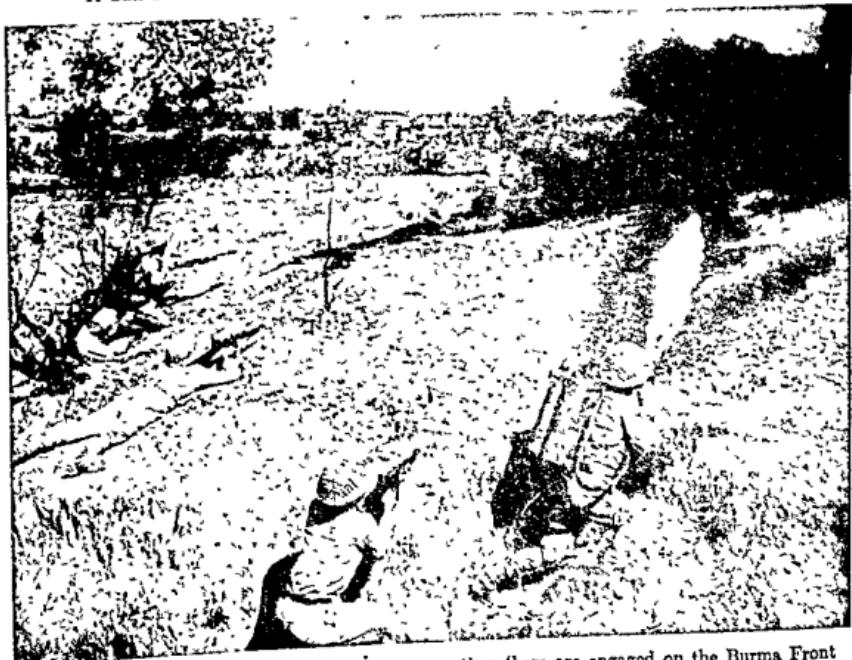


A convoy of jeeps receives a great deal of attention from the Chinese in front of a tea shop on the north part of the Burma Road

—Courtesy:



A bulldozer clears mud from the Ledo Road to build up this vital supply line



Flame-thrower teams with tommy gunners protecting them are engaged on the Burma Front
Courtesy: USOWI

SHREE RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE—EDUCATOR OF PUBLIC OPINION

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D., M.L.A.

The brilliant academic career of Shree Ramananda Chatterjee and the contributions he made to the cause of Indian education as a teacher, as the head of a large and popular college and as a member of the Allahabad University are so well known that a reference and no more is necessary to remind every one of the unrivalled reputation he enjoyed as an educationist. These facts also explain the keen interest he always took in educational problems, his insight into them and the authority with which he was entitled to pronounce his views on them.

High however as his reputation as an educationist must stand specially among the older generation in Bengal and the United Provinces where many of his former pupils are filling eminent positions as officials and also as leaders in politics, the generations to come will remember him as one of the doyens of Indian journalism—a position he shared, till he passed away the other day, with his friends, Mr. G. A. Natesan of the *Indian Review* and Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha of the *Hindusthan Review*.

It is curious to remember that Shree Ramananda Chatterjee did not choose journalism as his life's work but drifted into it accidentally through his passion for social service. His first journalistic venture was the Bengali *Dasi*, the organ of Dasasram, an organisation of the type of the Little Sisters of the Poor, with which the present writer had a very subordinate and humble connection as a student member. And well does he remember the journalistic ability which characterised the then unknown editor and the popularity enjoyed by this periodical.

This led Shree Ramananda Chatterjee to the idea of starting the first Bengali illustrated monthly magazine under the name of *Pradip*. It is few who can fully realise today the immense difficulties the editor had to surmount due to inadequate technical facilities for the manufacture of the blocks as well as the immense labour involved in the regularity with which in spite of them the periodical made its appearance. The popularity of *Dasi* proved that he had diagnosed a great need and had supplied it.

When Shree Ramananda Chatterjee went to Allahabad, he had not even then been able to shake off his predilections for a career as an educationist, journalism being then more or less like a hobby with him. With the foundation of the *Prabasi* at the beginning of the twentieth century, he at last found his vocation. The calls it made on his time and energy

due to the ideal he had set before himself to make this periodical representative of all that is valuable in Bengali and later on in Indian life, culture and politics, compelled him to give up his position as the Principal of the Kayastha College and to transfer his activities to Calcutta. In this great and unique work, his Sanskrit scholarship which was in his very blood and which had been reinforced by his study of all that is best and most valuable in English literature was a most valuable asset.

It was not long before Shree Ramananda Chatterjee realised that his work would be incomplete if he merely contented himself with handing out to his readers monthly doles of Bengali literature and culture only. The old call to be an educator in its widest sense was too strong to be resisted. This explains how, almost insensibly, this great Indian gradually extended the ambit of the subjects dealt with in this most popular of Bengali monthlies so as to include All-India art, culture and literature and next to deal with economic and still later with political matters. The result was that very soon the *Prabasi* began to deal with all varieties of subjects including even the most intricate and technical in such a manner as to interest even those who ordinarily do not care for them. Under his skilful editorship, the contributions in every issue were so well-balanced that every one found something interesting and worth reading.

This new technique also tended to encourage the study of various subjects among the writers most of whom Shree Ramananda Chatterjee was the first to discover and the first to encourage to write. The treatment of subjects hitherto neglected in Bengali journalism, enriched our vernacular literature by importing into it new ideas, sometimes new words and created a new body of trained writers almost every one among whom specialised in some department of knowledge. It will be some time before Bengal will be able to arrive at a just and accurate estimate of the contributions made to her thought, life, art and literature through Shree Ramananda Chatterjee's *Prabasi*.

So immense was the fund of energy at the disposal of this eminent son of Bengal, so industrious his nature and so intense his love for his new-found vocation to educate public opinion through the medium of the press, that he started *The Modern Review* within a year or so after the success of the *Prabasi* as a journalistic venture had been assured. The present writer had it from Shree Ramananda

himself that this periodical was founded primarily because he felt that his usefulness as a servant of his people would be greatly increased if he could reach a larger number of readers, something which would be possible only with a journal conducted in English. The profit motive never counted with him and was never the compelling factor at any time, witness the way in which he often put forward his opinions though aware that by doing so he was courting the antagonism of powerful vested interests.

Happily the desire to serve his country and to educate Indian public opinion in those directions which he considered necessary was accompanied by the capacity to ensure the financial success of his new venture in journalism. Fulfilling a great need which many had recognised but the responsibility for shouldering which none had so far shown any inclination, Shree Ramananda Chatterjee won fortune and fame from his connection with *The Modern Review*.

It was rarely that Shree Ramananda Chatterjee contributed signed articles to his own periodical but when he did so they were never long but always full of "meat." The editorial notes he contributed to which most of his readers looked forward, revealed the unerring correctness of his judgment; the immense courage of their writer and his refusal to compromise with anything he regarded as wrong. Above all, they were so balanced in nature, so patently devoid of malice and so permeated with the desire to give what he considered the right lead to public opinion, that they were considered by almost all his readers as the most valuable and acutest of comments on current affairs.

The Modern Review has enjoyed not only a wide circulation in our motherland but also outside India, a fact which can be vouched for by

the present writer who has been surprised to receive communications from his friends in England, Scotland, New York, Boston, Chicago and San Francisco referring in appreciative terms to its contents. If the appearance of non-Indian contributors on various subjects had the effect of enlarging the knowledge of Indian readers, the publication of articles from the pen of Indian writers whose only merit was their knowledge of the matters dealt with was equally valuable in keeping non-Indian readers posted with regard to our feelings and opinions. It was thus that Shree Ramananda Chatterjee went on educating public opinion in and outside India on the current problems of the day, and from this point of view, it may be urged that he remained an educationist in the widest sense of the term to the very end of his life.

No reference to the *Vishal Bharat* also founded by the same great man is made here only because this tribute to his memory was intended for that journal.

There cannot be any doubt that Indian journalism is the poorer by the death of Shree Ramananda Chatterjee and Bengal poorer still by his disappearance from our public life. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Sir Nil Ratan Sircar, Sir Jagadis Bose, Sir P. C. Ray and Shree Ramananda Chatterjee have in recent times kept up the reputation of Bengal in various walks of life.

Those of us who have found intellectual pabulum in the pages of *Prabasi* and *Modern Review* and others who have tried to help their work by their contributions have only one wish—that the Ramananda tradition may be not only maintained but, if possible, extended still further through both these periodicals and that the high standard he created in the sphere of journalism may be imitated by every Indian periodical.

SHRIJUT RAMANANDAJI

BY DEWAN BAHADUR KRISHNALAL M. JHAVERI

EVEN before the starting of *The Modern Review* i.e., 1907 A.D., the late Major Baman Das Basu (I.M.S. Retd.) and Srijut Ramanandaji collaborated with each other. Major Basu had served with his Infantry Regiment in Gujarat, and had thus come in contact with and made friends with Gujaratis, more particularly, writers, as he himself was a writer and his tastes lay in a literary direction. Srijut Ramanandaji had conceived an original and admirable idea, viz., to make the literatures of the different provinces of India and their day-to-day development known to one

start. He was in search of some one from Gujarat who could help him. Major Basu knew me, as he was writing to me off and on about his studies in Gujarati. In fact he had contributed one very good article to Ramanandaji's Bengali monthly, which he was then publishing, on Gujarati literature. My casual connection thus begun with Ramanandaji developed into great regard and close friendship, which terminated only with his death.

When he went to Europe to go to Geneva, although there were a number of Bengalis living in Bombay, he was good enough to put up with

me. That was his first trip to this side of India, and as he was so retiring, modest, almost shy, that I was hard put to it as to how to entertain him. Fortunately a veteran Bengali journalist, who was the Editor of the Lahore *Tribune* at one time and who for a long time had lived in Sind, and was in fact an All-India man, Babu Nagendra Nath Gupta happened to be living in Bandra, a suburb of Bombay, at that time. He came over to see him, and I put him in charge of my retiring guest and my car, and he took him to various places and persons including the now retired Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*, Mr. K. Natarajan. After that he had come on this side three or four times. Once at Ahmedabad he was the guest of Lady Vidya Gauri Nilkanth, and she and her family still cherish the memory of that visit with feelings of regard and love for him. He was called here once again to preside over the States Peoples' Conference and his outspoken but courteously worded address more than justified their choice of him. The last time I saw and talked to him was in 1936 when he was living in Dr. Kalidas Nag's house, at Calcutta, the house where his loving daughter nursed him during his last illness. After that we kept up

our usual correspondence, and I was kept informed of the state of his failing health—failing specially after the death of his wife—by Shrijut Kedar Nath, when Babuji himself was unable to take up his pen and write. Our relations were close, intimate and affectionate and he never hesitated to inform me about his personal matters and seek advice. He was so guileless, open-hearted and straightforward that he had nothing to conceal. We discussed many things in our correspondence frankly. I had a large circle of friends; it has considerably narrowed down and one after another they have gone the way of all flesh. The most recent loss sustained by me is in the death of Babuji. In all his dealings with the world I found him transparently sincere, with an utter absence of self-seeking, and full of humility and gentleness to a degree unusual and admirable. His loss to journalism—journalism of the right kind, honest, above board, conducted solely with a view to public good and national service—is heavy, and irreplaceable. This is the humble opinion of one who knew him for a whole generation and longer and knew him from inside.

May his soul rest in peace.

OUR OBLIGATIONS TO THE NON-OFFICIAL EUROPEAN—III

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D., M.L.A.

VII

The British managing agency firms which have their fingers on the pulse of the British investor have therefore concentrated on the development of old and well-tried enterprises, jute mills, tea gardens, and coal mining all yielding fairly high dividends, a fact noted by the Holland Industries Commission which referred to their "undue reluctance to embark on new ventures," observing in Paragraph 288 of its report that

The investment of capital has been upon comparatively restricted lines up to the war and there has been little enterprise in new directions.

Taking a broad view of the services rendered to India in the industrial sphere by British leadership, one cannot help but agree to the view expressed by two eminent Indian economists, Professors P. A. Wadia and K. T. Merchant, on page 282 of their recently published book *Our Economic Problem* that

It is significant that British investment in modern industries in India was confined exclusively to enterprises like railways, coal mines, jute mills, and to tea, coffee and sugar plantations—industries related to the production and export of raw materials.

It is admitted that the question as to whether a new enterprise should be started or not is the responsibility of the investors and the promoters. But when Britons enter what we maintain are exaggerated claims in regard to the value of the leadership rendered by them in developing our industries and on that score demand what most people of this country consider over-representation in our legislatures and statutory safeguards to retain and, may be, to extend their hold on our economic life, we hold that we have the right to ascertain whether they are based on unimpeachable facts. While it is admitted that, from the point of view of earning steady and respectable profits, there is ample justification of the British concentration on certain industries only, it is believed that the services rendered to India would have been much more valuable if Britons engaged in industries had, instead of being content with merely reposing on their laurels, embarked on new and uncertain but probably equally profitable ventures calculated to encourage the all-round industrial development of India, success in which would have established an irresistible claim on our gratitude specially

if this had gone hand in hand with the association of Indians in these and other enterprises started by them.

Tested by standards such as these, it is doubtful whether Britons are entitled to that amount of consideration from us which is a condition precedent to our granting them the position they demand in our economic life.

On page 273 of his *Eastern Industrialisation and its Effect on the West*, a publication sponsored by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, G. E. Hubbard has summed up the Indian view of the services received from Britons in the industrial development of their motherland in the following terms :

Investment has been guided by British rather than by Indian interests, . . . profits and interests have been drained out of the country, . . . enterprise has been concentrated upon commercial and a few special types of industrial concerns to the neglect of broader industrial needs, . . . Indians have not enjoyed full opportunities for technical and managerial training and experience and . . . undue advantage been taken of the cheapness and abundance of Indian manual labour.

After stating that these allegations may be exaggerations and that there is nothing to show that these objectionable features of the British industrial policy have been due to the adoption of a deliberate policy, this author expresses the view that

Some of them contain an element of truth.

VIII

It has been suggested that one reason for the establishment of factories in India under British leadership was that the export of materials like jute, hide, etc., in a manufactured or semi-manufactured state would be more profitable than their export in the raw state. Additional profits would come from the saving in the cost of carriage and the use of the abundant supply of cheap Indian labour. Then again, these two factors would play their part when these factories manufactured and marketed commodities consumed in India and which formerly had been imported, the highest profits being secured when they used easily available Indian raw materials. Under this class would come things like matches, soap, aluminium and enamelled ware, rubber tyres, chemicals, etc.

The Swadeshi movement and the war of 1914-18 played an important part in stimulating our industries and several new ones were started. Many of them had to be closed down and others languished when normal conditions were restored and when these had to face competition from Western countries. It was from this time that the Indian demand for protection grew so insistent that the British administration felt that it could no longer afford to ignore it and it appointed the Indian Fiscal Commission in 1921 and the External Capital Committee in 1925.

British industrial interests which had watched the trend of events realised that though the industries promoted by the managing agency firms producing goods which, on the whole, did not compete with home products were safe, there was some risk that their products manufactured with the assistance of costly British labour and imported into this country would find it difficult to compete with articles manufactured in India by our cheap labour out of our raw materials specially if protection implied the raising of high tariff walls.

The Indian Fiscal Commission submitting its report in 1922 recommended discriminating protection under clearly defined conditions. The report of the External Capital Committee supported the views of the Indian Fiscal Commission on the problem with which it was directly concerned suggesting unimportant modifications here and there. Their recommendations to a certain extent safeguarded British industrial interests. To make assurance doubly sure, British capital now began entering India in large amounts and established many industrial concerns under the control and management of aliens many of which captured the fields in which Indian industries had been operating for a long time. Some of these took up new and profitable lines of work which Indians had been planning to occupy.

With their vast financial resources, their technical knowledge and experience of business organisation, it was easy for Europeans to ruin their Indian rivals by cut-throat competition which sometimes took the form of selling their goods at below cost of production prices. It has been held that a deliberate attempt to exploit the bias for Swadeshi goods was made by the addition of the words "India Ltd." to their names. Occasionally, an Indian or two was taken into the directorate and his name added to the original non-Indian name of the concern.

Not only were the goods manufactured advertised widely but claims to the enjoyment of the same protection extended to genuine Indian concerns were advanced and conceded by the British administration. Unable to meet competition at their very doors, indigenous industries are rapidly succumbing to this onslaught with such rapidity that in the view of some Indian publicists, it is only a question of time when they will be wiped out altogether.

It has been urged that the shyness of Indian capital and the lack of qualified Indian technicians are responsible for the appearance of "India Ltd." concerns. In reply it may be said that if we had absolute control over our fiscal policy and had been in a position to adopt full-blooded protection, Indian capital could have easily followed the example of Tata's and imported alien technical staff under contract

and gradually trained up its Indian personnel. As for the alleged shyness of Indian capital, we find Mr. G. W. Tyson, C.I.E., Editor, *Capital*, the most influential organ of British business in Eastern India, admitting on page 7 of his *India Arms for Victory* published in October, 1942, that

Never within recent years has there been any lack of capital in India or a reluctance to stake it on new and sometimes speculative projects.

The recommendation of the Fiscal Commission and the External Capital Committee that restrictions should be placed on foreign capital only where it is accorded some kind of concession as well as the provisions against discrimination embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, under which discrimination against British capital, etc., can be adopted only when it is exercised against their Indian counterparts in Britain, have made it possible for British manufacturing interests to establish their industries behind our tariff walls while the extensive scale on which their operations are conducted has made it unnecessary for them to discriminate against the very few Indian activities in Britain.

Today we find non-Indian concerns taking advantage of the above factors and establishing themselves in India incidentally placing genuine indigenous industries under very serious handicaps and flourishing at the expense of the Indian consumer. In effect, he has to pay a higher price for such goods produced under the shelter of tariff walls as he uses and the whole of the manufacturing profit is lost to India. It cannot be denied that the primary object of imposing tariffs was the fostering of Indian industries thus promoting our national interests as also that the starting of alien "India Ltd." concerns does not fulfil this purpose.

In this connection, it is profitable to recall what the Commerce Member of the Government of India, a British official, speaking on the resolution which led to the appointment of the Indian Industries Commission said more than a quarter of a century ago :

The building up of industries where the capital, control and management should be in the hands of the Indians is the special object we (India Government) have in view.

Continuing, this official expressed his disapproval of taking any steps which might merely mean that the manufacturer who now competes with you from a distance would transfer his activities to India and compete with you within your boundaries.

This undertaking, for that is how it is regarded by Indians coming as it did from a Briton speaking in his official capacity before the Central Legislature, has not been fulfilled for the fiscal policy of the British administration in India and the anti-discrimination clauses in the Act of 1935 have made the establishment

of "India Ltd." concerns feasible and that in spite of the strongest of Indian protests.

The incorporation of subsidiaries of alien concerns under the specious title of "India Ltd.", the occasional association of Indian capital in these enterprises in a junior capacity and our political subjection which prevents us from framing our industrial, commercial, tariff and fiscal policies so as to fully safeguard our economic interests have raised apprehensions regarding the future economic development of India which cannot be allayed until we enjoy much larger powers than we do today. Rightly or wrongly, India feels that unless restrictions are imposed and imposed quickly, foreign capital will occupy such fields of remunerative industry and commerce as still remain uncovered with the result that her children will permanently occupy a position of economic inferiority.

IX

Non-Indians engaged in industries often declare that, granting for the sake of argument that little has been done for the members of the educated and the well-to-do classes, there is not much doubt that they have benefited their workers. The Indian view is that the best test for ascertaining the correctness of such claims is to find out the scale of wages for labour and the efforts put forward to improve its standard of living.

While considerations of space render it impossible to give anything like a detailed account of the wages paid to labour in even one of the industries mentioned above, the following information taken from authoritative sources should prove interesting as throwing a flood of light on the amount of benefit derived by Indian labour from the establishment of industries in India by European businessmen.

After taking into consideration the wages paid to labour in all our large-scale industries, Dr. P. S. Loka Nathan on page 354 of his *Industrial Organisation in India* concluded that

The Indian industrial worker is in receipt of wages which are insufficient to satisfy even the primary needs of civilised existence.

Inadequate as these wages are, it would be a mistake to take it for granted that industrial labour gets all the wages it earns. There are first of all certain deductions made by employers in the shape of fines levied for breaches of discipline and absence from work, deductions for damage to materials or machinery due to some fault of the workers and, occasionally, for benefits supplied by the employers, such as medical attention and the like.

Then comes the payment the workman has to make to the jobber or foreman under whom he works. This consists of a sum appointment and a sum from

wages. The coal mines and the jute industry have a particularly bad reputation for this practice.

Debt is still another factor preventing labour from benefiting fully from its wages. The estimate of the Royal Commission on Indian Labour was that at least two-thirds of the labourers are in debt and that this, in most cases, is equivalent to three months' wages. This burden is aggravated by reason of the high rate of interest charged which the above Commission held is commonly "75 per cent per annum."

It goes without saying that the sums which go out of the wages of labour under the above heads are not met out of the surplus which would otherwise have been spent on petty luxuries. "They have often," in the language of the Royal Commission on Indian Labour (Report, p. 226), to be provided by trenching on the primary needs of a healthy life.

Thoughtful Indians often ask themselves why British businessmen who started commercial and industrial activities in India and earn respectable profits have not put down the bribery and corruption of the existence of which they are aware with a firm hand and also why they have not taken any effective steps to at least reduce the exploitation of their workers by money-lenders. They believe that efforts in these directions would not have made too great demands on their energy, time and powers. They have concluded, perhaps uncharitably, that nothing has been done because European employers feel that they have little if any responsibility for the welfare of their men and that the latter must learn to take care of themselves. If that is so, and if the only tie between British industrialists and their Indian workers is that of master and servant the former paying as little and getting as much work as they can and the latter extracting the highest possible wages and in return giving as little work as possible, it surely proves that the claims regarding the benefits conferred on and the concern felt for the latter by British industry are, to say the least, rather questionable.

X

In the *General Report on Industrial Labour in India* issued by the International Labour Office, Geneva, we have a number of statements showing the average size of working-class families in different centres and in different industries, the number of wage earners, the average monthly earnings of some families and lastly on page 280, the average monthly family incomes and expenditures and the percentage expenditure on main consumption groups. The conclusion drawn from this table by two eminent

Indian economists, joint authors of *Our Economic Problem*, is that

If we consider the first four items of expenditure (food, clothing, rent, fuel and lighting lumped up together), . . . the average expenditure amounts to 75 per cent of the total income. If we include other necessary expenses like washing, bedding and household articles, the percentage will increase to 85.

On page 376 of his *Industrial Organisation in India*, Dr. P. S. Lekanathan after a review of the above facts concludes that

The large proportion spent on the primary necessities of life is evidence of the insufficiency of the wages, and of the very low margins between subsistence and starvation available to the workers.

The insufficient and ill-balanced diet and the deplorable housing conditions of industrial labour leading to preventable disease and premature death have been dealt with in detail by the present writer elsewhere and he is not therefore disposed to say anything further on these matters. He will content himself with quoting here the views expressed in 1938, by Mr. Harold Butler of the International Labour Office on page 9 of his book *Problems of Industry in the East* where, after referring to the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Indian Labour made in 1931, he says,

The fundamental reforms suggested in the recommendations on education, industrial relations, health, housing and the standard of life still remain for the most part to be carried out.

The result is that what Dr. V. S. Rutherford M.A., M.B., (Cantab), a former Member of the House of Commons said in 1927 on page 125 of his *Modern India* is equally true today. His words were as follows :

The only advantage that India derives from British-owned industries is sweated wages and a low standard of life for Indian labour, a very dubious advantage which Indians might be better without.

As contrasted with these benefits derived by Indian labour, the same author summarises the advantages enjoyed by Europeans as consisting in

higher salaries paid to the British management (with the dividends going to England).

It is true that after the present war had started and when there was a sudden increase in the demand for certain types of goods, rises in wages, allowances, bonuses, etc., were given as also food-grains and other necessities of life supplied to labour at concession rates. Employers have taken credit for these steps referring to them as proof of their desire to discharge their responsibility towards their employees. Labour leaders explain all these measures not as indicative of a spirit of generosity but as being due to their anxiety to earn the high profits due to inflated prices and war contracts, obviously impossible without a contented labour force. They will believe in the *bona fides* of the

employers only if the treatment persists when, with the end of the war, prices slump and high profits disappear or almost disappear and if no attempt is made then to seriously cut down the wages which are being paid today.

XI

That concerns organised by European capital are inclined to choose men belonging to their own nationality as directors, as agents and for filling the superior and responsible positions is well-known and universal and this Indians regard, perhaps wrongly, as a grievance. Non-Indian apologists of this exclusion of Indians urge that, in most cases, this is so because Indians possessing the requisite qualifications are not often available in sufficiently large numbers though on this matter there is difference of opinion. Nonetheless there have been many cases where the claims of the right type of Indians, even when these are available, have been overlooked.

Others, more reasonable, point out that what is objectionable is that as the profits are earned in our country with the help of our labour and our material resources, Indians should not be denied facilities for obtaining the special kind of training available in these concerns and that the systematic way in which they have been shut out is clear proof of a deliberate policy of monopolising by the Europeans those financial and other advantages which flow from conducting commercial and industrial operations in India. In that connection, it is pointed out that though European capital has been operating in India for over a century, its presence in this land has not resulted in the enjoyment by an appreciable number of Indians of such opportunities of obtaining training as could without much difficulty have been made available to them.

Apologists of European industries operating in India urge on their behalf that even if the directorate and superior staff are alien, their establishment is conducive to our industrial progress and that though they might make things difficult for the Indian industrialists, they are beneficial to the masses.

The Indian view is that so long as the capital, the management, the supervising and the technical staff are aliens, the employment of unskilled labour does not convert essentially alien concerns into indigenous ones. Our motive in demanding all possible facilities for what may be called the Indianisation of industries is the desire to promote the growth of national wealth and national income. Taking the most favourable view, the exploitation of our raw materials and man-power by alien concerns is nothing but development by proxy and as such objectionable.

As regards the benefits conferred on the masses, it is true that the Indian producer of the raw materials used finds a market for his products and that Indian labour also finds employment in these concerns. While admitting that these do provide some kind of relief, Indians cannot forget two things. The first of these is that the services of the Indian agriculturist and the Indian labourer are requisitioned not because any special tenderness is felt for them but because these industries must come to a standstill without their co-operation and also because they are much cheaper than their European counterparts.

The second thing is that the benefits derived by the foreigners are so large and the Indian share so small that there are some Indians who would prefer to see them remain inside the country in the expectation that a large part of them would somehow come back in some form or other to the masses who provide everything which makes the earning of profits possible except the capital and the supervision. These latter, it is held, however valuable in their way, can never be regarded as entitled to the high profits now drawn by them.

XII

The Indian does not deny that in expressing the view that the measure of representation given in our legislatures to non-official Europeans should be conditioned by their "importance" and their "contribution," the executive of the India Government of 1919 of which seven out of eight members were Britons as well as the Simon Commission in 1930 all the members of which were Britons, were voicing a conviction, no doubt honestly held by the European community resident in India and their friends and supporters in Britain. Aldous Huxley was explaining this attitude when he pointed out many years ago in his *Jesting Pilate* that if he had been a member of the Indian Civil Service or the owner of a sufficiently large block of remunerative shares in the Calcutta jute mills, he would have felt little hesitation in believing, and that in all sincerity, that British rule had been an unmixed blessing to Indians who are constitutionally incapable of governing themselves as also that industries incorporated in England and operating in India and carrying away everything except the wages paid to manual labour have been an equally inestimable boon to us.

Indians maintain that the examination of the value of the services rendered by British industry along with other facts to which no reference has been made here entitle them to draw the conclusion that they have no reason to feel any excessive gratitude. Such small benefits as have come to the people of

this country have not emerged as the result of any deliberate effort put forth by British industry but only because they are inseparable from the activities carried on by it in pursuit of its own ends. They are also convinced that they would be withdrawn tomorrow if doing so would be helpful to the interests of British capital.

If the unintentional conferring of these very slender benefits is to be regarded as a reason for the over-representation of Britons in our legislatures, Central and Provincial, as well as for the special economic and other safeguards guaranteed to them under the Act of 1935, some Indians would argue, let us admit illogically, that they too are entitled to special representation in the English legislature and to such safeguards as they, and not their rulers, deem necessary for their protection. They would justify their demands by urging that Britain draws certain agricultural and mineral products and semi-manufactured and manufactured goods from India at rates much below those at which

they are available in the world market as well as because this country absorbs a respectable part of British manufactures.

The claim that non-official Europeans are entitled to favourable treatment in the form of commercial safeguards, excessive representation, etc., because of the services some of them have rendered to our economic development by the establishment of industries in our motherland reminds India of what Count Sforza, the Italian ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs who, because of his hostility to fascism was forced to remain in exile during the period when Mussolini was in power, wrote some years ago, to be precise in October, 1927, in *Foreign Affairs* when he referred to

that precious gift bestowed on the British people the possession of writers and clergymen (and it may be added of other apologists of British capital) able in perfect good faith to advance the highest moral reasons for the most concrete diplomatic (and legislative) action with inevitable moral (and economic) profit to England (and Englishmen). (Concluded)

REVIVAL OF VILLAGE ARTS AND CRAFTS An Orientation of Village Industry

BY NAGESH YAWALKAR

" . . . They will give these Industries a new life and a new dress . . . There is no doubt that most of our wants can be supplied from our villages . . . We will not want imitations of the West or machine made products, but we will develop a true national taste in keeping with the vision of a New India in which pauperism, starvation and idleness will be unknown."

—M. K. Gandhi : *Constructive Programme, Its Meaning and Place.*

THE appalling poverty of India and the rapidity with which it has increased during the so-called 'forward' British rule on account of the deliberate destruction of our handicrafts created a great necessity to discover the channels in aid of village industry. The urge of expression is the creative force of the village industry and the freedom from mechanical devices has made this expression charming, for an infinite variety is produced by the village talent. India's artistic talent is scattered mostly in villages and the form of Art developed in India's big cities is a hybrid of the East and the West, produced with the help of costly western materials patronised by the aristocratic society. This sort of development of Art depending on Western method is in no way helpful to our Cottage Art Industry. Therefore, the revival of ancient Indian arts and crafts is an indispensable part of the Swadeshi Renaissance. In every village there are scores of people who have an artistic tendency that can be harnessed to foster useful crafts; in the absence of proper guidance and encouragement they turn vagabonds. There must be found a way for

making a decent livelihood out of arts and crafts practised as a profession in villages. The use of the Swadeshi materials available in nearest places will bring the works within the reach of the village folk. Creative work in artistic crafts will bring them up in the professions of painting (with locally made colours), sculpture (expressive of rustic appreciation), metal casting of useful and original articles, and in the production of toys and containers made from cow and horse dung, clay and paper mache in a proper manner, useful utensils from terra cota, fused glass and porcelain, and also in teaching applied uses of shellac plastics and gypsum plaster and many other Swadeshi materials found abundantly in nature.

MATERIAL

Swadeshi materials that are within the easy reach of the village craftsman are the life of the village crafts. India is rich in minerals and clays that form a ready source of raw materials, and the conversion of wastes like cow dung, horse dung, old paper and scrap metal increase their possibilities. The colour industry

of India deliberately killed by foreign interest. Industries cannot survive if the materials are and local apathy has to be revived for it is not within the easy reach of the villager. With a dead science yet. The ancient colours used this object in view it has to be realised that the by the artists of Ajanta that look still fresh and materials used will be natural ones. and also

include wastes like cow dung, scraps and rags. Thus our products ought to be much more cheaper than those produced by using foreign materials like colours, brushes, plastics, etc.

There are many village boys who while away their time in idleness. They can learn a good deal of the art of craftsmanship and can earn their living with ease if their talents are developed. There are women, too, from the middle-class who can neither take to begging nor earn their living as labourers, and this programme will give them a square meal. Every village can support at least one artist and as

more and more are trained

lively can be investigated and reproduced if the up in vocational arts, much unemploy- research is backed up by a powerful organised ment will be removed. It is true institution. Baked articles using clay, cow dung that, in village economy, preference is to be and horse dung in specific proportions have given to the arts of agriculture and spinning,

proved to be a material that has infinite possibilities in embryo. The plaster stone called gypsum is abundantly found in Gujarat, C.P. and Rajputana. Village Art will revive if research is kept up on materials that are available near the villages, and decay as this vigilance is withdrawn. Babu Rajendra Prasad rightly says:

"We have to seek out and encourage all such handicrafts. Our Culture and Art have languished because our Cottage Industries have died to a large extent. These must be revived if the Village Industries have to be resuscitated. If we even encourage at least one man in a village, imagine how many creative forces are let free in the 750,000 villages of India to mould the destiny of the Village Industry. And a mighty force of the nation is lost to her if the rustic talent that has an appetite for learning and a creative urge is not attended to by our intelligentsia and leadership. Shall all this material and genius rust without proper attention?"

ECONOMICS OF ARTCRAFT

The use of local material for the Art Industry on the cottage scale is the soundest policy in reviving arts and crafts. Cottage



Nature studies at Suvasra Village Art School by direct method



The students of the Village Art School at Suvasra, C.I., conducted by Trimbakaro Yawalkar

but arts and crafts are supplementary to them. Agriculture and spinning being the most primary and simple operation will never be replaced by any other activity, but we find boys of artistic talent wasting their time in whimsical pursuits. Their number is small but they are a very important section as they alone are able to creative work in the midst of monotony of the village routine.

THE EXPERIMENTS AT SUVASRA (C. I.)

An old man of 70, a born genius in Art, has been working out his ideas on the lines mentioned above for the last fifty years of his life, enlightening students living only in villages—and his headquarters have been in the village of Suvasra in C. I. with a population of 1,300 inhabitants: Having experienced the



"Village Dancer" by Nagesh Yawalkar—a statue in paper mache on a skeleton of bamboos

dependence of the artist on foreign materials which are generally very expensive, he set out to make experiments on wastes and cheap materials like clay, cow dung, horse dung, linseed oil, paper mache, scrap metal, broken glass, natural earths and pigments, and evolved his processes which are original and give excellent results. He also invented a few handmade implements which every villager can make for himself. Mythological sculptures, pictures of

leaders, decorated utensils and gay toys are made and coloured with local colours; and at the weekly bazaar they are all sold out at a price from a pice to an anna each. No school exists there in the form of a building, but in his village home boys, irrespective of caste or creed, sit together and learn from him the art of reading, writing and the art of sculpture and painting. Sometimes only trees are their sheds and in the outdoor they learn landscape painting and sketching and all this education is free. This old artist is none else but my father who gave me my lessons in painting and sculpture and by whose blessings I could carry the message of India's Village Art to America and Europe, earning my living as I travelled far and wide.

A BROAD CLASSIFICATION

The village handicrafts may be classified broadly as follows:

1. Plastics from clay, cow dung, horse dung, etc. and their proper baking
2. Wares cast from fusing of old glass
3. Plaster and Plasticine
4. Porcelain
5. Paper mache
6. Carpentry and Woodwork
7. Bronze casting and Metal-work
8. Sculpture and Stone carving

A NATIONAL CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF VILLAGE HANDICRAFTS

Object : An organised institution for the study and propagation of the use of Swadeshi raw materials, carrying out researches in ancient Cottage Art Industry, as also a search for village artistic talents, is an urgent need. Artisans, particularly from depressed classes, need special attention of the institute, inasmuch as such arts are their hereditary occupation and it is they that need cheap education and guidance.

Place : The institute should be situated as near as possible to natural surroundings where the students' minds shall tune with Nature, as also near some central city for the purposes of organization and contact with best teachers, etc. Museums and town libraries will be found to be of great help.

Finance : This aspect is not of much importance as the institute can help itself from the sale of articles made from day to day. Selfless devoted workers are the most important part of this scheme.



ENGLAND'S NATIONAL GALLERY

By JOHN STEEGMAN

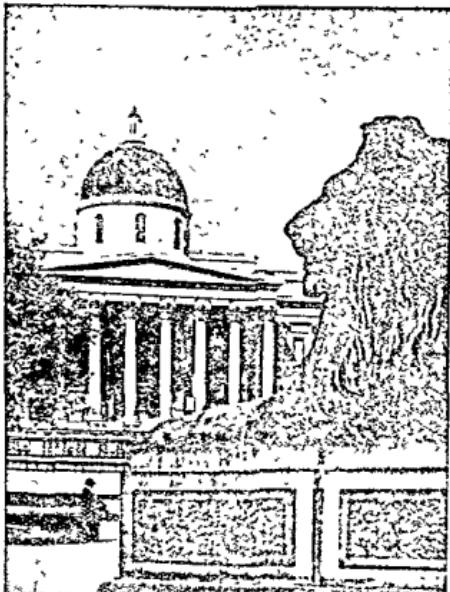
The National Gallery has a threefold claim to special attention. First of all, it provides a more compact yet representative *cour d'oeil* of European painting than any other gallery in Europe; secondly, it has a fuller representation of Italian painting of all schools than anywhere outside Italy; and thirdly, only there can one see examples of the best of the British schools together under one roof.

Blenheim, Badminton, Goodwood or Longford, but of scores of lesser houses.

BORN OUT OF PRIVATE COLLECTION

Yet there was no collection belonging to the nation, nowhere for the ordinary citizen to see pictures and thus form some idea of the arts. However, in the year 1824 the National Gallery was born, out of a private collection.

The Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool; Sir Robert Peel, a future Prime Minister; and Sir George Beaumont, Lord Dover and the Rev. William Holwell-Carr, great collectors and patrons of the Arts, are the five men whom the National Gallery acknowledges as its founders. Peel, Beaumont, Dover and Holwell-Carr urged the creation of a National Collection, and the Prime Minister carried it out by the expenditure of £57,000 on 38 pictures from a private collection which had just come into the market. Twelve of those 38 are now worth more than the sum paid for the whole collection, so the Gallery began well!



A front view of the National Gallery of England which faces Trafalgar Square

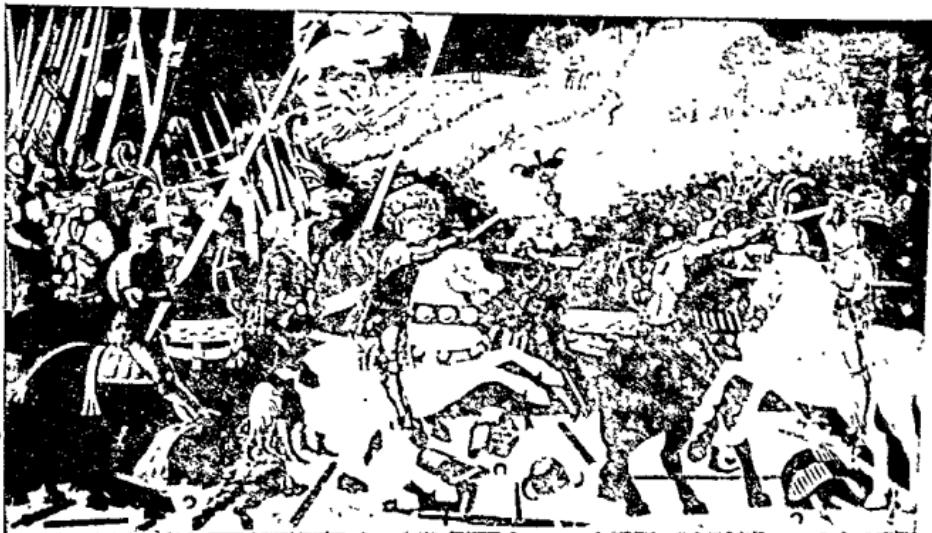
The general level of the National Gallery collection is extraordinarily high, for the pictures on exhibit are there as a result of continuous and intensive critical review, so that no picture is exhibited unless it is a really good example of its school.

The history of the National Gallery grows out of the history of collecting and connoisseurship among the English. Young Englishmen were sent abroad on the Grand Tour to Paris, the Hague, Brussels, one or two princely German courts, Venice, Florence and Rome. They bought what took their fancy, though they often made terrible mistakes; very few bought well always, but very few failed to buy something good. The result was that by the beginning of the 19th century English private houses contained an immense number of really important pictures. This was not only true of the great country-palaces, like Welbeck, Chatsworth,



"Two Gentlemen"
A good example of the large collection of paintings of the British schools shown in the National Gallery is this painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds

It did not, however, begin very well in the matter of its premises. At first it was lodged uncomfortably in a big private house in Pall Mall, where the famous Reform Club has stood since 1840, and not till 1838 was it housed in a building specially erected for it—the famous long, low classic building with the portico and little cupola on the north side of Trafalgar



One of the priceless masterpieces now owned by the British nation is this painting, "The Battle of San Romano, 1432" by Paolo Uccello

Even then, the rapidly-growing collection was not very comfortable because it had to share its premises with the Royal Academy. While the Gallery represented the art of the past, the Academy represented the art of the present, and the two were not good neighbours. The unhappy partnership was dissolved only in 1870, when the Academy at last moved to its present home in Piccadilly and the National Gallery had Trafalgar Square to itself.

ITS CONSTITUTION

For the first year or two the Gallery was in an undecided state about its exact form of organisation. It soon settled down, however, to a constitution which has remained more or less unchanged. There is a Governing Body, consisting of connoisseurs and men prominent in the art world, who are appointed by the Prime Minister. The responsible Head of the Gallery is the Director, and it is he who is chiefly responsible for the acquisition of pictures, his is the credit if a good opportunity is taken, and his the blame if it is missed. Of the successive Directors of the Gallery since 1824, some have been much more successful than others; the goodness or badness of a Director is judged not by his connoisseurship alone, but by his courage in grasping opportunities, his power to attract gifts of pictures or money from private individuals, and the breadth of his vision.

Private benefactors have played a part of incalculable importance in raising the National Gallery to its present high standard. The great tradition of collecting in England resulted in very many first-class pictures coming to the

Gallery as gifts or bequests. Another large number of masterpieces were bought on the Continent in the middle of the last century, when the brilliant Director, Sir Charles Eastlake, had the field more or less to himself and before the serious competition of the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum in Berlin or of American private collectors had begun to increase the prices of all pictures (good as well as bad).

WEAK SPOTS AND SPLENDOURS

Like all great art galleries, the National Gallery has its weak spots and its splendours. It has fewer world-famous pictures, apart from the English Gainsboroughs and Reynolds's than say, the Prado, the Louvre or the Uffizi. It has, however, Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne*; Michelangelo's *Entombment*; Botticelli's *Nativity*; Velasquez's unique *Venus*; Bellini's *Doge Loredano*; Holbein's *Christine of Denmark*; Hobbema's *Avenue*; Ruben's finest landscape, the *Chateau de Steen*; Tintoretto's *St. George and the Dragon*, Van Dyck's *John Arnolfini*; the little *Knight in Armour* by Giorgione, the rarest of all Masters; Uccello's *Battle of San Romano* and Piero della Francesca's *Baptism*. It has also an unsurpassable collection of the Venetian Schools in general and of Cimabue in particular, a very strong series of Rembrandts and a high level of the 17th century Dutch painters.

But the National Gallery's proud boast is that, apart from these individual masterpieces, it provides a more nearly complete epitome of European painting than any other single gallery has yet provided. And that is still the *vise* policy that is being pursued now, war or no war.

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA DR. R. SHAMA SASTRY,

Arthashastra-Visarada

BY PROFESSOR M. H. KRISHNA, M.A., D.LITT., (Lond.), University of Mysore

By the passing away of Dr. R. Shama Sastry, the world has lost one of the foremost orientalists, so that, he was enabled to publish a complete translation of the *Arthashastra* in 1912. Encouraged by the scholars of Europe and America, he next published articles on various aspects of Mouryan Polity and established his name as an authority on that branch of Oriental studies.

He made great contributions to our knowledge of Sanskrit and Indian History. He was born at Rudrapatna, an Agrahar village on the banks of the Cauvery in the year 1868 A.D. and belonged to a family well-known for its Sanskrit learning. Commencing his education at the Maharaja's Sanskrit College at Mysore, Dr. Shama Sastry passed the Vidwat Examination in Sanskrit Literature in 1891. Many of his class-mates became famous as teachers of Sanskrit and Kannada in the various schools of the State. But Dr. Shama Sastry was one of the few who took to English education. With English and Sanskrit as his language, and Physics as his optional subject, he took the B.A. Degree of the Madras University from the Central College, Bangalore, in 1899. His unique combination of training in the old and new lines drew the attention of the famous Dewan of Mysore, Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, who took him up as his own personal reader in Sanskrit and Indian Philosophy. A little later Dr. Shama Sastry was appointed as Librarian of the Government Oriental Library, Mysore. Here he was brought into contact with great Pandits like Pandit-Ratnam Kasturi Rangacharya and others : and under the guidance of that able scholar, Mr. A. Mahadeva Sastry, Dr. Shama Sastry began to publish Sanskrit works for the Library and to do research work in Indology, publishing in 1905 an article on the Origin of Devanagari Alphabet and a booklet entitled *Gavan Ayanam* or the forgotten sacrificial calendar of Vedic poets.

The chief task entrusted to him finally was the preparation of a catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the Oriental Library and examination of new collections of manuscripts. Dr. Shama Sastry showed his great knowledge of scripts and subjects in the course of his examination of the numerous palm-leaf manuscripts belonging to the Library and in the course of his researches, discovered a copy of the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya. Appraising its real value as of very great importance to Ancient Indian History, Dr. Shama Sastry copied it and published it in the Mysore Oriental Library Series. Its language was technical and difficult involving a knowledge of various subjects like Politics, Economics, Finance, Law, Military Science, etc. Dr. Shama Sastry studied all these subjects and worked with such zeal that he was able to produce a provisional translation. Some chapters of his work which were published in

After acting for some time as the Principal of the Government Sanskrit College, Bangalore, he was appointed in 1918 as Curator of Oriental Library, Mysore. Since the Arthashastra became a subject of study in the many Universities of India, Dr. Shama Sastry very often was examiner for research thesis in the Calcutta and other Universities. The worth of his work was so well recognised by the great Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, that Dr. Shama Sastry received an Honorary Ph.D. degree of that University in 1921. In the same year, he delivered a series of lectures on Indian Polity, in the Calcutta University. The honours gained by him outside Mysore made the authorities in Mysore recognise his value and in 1922 on the retirement of Rao Bahadur R. Narasimha-charya, he was appointed as the Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore in addition to his duties as Curator of Oriental Library. For about a year he also held the place of Professor of Indian History at the University of Mysore. But owing to the heaviness of work, he retired from the Professorship and held the other two places till his retirement from service by superannuation in 1928. In 1925 His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore was pleased to confer on him the title of Arthashastra Visarada and in 1930 he received the title Mahamahopadhyaya conferred by the British Indian Government. In 1935 he accepted the title Pandit-Raja offered by the Bharata Dharma Mahaman-dala of Benares.

Even after his retirement, he actively pursued his research studies, devoting himself especially to Vedanga Jyotisha. In 1936, he published an English translation of Vedanga Jyotisha with a Sanskrit commentary. In 1938, he issued the "Cycle of Eclipses in the Vedas." He also wrote subsequently on the Eclipse Cult and the Vedic Gods.

An important piece of work done by Dr. Shama Sastry for Archaeology was his editing and publication on behalf of the Government of India, of Volume 9 of South Indian Inscriptions consisting of large collections of Kannada Inscriptions made by the Government Archaeological Department. This

published in two parts, and stands as a monumental contribution made by Dr. Shama Sastry. A more varied contribution to Archaeology is contained in the six Annual Reports published by him for the Government of Mysore from 1922 to 1928. These contained articles of very great interest showing a unique boldness of spirit and a desire for adventure in the field of Oriental Research like his views on the Gupta Era, his rendering of a Greek Faree in the "Oxyrinchus Papyrus" etc.

Dr. Shama Sastry was a great scholar and almost nothing but a scholar. He had no noteworthy hobby or activity in life but the pursuit of learning. Even at an advanced age, he was young and buoyant enough to tackle brand new subjects. His capacity for learning new subjects and languages was remarkable as evidenced in his learning of the Greek language for the sake of writing his article on the "Oxyrinchus Papyrus." He was a devoted worker. What he studied in his chair, he thought over during his walks which were his only recreation.

He had a great capacity for concentrating on a particular subject for almost a whole season. It is possible that everything that Dr. Shama Sastry has written may not stand the test of time, for very often he cared more to open the study of a subject than to say the final word upon it. It was this spirit of adventure in

learning that made it possible for him to produce a translation of the *Arthashastra* at all. When corrections were pointed out, he gladly accepted them and incorporated them in his second edition. He never thought of himself infallible, for he used to say that scholars proceeded from truth to truth and none had the monopoly of the final truth.

The private life of Dr. Shama Sastry was simplicity itself. Though a bold thinker and a man intellectually prepared to support some downright reforms, he actually lived the simple life of a Brahmin and walked in the footsteps of his forefathers. No bad habit and no blemish could be pointed out in his way of living. On the other hand, in his personal life, he was a heroic struggle. He became a dyspeptic in his thirties and under medical advice he re-organised his life on an invalid basis. During the second half of his life, he was sufferer, but one who fought bad health with such self-control and determination, that his intellectual and scholarly life was more than normally successful. He leaves behind him his wife, an only son and four daughters.

In the death of Dr. Shama Sastry, Mysore has lost one of its most famous scholars and the world of Oriental studies has lost a great personality who was well-known throughout the Oriental World.

CO-EDUCATION OF BLIND AND SEEING CHILDREN

By PROF. S. C. ROY, M.A., B.L. (Cal.), M.A. (Columbia, New York), Lecturer, Calcutta University, Hon. Secretary, All-India Lighthouse for the Blind

According to the Census Report of 1931, the number of blind persons in India is little over 600,000. This represents the largest incidence of blindness recorded in any country, although those working in connection with programmes for the prevention of blindness, think that the statistics of the sightless individuals of this country is much higher than what has been stated in the 1931 Census Report.

The number of sightless boys and girls, whose educational problems will be discussed in the present article, is about 70,000 in India. They are between the ages of 5 and 20. There are about 40 blind institutions in this country, where about 1,000 blind boys and girls are receiving education. In other words, 69,000 blind children are being deprived of the blessings of education owing to the lack of facilities.

A question may be raised at this stage : There are so many millions of sighted children in this country who are going without education; why should, then, an issue be made about the lack of educational opportunities for a few thousands of children without sight ? To this, the answer is that it is highly regrettable for any

country not to be able to make provision for the education of so many millions of her children. However, we believe that sightless children have a more urgent need of education than even the seeing. There are mainly two reasons in support of this thesis :

First, blind persons cannot be employed in any work without receiving a systematic training and education extending over several years, while there are various spheres of activity for the seeing individuals in which they may be employed without such protracted training and education. In those activities, the mere possession of sight, combined with some amount of commonsense, is all that is needed to qualify a person for employment.

Secondly, the seeing people are able to move about freely and have several interests to keep themselves busy with. But the sightless individuals have to carry on a dreary and monotonous existence, and have a feeling of hopelessness and aloneness in the world if they are not taught some art or craft which will keep them occupied and make them feel that time, after all, moves

Helen Keller, the world-famous blind-deaf-mute

scholar, has rightly remarked, "The heaviest burden on the blind is not blindness, but idleness."

The main problem, then, is how to extend facilities for the education of our blind children. This can easily be done if we adopt the new educational philosophy and practice that has been current in different countries of Europe and America since the beginning of the present century. This consists of the introduction of the education of blind children in schools for the seeing.

We usually believe that a special residential institution is the only place where blind children can be educated. This also used to be the belief in Europe and America about half a century ago. But most of the present educators of the blind in those countries hold that it is better for the blind children to be educated with their seeing compatriots in ordinary schools than in special institutions where their association is confined only to those having the similar physical handicap.

Admitting for the sake of argument that residential institutions are better suited to the needs of sightless children, we shall have to have a good deal of funds for the purpose of establishing new institutions throughout the country. It is, however, apparent to all that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to collect necessary funds to build a sufficient number of institutions to meet the demands of 70,000 blind children.

The day-school for the blind does not, however, involve much expense to the parents and guardians of the children without sight. Blind boys and girls attend the ordinary schools of their localities with their sighted brothers and sisters and pay the usual tuition fee. They receive lessons in the same class with other pupils. On the teaching staff there is only one who is especially trained in the education and psychology of the blind. He spends some time every day with the blind children of his school and helps them in their peculiar difficulties. Otherwise, there is no distinction between blind and seeing children in an ordinary school.

Apart from a few isolated instances where some blind pupils have successfully prosecuted their studies with their seeing class-mates in ordinary schools, the idea of this kind of co-education is rather an innovation in the educational philosophy in our country. In the Western countries, however, especially in the United States of America, this idea was, as stated before, carried into practice about half a century ago. As early as 1851, Samuel Gridley Howe, the first and most eminent Director of Perkins Institution for the Blind, one of the three leading blind schools in the United States, stressed the various advantages derivable from the co-education of the blind and sighted children in ordinary schools. Since the execution of this idea in

actual practice in 1900, this movement in America has become so popular to the parents and guardians of visually handicapped children and to the children themselves that, according to an educational survey in 1936, there were more blind and partially-sighted boys and girls studying in ordinary schools than those enrolled at residential institutions for the blind—the recorded number being 7,251 in ordinary schools and 5,851 in special institutions. A particular note should be taken of the fact that, although the first residential school for the blind in America was established 68 years before this amalgamated education took a practical shape, yet, in course of only 36 years, ordinary seeing schools served the educational needs of a larger number of visually handicapped boys and girls than the institutions for the blind, of which there are over 60 in the United States. In New York City, alone, four schools for the seeing have introduced the education of the blind in spite of the existence of two residential blind institutions.

There must be very good reasons for the phenomenal growth of this particular variety of co-education in America. In view of the limitation of space, only six of these reasons will be stated here:

1. The principle of the day-school is nothing but the manifestation of the scientific conviction, found in evidence in more than one field of education and of child welfare today, that institutional life for children should be reduced to its lowest possible limits. It results from a general belief that the institution is more or less out of place in modern conceptions of the treatment of the child, and is to be accepted only in the absence of any thing better. Frank H. Hall, one of the most notable educationists of the blind in America, believed firmly that "The institutionalisation of blind children constitutes a handicap in later life even more serious than the lack of vision." As a result of this institutionalisation, a blind child is made to feel dependent upon the rest of society and is led to believe that the world owes him a living. Such an attitude chills personal efforts and ambitions and causes blindness to be associated with social parasitism in the minds of the seeing people. Besides, living constantly with children similarly afflicted, blind children, in many cases, cannot develop normal personalities. At the end of this segregation from society for several years, they find it very difficult to adjust themselves psychologically to the seeing world. The proposed co-education is free from these shortcomings.

2. The parents and guardians are more familiar with ordinary schools than with special institutions, and they prefer to send their blind children to the seeing schools if special provi-

sions exist. Institutions are usually looked upon with suspicion by them.

3. According to modern principles of educational psychology, an institution can never take the place of home. Due to long residence in a special institution, a blind child's attitude towards home and the members of his family undergoes a considerable change. The parents themselves come to think in course of time that there is another agency to take care of their blind child, and, thus, do not discharge their parental obligations to the extent they should. The home contacts give the blind child an appreciative understanding of the economic problems of the home; and urge him to make an effort towards self-support.

4. The standard of education in the special institutions is very inferior to that obtainable in ordinary seeing schools. Dr. Merry, one of the American authorities on blind education, has rightly remarked :

"It should be pointed out that on the whole day-school classes for blind children are not so prone to adhere to outworn theories and methods as are residential institutions. The fact that these classes are a recognised part of the public school systems of cities where they are located, tends to bring them in line with the best current educational practices for seeing children."

5. If blind children attend ordinary school, the seeing people get a better opportunity to be conversant with the needs and problems arising out of their deprivation of vision. Besides, the sighted and sightless children learn to understand each other from their early association in their school life, and the questions of superiority or inferiority complex can hardly arise.

6. Lastly, the maintenance cost in a day-school is about 50% less than in special institutions. Having regard to our present economic conditions, this financial argument should be most telling. Parents and guardians are usually too poor to send their sightless children and wards to the existing institutions situated far away from their homes and to meet the expense necessary for their education in residential institutions. Why cannot these children stay in their own homes and receive education in the ordinary schools of their locality? Of course, they can, and this is the only way in which these perplexing educational problems of so many thousands of sightless boys and girls of our country can be solved without much expense to parents and guardians.

EARLY HISTORY OF SILK IN BENGAL

By DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

II

The earliest mention of silk trade between England and India has been made by Munn who states the importations about 1621, to be 107,140 lbs. which cost in India 7s. per lb. and that the selling price in England was 20s. It was about this time that the manufacture of raw silk into broad silk goods commenced in England.¹⁹ By 1629, regular supply of raw silk was received from India amounting to nearly £100,000 per annum.²⁰ The silk manufacture of London was so much extended that the silk throwsters of the city were incorporated under various names and were empowered to take apprentices, make bye-laws and establish other regulations for the benefit of their trade. The supply of an important raw material from India thus led to the development of an important industry in England. By 1655, this new industry was fully entrenched and began to sell their stuff in France.

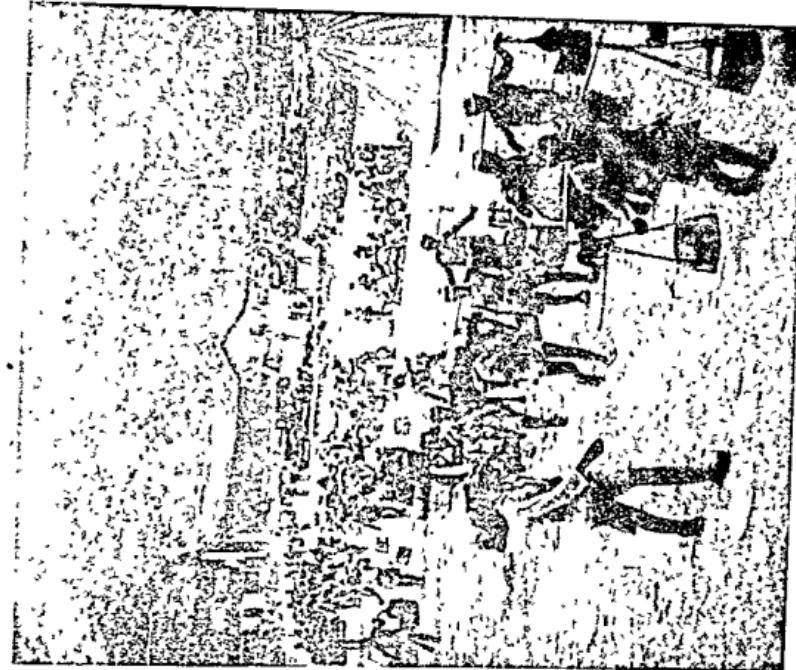
The competition between British and Indian silk became keen since 1680. The silk weavers of London complained in 1681 to the Parliament of the damage they sustained by the East India Company's importation of India wrought silks,

though the manufacture of silk goods in England was very far from being sufficient, either in quantity or quality, and therefore large quantities of wrought silks were imported from France and Italy.²¹ The Bengal product was feared much more than the French or Italian silk. At this time, the East India Company was attacked by the Turkey Company of England on account of their importation of raw silk; a business which that company claimed as their exclusive right. They presented a long and elaborate memorial to the Privy Council reproaching the East India Company for sending some dyers to Bengal in order to instruct the native manufacturers in the art of finishing black silk agreeable to the taste of English ladies, and for importing deceitful kind of raw silk. This conduct, they said, was utterly destructive of British industry. The Company replied that the silk manufacture of England had been increased fourfold since they began to import raw silk from India, and that the quality of the Indian raw silk was the same as with all other commodities, some good, some bad, some indifferent. With respect to the sending of dyers, the Company said that only one or two were sent to Bengal alone and this for the nation's as well

19. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, p. 217.

20. Milburn, *Ibid*, p. 247.

21. MacPherson, *History of Commerce*, p. 136.



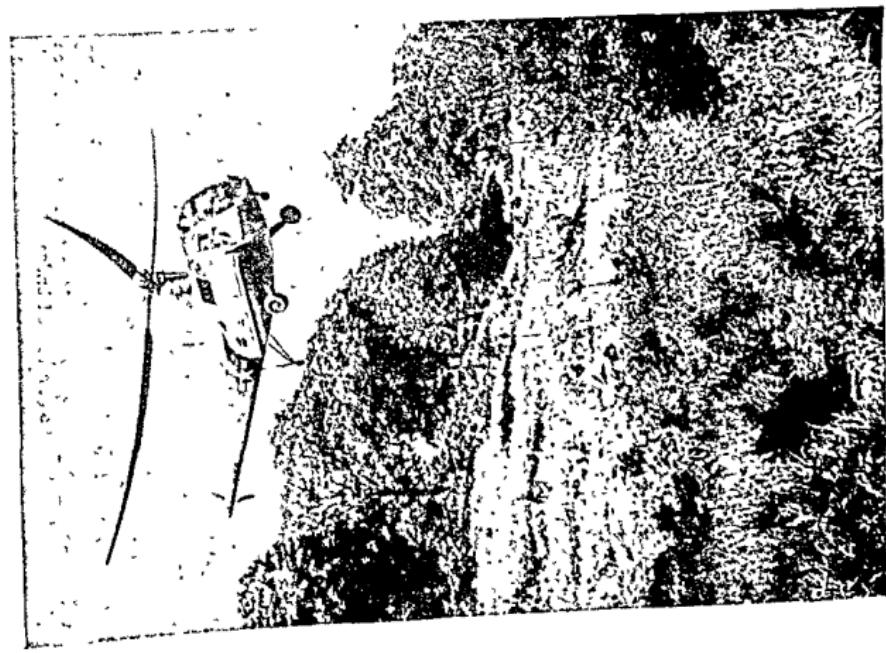
Chinese troops march along the Burma Road to the Salween River to join with General Stilwell's Chinese troops in North Burma.
Courtesy: USOWI



Chinese and American troops cross the Mogaung River in Burma on an improvised bridge



Clusters of balloons carrying cosmic ray equipment are released by the U. S. scientists to determine various characteristics of the earth's stratosphere. —Courtesy: USGOWI



as the Company's advantage, especially as to plain black silks, generally exported again.²² This defence was deemed satisfactory and complaints of the Turkey Company were dismissed. Rev. Dionysius Lardner believes that opposition to Bengal silk proceeded from merchants interested in the importation of Italian thrown silk, who found means to influence, for a time, many among the manufacturers.²³

By 1697, various kinds of wrought silk replaced raw silk in the trade with India. Their importation into England in large quantities caused prices to fall. The importers suffered great loss. It also greatly discouraged home manufacture causing serious discontent among the silk manufacturers of England. There were some violent outbursts. An attempt was made to seize the treasure at the East India House which had almost succeeded; order was however finally restored. The real competition between the British and Indian silk manufacturers thus became severe and acute. By 1700, cheap Indian silk was universally popular throughout England. The demand for protection was raised and in this year an Act was passed prohibiting the sale of Bengal wrought silk in England, as also the manufactures of Persia, China and East Indies, under pain of forfeiture of the goods and a fine of £200.²⁴ In 1701, upon the rupture of British relations with France, Italian silk was permitted to enter England but wrought silk of India, China and Persia remained under prohibition.²⁵ British silk industry flourished under this protection and by 1713, 300,000 persons were employed in it.²⁶

In 1719, the British silk industry was revolutionised by the introduction of the art of throwing organzine. Lombe, a London merchant, secretly learnt the art at Piedmont and on coming back, established a set of mills on a similar construction at Derby. The exclusive privilege of working organzine was granted to him for 14 years, after which it was thrown open to the public. By 1722 the silk manufacture of England was brought to a great perfection in all its branches and it was further encouraged by the grant of bounties.²⁷ By 1730, English silk commanded large export market.²⁸ Prohibition of the import of foreign silk goods into England, however, continued.

After the grant of Dewany of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the E. I. Company, in 1765, the export of raw silk from Bengal increased. But

it was reeled in a rude and artless manner and was called Bengal wound. The mode of winding practised in filatures, or winding houses of Italy and other parts of the continent was gradually introduced into Bengal and within a short time became popular. The first consignment of filature wound silk of Bengal reached England in 1772 and within the next three years the new method was in full operation.²⁹ With the new mode of winding sufficiently established, competition of Bengal with other silks became very keen. From 1776 to 1785, the imports from Bengal appear to have been on an average, 560,283 small lbs. (16 ozs.), while those from Italy, Turkey, etc., did not exceed 282,304 lbs.³⁰ Filature wound Bengal silk practically swept others out of the field. The result of this successful effort was seen in the decline of British trade from Aleppo, Valencia, Naples, Calabria and other places; from many of which, that formerly furnished very considerable quantities, not a single bale was imported for many years; so that generally speaking, the silk manufactured in England was now furnished from the northern provinces of Italy, Bengal and China. For ten years, from 1776 to 1785, the East India Company supplied it by contract, which resulted in loss to the company every year. In 1786, the contract was substituted by the agency system which led to the removal of many evils and corruptions in the silk trade. In 1787, the cotton textile industry began to flourish very considerably and since then, import of silk from Bengal greatly fell off. From the establishment of the agency system in Bengal, however, the Company's investments of raw silk had in general been productive. Bengal also had a lucrative trade in raw silk, exclusive of the E. I. Company and with countries other than England, as would appear from the following table:

1795-96	Sa. Rs.	5,81,163
1796-97	"	3,40,975
1797-98	"	6,12,233
1798-99	"	6,67,300
1799-1800	"	14,33,751
1800-01	"	10,51,957
1801-02	"	13,65,882
1802-03	"	16,38,467
1803-04	"	19,10,398
1804-05	"	33,82,000
1805-06	"	30,86,491

Forming a total in 11 years of Sa. Rs 160,70,657, of which only Rs. 40,13,177 were exported to London; the remainder to the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, the gulfs of Arabia and Persia and a small portion to Pulo Pinang and places further East.³¹

Lardner says,³² importations of Bengal silk

22. MacPherson, *Ibid*, p. 137-138.

23. Lardner, *A treatise on the origin, progressive movement and present state of the silk manufacture*, 1831, p. 72.

24. 11 and 12 Will. III, Chap. 10.

25. 1st Anne Chap. 37.

26. Milburn, *Ibid*, p. 250.

27. 3d. Geo. I, Chap. 15.

28. Milburn, *Ibid*, p. 251.

29. Milburn, *Ibid*, p. 252.

30. Milburn, *Ibid*, p. 252.

31. Milburn, *Ibid*, p. 257.

32. Lardner—*Ibid*, p. 72.

into England progressively improved in quality and in consequence the organzine made from it grew gradually into favour, until it ranked for the most part very little below Italian organzine and in some instances sold for the highest prices afforded by the market. Sanguine hopes had been expressed by some persons of competent judgment, Lardner believed, that "at no very distant day the improvement may be such as to render our manufacturers nearly independent of foreign supplies." The facilities for extending the production in India are such as to create reasonable expectations that, in regard to both quality and price, Bengal silk will force the productions of Italy, and the supplies from Turkey, out of the market. In these western countries, there is but one regular annual crop, while in Bengal there are three, at intervals of four months, in March, July and November."

The Bengal peasant sold the raw silk to the filatures, or winding houses, most of whom were in the employ of the Company. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, the Italian method of reeling spread to the principal silk centres like "Comercally, Malda, Radnagore, Jungypore, Rungpore, Bauleah, Cossimbazar and Gonatea," while the old method continued to be practised by some peasants in Comercally, Jungypore, Rungpore and Bauleah.³³

By the seventeenth century, the Dutch merchants had entered the Bengal silk trade and developed an extensive market in Japan. Moreland says:³⁴

The supply of the Japanese demand for raw silk was "at first in the hands of Chinese merchants, and

the Dutch soon learned that the direct China trade was protected by the Emperor for political reasons : they could not therefore openly bring silk from China, but they could, and did, bring it from Indo-China, where they obtained it in exchange for Indian cotton goods, and for spices or other articles. Persian silk was also offered, but this trade did not develop, and the greatest success of Dutch enterprise in this direction was the opening of the Japanese market to the raw silk of Bengal. I have not been able to trace the details of this achievement, because the Batavia Journals are missing for the important years. A sample appears to have been sent as early as 1641, for in that year the factors reported that Bengal silk was found to be unsuitable for the Japanese market, being too coarse and uneven, and also too dear. No further mention of a trade is made in the Journals up to 1646, but when the series is resumed in 1653, the trade is found to be in full swing, a cargo sent to Japan in that year consisting mainly of Bengal silk, and subsequent entries tell the same story. There is no trace of any such trade in the sixteenth century, and the opening of this new market for Bengal must be attributed definitely to Dutch enterprise."

Moreland continues:

In May 1653 there is a record consignment of 300 bales, while two months later a vessel left Batavia via with a cargo consisting principally of Bengal silk. The Journals for the next three years are missing, but in 1657 we read of a consignment of 452 bales, and also of a small vessel laden entirely with silk ; in 1659 a cargo was despatched of 662 bales but part of it was the produce of Indo-China, while two other vessels carried mainly Bengal silk ; and in 1661 a single consignment is recorded of 1010 bales. The bales of silk handled by the Dutch at this time averaged just under 150 lbs., while the price approved by the English Company in 1659 was Rs. 90 to 100 per māund (probably of 74 lbs.) ; on these figures, the value paid to the producers for 1,000 bales would be about two lakhs of rupees yearly, a substantial figure when judged by contemporary standards of commerce.

(To be continued)

33. Milburn, *Ibid.*, p. 213.

34. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzib*, p. 60.

35. Moreland, *Ibid.*, p. 75.

THE BACKGROUND

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

To paint memories by giving them form,
And gather together in language those signs which are limned in consciousness,
I wonder what it all means.
This is life's childlike play, this demand,
In foolish delight feigning to defeat oblivion
And win in the game of life-and-death :
By invoking a galaxy of illusions and images.

In the current of time, the forms of things wear away and scatter,
Life creates out of them a second form with shadows put together ;
If death contradicts, it-hears not,
Bound in fleeting existence I dwell,
My imagined forms, shaped in creation, spread across time and space :—
This I do not myself know, but when the end comes,
If others know then in them I live.

Translated by Dr. Amiya Chakravarti

—The *Vista-Bharati Quarterly*.

THE LIFE OF A SOVIET ARTIST

By ALICE AKIMOVA

It is difficult to imagine the Soviet artist, writer, actor or musician as the hero of a sentimental melodrama, as so often the case with his predecessors of a bygone day. The circumstances have changed: neither the miserable garret nor the splendid palace—the traditional settings of melodrama—is the home of the contemporary Soviet artist. He lives in either a comfortable town flat built on funds contributed by the government and the art-workers themselves (every big town has its blocks of flats designed and built specially for writers, painters, composers, etc.) or in a country cottage. At the front, of course, he shares the soldiers' and officers' dugouts and the hardships of the campaign.

In the second place, and this is much more important, there is none of that wearing poverty, that tormenting contradiction between the necessity for earning one's bread and realizing one's dream of producing a true work of art.

The painter, let us say, wants to carry out his conception, a large canvas that will take a year or two; the dramatist has thought of a good play. They apply to the Committee on the Arts attached to the Council of People's Commissars, and if the idea is interesting they are commissioned by the government to carry it out and given their living expenses for the period that this takes.

Practically unlimited possibilities are offered for the collecting of material. Expeditions for this purpose were financed by various organisations before the war and the practice still continues.

Not only the special war-front writers and theatres but also those who are working permanently on the home front are allowed to visit the front and the liberated regions. Here they can get in close touch with those who are to be the heroes of their future works, act for them, read their literary works to them. This living contact is helpful and essential in their work.

They are welcomed in works and factories,

in collective farms, scientific institutes, schools and hospitals.

Art is very highly appreciated by the Soviet government and the Soviet people. This appreciation is shown in the awards and titles conferred upon painters, writers, producers, composers, actors, and by the Stalin prizes. It is also reflected in the enormous circulation of books, posters, films, in the crowded theatres and in innumerable other facts that bear witness to the role and significance of Soviet art for the Soviet people.

The success of an artist's works is influenced not only by material conditions but also by the moral satisfaction he receives from it.

Work for the front-press naturally brings in no big profits but on the other hand take a case, like this: a certain unit gave Elona Kononenko a special order for a story. Payment for it was made in the form of a sharp shooter's account, and opened with 55 killed Germans. Then again, what could be dearer to a writer than the liberation of his country. The writer who knows that his book is in the soldier's kit-bag, the singer who knows that men go into action with his song on their lips, lives and works with enthusiasm.

Despite the difficulties inevitable in wartime, the Soviet Government and the Soviet people are doing their utmost to alleviate conditions for those who work for art. Special stores, dining room, sanatoria, rest-homes have been opened. There are summer holiday camps for their children, too. All these things help to make life easier for the artist, so that he has a much better chance of achieving success in his work.

There are front-writers who have laid down their lives at their posts. Their names will be remembered in the tales that will be told of the true sons of the heroic Russian people. Soviet art-workers are doing a great deal of social work too. They think of their country and her needs and they can feel that the country is thinking of them and caring for them.



Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

FAMINES IN BENGAL 1770-1943: By Kali Charan Ghosh. To be had of The Indian Associated Publishing Co., Ltd., 8-C, Ramanath Majumdar St., Calcutta. Pp. 204. Price Rs. 6-5.

It is certainly in the fitness of things that a number of books and pamphlets should already be published bearing on the tragic events of the great calamity that befell India in 1943. The book under review is one of these. In view of the fact that a Famine Commission have already started enquiry, the publication of the book must be considered as opportune and well-timed. Bengal along with adjoining parts of the country suffered, perhaps, the most from the cruel effects of the devastating calamity. But portions of the Provinces of Orissa, Bomra and Madras and the States of Cochin and Travancore, etc., were also affected by the catastrophe. The work as indicated by its title, is mainly concerned with Bengal, and is described by the author as "only a chronicle of events". In writing the book, he claims that he has attempted to keep himself "strictly confined to the published, or more correctly, 'censor passed' version of facts and statements, proceedings of the Legislative bodies in India, etc. It is, at most, just a partial record of the tremendous calamity that ravaged Bengal in 1943."

The publication is based on articles and notes, previously contributed to the press, some of which were published in *The Modern Review*, now revised and re-written and given a new shape in the present form. The book has numerous appendices containing statements by such persons as Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, Mr. K. C. Neogi, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee, Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Mr. S. M. Hossain, etc., extracts from the Report of the Anthropology Department of the Calcutta University on the deaths due to Famine in 1943, published in February, 1943, and numerous tables containing figures and valuable information on a variety of relevant and useful matters. The book is illustrated by a number of photographs of actual life and events published in the press "to enable the future generations to be convinced of the authenticity of the indescribable miseries from which the people suffered, and of which only a small fraction has been recorded in this book."

The book begins with a very brief introductory chapter describing the nature of relief measures adopted during the regime of Moghul Emperors. This is followed by a short account of the previous famines, twenty-two of which had occurred in India excluding seven 'scarcities' during the period of British rule, and thus supplies a background of the present famine by a study of records of past famines in Bengal. Of these twenty-three, Bengal suffered in seven either alone or along with some other province or provinces in 1770, 1783, 1866, 1873-74, 1892, 1897 and in 1943. It will be remembered in this connection that Mr. Hemendraprasad Ghosh, the veteran Editor of *The Basumati*, had done very useful preliminary spade work by publishing a short brochure on "The Fatimo

of 1770" and inviting the attention of the authorities along with the general public to the terrible disaster that confronted them.

A careful study of the causes and circumstances resulting in the famine of 1943, along with a close scrutiny of the actions and utterances of both the Central and the Provincial Governments, in various matters relating to the disastrous calamity that overtook the Province, as put together in the present work, from authoritative sources, leaves no room for doubt that the gravity of the situation should have been anticipated and adequate and proper preparations made betimes for meeting the unparalleled emergency that smote the country by those who assumed the responsibility of declaring the war without consulting and taking into confidence the people concerned. As a responsible member of the Indian Legislature has pointed out: "India is today on a war basis on account of the responsibility forced upon it by the British Government. It is my contention that those who took this responsibility of declaring war have also to bear responsibility for finding food supplies for the civil population of India." The march of events, the facts already disclosed, as also the statements of the authorities made from time to time fully confirm the view that they had utterly failed to realize the great responsibility that rested on them and to take adequate and suitable measures for coping with the crisis. It is distressing to find responsible authorities shirking their own responsibility and attempting to transfer blame from their own shoulders to those of others in turn.

As the writer of the book very properly observes, the Central Government more than anybody else must own their share of responsibility. "They were the sole competent authority in matters relating to price-control, restriction on movements of vehicles, inflation, transport, export and import policy, customs and tariff, military purchases, political and social security, etc. The denial policy and the *boycott* control order are the outcomes of Central Government Commands." Mr. Hosain Imam, Member of the Council of State, is reported to have pointed out that "the Bengal Government Ministers were forced to announce that there was no cause of alarm—there being a sufficiency of food-grains in the province under the direction of the Food Department." It is seen that in almost every important matter, such as disease and death, profiteering, large-scale purchase by various departments and big business concerns, on behalf of their labour population and workers, etc., the responsible authorities were not only not prepared for such a contingency but were unable to adopt adequate measures in proper time to cope with the inevitable aftermath. The events of the tragic occurrence have from the beginning been a most dismal record in the history of British rule. Nothing could be more damaging to the reputation of that rule.

Although the famine of 1943 was, perhaps, one of the severest amongst such visitations, it was not only not declared as a famine, but strenuous efforts were also at the same time made to belittle and minimize

the gravity of the situation and to keep the world as far as possible in the dark about its consequences. It has also been found that valuable experiences of past famines have been, in many cases, wholly disregarded with the result that serious errors of administration that have occurred in 1943 have been found to be repetitions of past errors and disregard of measures which had previously proved effective. All these facts would certainly engage the attention of the Famine Commission in the course of their enquiry. It is feared that the decision of the Commission regarding publication of evidence will prevent a public scrutiny and correction of misleading statements and their exposure. We commend the publication under review to the notice of the Famine Enquiry Commission as also of the general public.

S. K. LATHMI

THE BEGINNINGS OF INDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY AND OTHER ESSAYS: By Professor Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D., Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Editor, Journal of the Greater India Society, and formerly Professor of History, Presidency College, Bengal. Published by Ramesh Ghoshal, 35, Badur Bagar Row, Calcutta, 1944. Pp. xvi + 320: Price Rs. 8 or 10 shillings.

This is a series of fourteen papers which Prof. Ghoshal read at different conferences or published in different journals during the last 20 years (excepting the first two which are published for the first time in the present work), and they present the high-water level of historical research in India. Dr. Ghoshal is a distinguished scholar of history and Indology, and his writings (he has half a dozen important works already to his credit) are marked by both an objective approach and a sobriety of judgment which is quite uncommon in our country, and at the same time they present a wealth of detail about the topic concerned which is the result of a very wide and thoroughly assimilated reading. Dr. Ghoshal's main subject—his *pièce de résistance* in the intellectual feast he has spread—is *Hindu Political Theories and Ancient Indian Economy*; but he has made other aspects of Indology also his own. The present collection of essays show a very wide range of interests within the vast domain of Indology. A statement of the bare titles of these 14 papers will show the scope of the work: Paper I, *The Beginnings of Indian Historiography*, pp. 1-52, in 3 sections—1. the *Vamsas* and *Gotra-pravaras* lists of Vedic Literature; 2 the *Githas* and *Narasamias*, *Ithasas* and *Puranas* of Vedic Literature; and 3. *Vedic Historical Traditions*. Paper II, *Asokan Studies*, pp. 53-84; being a detailed consideration of some terms and expression in the Inscriptions of Asoka; Paper III, *Slavery in Ancient India—a study in Social and Economic History*, pp. 85-103; Paper IV, *Some current views of the Origin and Nature of Hindu Kingship considered*, pp. 104-142, containing a criticism of the views of the late Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, of the late Dr. N. C. Bandyopadhyay, and of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee; Paper V, *On the Nature and Functions of Vedic Assemblies*, pp. 143-157—this paper too is critical of Jayaswal and Bandyopadhyay; Paper VI, *On some Texts relating to the Ownership of the Soil*, pp. 158-166; Paper VII, *On the Significance of some Administrative Terms and Titles*, pp. 167-193 (these terms range from the Vedas down to the medieval inscriptions); Paper VIII, *The Mineral Wealth of Ancient Bengal*, pp. 194-199, a study on the basis of old Sanskrit texts and the Greek work *The Peripus of the Erythraean Sea*; Paper IX, *The Oldest Representation of the Saka Cult in Bengal Art*, pp. 200-209, discussing that terrible act of devotion known elsewhere also in India, namely, the offering of one's head to the Devi; Paper X, *An Episode in the History of Bengal—the Occupation of Varendri (North Bengal) by Divya and his line*,

pp. 210-230; Paper XI, *A Rare Indian Temple-type in Cambodia*, pp. 232-238; Paper XII, *On the Image of Lokesvara in Indo-China, with some Indian Parallels*, pp. 239-245; Paper XIII, *The Vedic Ceremonies of Royal and Imperial Consecration, and their Constitutional significance*, pp. 246-291; and Paper XIV, *Periods of Indian History*, 292-304.

In some of the papers, Dr. Ghoshal appears to break new ground, e.g., in the first paper and in the third, although the topics were not untouched by previous writers. Architecture and Iconography, Religious History and Lexicography all come in for consideration, but most of the topics relate to Politics and Economics in Ancient India which form Dr. Ghoshal's *forte* in Indology. The Essays are intended more for the specialist and the advanced student of Ancient Indian history and culture than for the general reader, and as such the present reviewer, who cannot claim to be appraised authoritatively or with knowledge all the views put forward by Prof. Ghoshal including his criticism of some previous workers in the field, is content only to testify to his high appreciation of the dispassionate and scholarly way in which Dr. Ghoshal has marshalled his facts and his conclusions. The last Essay, on the *Periods of Indian History*, gives a rapid resume of the salient stages in the evolution of Indian history and culture. So far as the reviewer can judge, this is a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of ancient Indian polity and culture, and scholars and students with even a slight interest in the subject will find the book useful and stimulating. The printing and general get-up are remarkably good for these days of paper control and restricted printing and there is a useful index, and a necessary list of additions and corrections. We wish the book a wide publicity among students of Indian history and culture.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

GANDHI—CHAMPION OF THE PROLETARIATE: By Bijoy Lal Chatterjee with an introduction by Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., M.L.A., Barrister-at-law. Published by Prakashani, 15, Shama Charan De Street, Calcutta. Pp. 72. Price Re. 1-8.

This book consisting of six essays, the first five of which appeared in the *Modern Review*, from time to time takes its title like Professor Laski's well-known *Dangers of Obedience* from the first. The writer attracted the attention of the Bengali public by his nationalist activities with their usual consequences and by his volume of poems *Sabbarader Gan* very happily translated into the Song of the Have-nots. Since that time, he has published more than two dozen pamphlets in Bengali dealing with literary, political and sociological problems. His past record as also the fact that the present volume is dedicated to "those valiant daughters and sons of Mother India" whose ideal is the service of man and who under the inspiration of our great national leader are striving to build up "a new humanity" are clear indications of the angle from which all these essays are written.

Undoubtedly the essay which gives the title to the volume is the most striking in the collection. The second, one pointing out the differences between the Gandhian and the communist approach to the problem of equal distribution of wealth emphasises the superiority of the former, the third shows why so long as human nature is not radically changed all over the world, law and order have to be maintained to which end the presence of a police force, however small, in the state is a necessity. In the next two essays, the writer shows the contributions to nationalism made by Tagore and Gandhiji while the last discusses Roman Rolland's conception of Gandhi.

Obviously different aspects of the beliefs and activities of Mahatma Gandhi have been carefully considered and their reactions on the author;

to the reader. There cannot be much doubt that Mr. Chatterjee is a faithful follower of Gandhiji and that this is due not to blind admiration but to conviction flowing from a careful examination of available materials.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

(1) THE ART OF LOVE IN THE ORIENT: By N. K. Basu, Medical Book Co., Post Box No. 1081A, Calcutta. Price—Nat. mentioned, Pp. 234, including index. (2) KAMA SUTRA: Translated and edited by Dr. B. N. Basu, M.B. (Cal.), D.T.M., D.P.H., Medical Book Co. 4th Edition. Pp. 233. Price Rs. 6.

1. The first book "The Art of Love in the Orient" is by Mr. N. K. Basu, author of 'History of Prostitution in India'. The book has a foreword by Dr. B. M. Barua, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. (Lond.). In this foreword Dr. Barua expresses the opinion that insanity, apoplexy, delirium tremens and a host of other disorders may all be "traceable to the underlying cause of repression or renunciation" of sex and "that all reputable neurologists and psychiatrists agree on this point". None of these statements however are correct. Dr. Barua has a theory to account for the mystery of sexual attraction. "The enquiry should be taken down to the psycho-physical plane where it will perhaps be found that the proper man and the proper woman coming within a degree of proximity to each other become, as two electro-magnetic centres, affected unaware by the passing of electricity between them, which is absolutely a play in the dark!" The author of the book, Mr. Basu, has drawn his inspiration from many sources and he has been able to present a readable account of sex life. In spite of the publishers' note to the contrary the book seems to have been designed with a view to appeal to the lay man rather than to the technical reader. The very name of the book is suggestive of this. The author is a non-medical man and does not claim to have any special training in sexology.

2. The second book "Kama-Sutra" is by Dr. B. N. Basu, M.B. (Cal.), D.T.M., D.P.H. Its foreword is written by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. (Paris). The book has run through four editions showing its popularity. It is a free rendering of Vatsyayana's Kama-Sutra interspersed with translator's discussion, remarks and notes. The author's style is pleasant. The foreword by Dr. Bagchi has been written from the historical standpoint. Dr. Bagchi says "a careful study of the whole book in the original (Kama-Sutra by Vatsyayana) shows that if it has any interest at all it is nothing more than historical". Dr. Bagchi makes other loose statements and remarks. "Vatsyayana was not responsible for many of the chapters which had been introduced by later writers." Dr. Bagchi bases this opinion on the idea that "some of the chapters in the Kama-Sutra do not show the scientific attitude and 'disinterestedness' that characterize Vatsyayana. Unfortunately the learned writer of the foreword is entirely mistaken on this point. The whole of Vatsyayana's Kama-Sutra as extant today uniformly shows the scientific mind of the composer. Both Dr. Bagchi and the author, Dr. Basu, have failed to take into account the convention of ancient technical Sanskrit writers to describe practices, even when they are objectionable in the form of instructions. When, for instance, Vatsyayana says that a married woman "should be seduced in such and such a fashion" it does not follow that he advocates the practice but it only means that people who stoop to it 'do' it in that way. The historical arguments of Dr. Bagchi are not very illuminating. Here are some examples: Since Nandi is the name of a mythical person it cannot belong to a human author (page 9); since Vatsyayana describes the lives of highly prosperous city-bred people in a way that reminds one of the Gupta age therefore Vatsyayana belongs to that period (p. 12); since the Tantrakhyanika composed about the beginning of the fourth century, makes no

reference to Vatsyayana therefore Vatsyayana must belong to a later age (p. 12); since Vatsyayana mentions the scandals of two royal families, viz., Alhira Kotaraja and Kuntala Satkarni, he must be contemporary to the persons concerned in the scandal and since the Kuntala branch of the Satkarni ruled 'up to the 5th century A.D.' and since "some importance is attached to the Alhira dynasty in the middle of the fourth century by the Gupta Emperor, Sumudra Gupta, therefore Vatsyayana lived and wrote his Kama-Sutra in the fourth century (p. 12)." Although Dr. Basu's interpretation of Vatsyayana has been generally reliable there are passages that seem to indicate that the true significance of the sutras has been missed in some places (e.g. para 2 p. 142, foot-note p. 144, etc.). The book would have lost nothing in technical value had the pictures been omitted. The book needs an index.

G. BOSE

INDIA BUILDS HER OWN ECONOMY: By P. C. Jain, Published by Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. Pp. 234. Price Rs. 3-8.

The author has divided his book in nine chapters—two on Joint-stock enterprise and one each on small-scale and cottage industries, Stock Exchange Activities, Foreign trade, Foreign indebtedness and Sterling repatriation, War budgets, Inflation, Price Control and Rationing and Post-War Reconstruction. Each one of the chapters contains statistical data and information brought up-to-date. The main object of the book is to give a good account of the Indian economic expansion since 1939, and in this the author has succeeded. The merits and defects of the economic activities have both been taken into account and criticised wherever criticism was called for. The author's views on inflation are well balanced. As remedy for checking inflation, he has suggested a very sensible twofold programme—(i) induce people to save more money by offering them better and more attractive facilities for investment, and (ii) encourage production of food-tuffs and manufactured goods so that the expanded currency may be counterbalanced by an increased output of goods and services. We believe with him that "these combined with a more rigid control of prices and rationing if necessary, should be able to overcome the more pronounced effects of inflation." He has thus given a fitting reply to the official view of countering inflation. Students of Indian economics would be immensely profited by a study of this handy up-to-date book.

D. BURMAN

BLOOD OR STONES: By Harindranath Chattopadhyay. Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Price Re. 1-4.

To lovers of literature the poet needs no introduction. In this small book of poems he describes the last Bengal famine and asserts the determination of the people to stand against Jap aggression. As propaganda it may serve its purpose, but as poetry it is not so laudable.

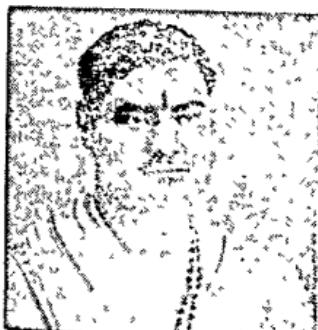
D. N. MOOKERJEE

POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION: By Prof. K. N. Vasuani, M.A., LL.B. New Book Company, Bombay. Pp. 40. Price Re 1-8.

The author in these pages rightly observes that reconstruction after this war must be well-planned world-order superseding National Sovereignties. So-called nationalists are the root of all conflicts and quarrels among nations. The new-order must be equestrian without any colour-bar and imperialism and there must be an all-world democracy and it must be a co-operative order to end mid-distribution of material markets and men. It must be a socialist world with security for all and non-violent order at the same time

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Copernicus—The Physician

Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy writes in *The Calcutta Review*:

Nikolaj Kopernick, Nicolaus Copernicus, was born in Torun—Thorn—on the Vistula on February 19, 1473. He was educated in the University of Cracow from 1490 to 1495, where he studied Astronomy as a special subject. The atmosphere of Poland in those days was favourable for study in general. The close of the 15th century witnessed in Poland great political, economic and cultural development of the country. Copernicus lived and worked in this atmosphere, which favoured independence of thought and enthusiasm for research and provided opportunities for all to develop their personalities to the fullest extent. No wonder then that at the age of 17 or 18, he was able to give a new orientation to astronomical findings and change the then prevailing Geocentric System of Ptolemy, which had held sway for nearly 14 centuries, into a new Heliocentric Astronomical Concept which made the Earth spin round the sun and bade the sun to stop.

His treatise, *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium* (Revolution of Heavenly Spheres), was a signal for revolution in other realms of thought besides Astronomy.

But his uncle, the Polish Senator, Bishop Lucas Watzelrod, who was also his guardian, had planned a different future for him. He induced Copernicus to go to Bologna University, to study Canon Law; after his graduation his uncle got him elected Canon of Varmia. He also obtained a Doctor's degree in Canon Law from the University of Ferrara in 1503. Besides his wonderful discoveries in Astronomy which marked a new era in the history of science and culture in Europe, Copernicus gave a good deal of his time to medical studies.

Anatomy was then in its infancy. Leonardo da Vinci and A. Vesalius laid the foundations of Modern Anatomy by publishing book *De Humanis Corporis Fabrica* in which we find drawings, sometimes in colours, from human cadavers, which show the beauty and harmony of the human body. Leonardo da Vinci also gives in his book the functions and purposes of the organism. Leonardo da Vinci was a lecturer in the Padua University. When Copernicus was studying medicine there, he came in close touch with this Founder of Topographical Anatomy and Anthropology. It is usually held that Copernicus graduated in Medicine in the year 1503. It is also on record that before going to the medical institute, he was lecturing in Rome in Mathematics and Astronomy when he was barely 25.

In autumn, 1505, he went back home and assumed his active duties as canon of the Duchy Bishopric of Varmia. He also acted as the Physician and Personal Secretary to his uncle, Senator Bishop Lucas Watzelrod.

This genius, whom the world regards as the maker of modern Astronomy and who has reformed our outlook on the Universe, never relaxed his efforts to heal the wounded and relieve the afflicted.

But neither Astronomy, Mathematics, Canon Law nor Medicine could chain him down. His free soul got

interested in everything which concerned the land he lived in and the people. The nephew and spiritual successor of one of the most outstanding politicians of the day, he inherited Bishop Watzelrod's enthusiasm for politics and aversion towards the oppression of the Teutonic Order.

The Teutonic Knights abandoned the Catholic faith and thus antagonised the Bishop and his nephew. Following in his uncle's footsteps, Copernicus fought the Teutonic Order in the political arena and on the battlefield. In 1520, when war with the Teutonic Order broke out, Copernicus, the Churchman, the Astronomer and the Physician, became the Commander-in-Chief of the beleaguered city Olozyn and successfully defended it. As administrator of the lands of the Varmian Chapter he had to bear the main burden of providing defence against German hordes. No wonder that the Chronicle of the Teutonic Order called Copernicus the Arch-enemy of the Order.

Thus Copernicus did not hesitate to respond to the call of his country and for a while he exchanged the surgeon's knife for the soldier's sword.

Copernicus lived and died a great man. He lived in a revolutionary age, an age which saw the birth and growth of new ideas in Art, Literature, Science and Philosophy. His contemporaries and co-revolutionaries were—Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), Francis Bacon (1561-1626), William Harvey (Physiologist, 1578-1637), Galileo (1564-1642).

Copernicus contributed not a little to create this 'New World' during the European Renaissance. He died of exhaustion paralysed and demented, in 1543. He was a churchman by vocation and by the works of his uncle, an artist for relaxation, a physician by training and predilection, an economist by accident, a statesman and soldier by necessity and a scientist by the Grace of God and by an intense love of Truth for Truth's sake.

Russia

The New Review observes :

July's most spectacular success went to the Russian army. Its winter and spring campaign had been directed against the southern sector of the 2,000-mile front when it attempted to force back the enemy against the Carpathians and the Black Sea; though it fell short of its goal it inflicted a severe defeat on the Germans. This manoeuvre of pushing the enemy against a natural obstacle is a piece of elementary strategy, but is difficult to execute in modern times owing to the size of the armies and of the battlefields. A like purpose lies behind the plan of the present summer offensive; the northern sector of the Nazi line is to be fought back against the Baltic shore where the Germans, deprived of quick transport, could be dealt with at leisure.

The offensive opened in the latter half of June against the Wehrmacht's easternmost bulge in White Russia, a country criss-crossed by swift rivers, marshes and thick pine and birch woods. Two prongs breached the front line with a gap 30-kms. wide north, and another 25-kms wide south of Vitebsk, the redoubtable Nazi bastion which had resisted former assaults. They joined

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behind it, encircling five divisions, and went on. There followed further south a thrust between Orsha and Zhlobin which soon enveloped Bobruisk and Mogilev, pushed on relentlessly and went to meet the Vitsebsk push well behind Minsk, the key position of the northern sector.

Minsk was by-passed, numerous bastions were neglected, several Nazi divisions surrounded, all to be dealt with by the ceaseless reinforcements which came up methodically to immobilise and then reduce whatever was left unbroken by the rushing assault forces who went on and on, without respite, for days on end. What was unexpected in this rush was not the large number of troops available, but the rapidity of the march and the clock-work precision of the supply services. Early this year, the Russian breakthroughs had covered some 250 miles in 25 days; this month Rokossovski advanced 240 miles in eleven days, and one of his divisions reached the record of 32 miles in 24 hours.

Beyond Minsk, Rokossovski and Chernyakhovski joined hands and marched on abreast, capturing Vilna and Grodno in the north, Baranowicze and Slonim in the south.

The Russian advance was so rapid that the Germans keeping a desolate watch over the Pripyat marshes were outflanked and withdrew from Pinsk.

It was so rapid that war correspondents got speed dizzy and talked of Krauts, Tilsitt and Koenigsberg being as good as captured. The reality is more sobering: the Nazis have ample room and huge facilities for manoeuvring; the Tilsitt railway line serves a long stretch of their northern front, the Baltic is open to their shipping, and their divisions are mostly in good condition.

On the other hand, the Russians have to bring up their main body of troops into the new line, set up their advance supply bases and regroup their forces; the next move will not likely be theirs, as the Germans are bound to counter-attack vigorously at the earliest

opportunity. These counter-attacks have begun and their outcome will be known in the very near future. Even if they check the Russian advance for the present, they will not save Germany, which is threatened with an invasion across central Poland. The Russian onslaught has now shifted to the south and the push on both sides of Brest-Litovsk threatens the Nazi centre with a disastrous rupture. The Russian armies have a numerical superiority of two to one, and a measurable advantage in fire-power and they can secure air supremacy at any point. The Nazis appear to have heavily drawn on their general reserves. Moreover their air force and motorised divisions are greatly handicapped by a shortage of fuel; the British Minister of Economic Warfare recently boasted that German oil production from all sources has fallen to half the essential needs of the German armed forces; half the Reich's synthetic oil plants, and most Rumanian refineries would have been knocked out, and the rail or water transport systems are out of gear; the central reserves would also be exhausted. Factual reports from Russia and Normandy reveal that fuel shortage deprives German motorised manoeuvres from their former remarkable mobility. The Nazi war machine shows definite signs of wear and tear.

On Misgivings about Science and Scientific Research in India

Bhupendra Nath Mukhopadhyaya observes in *Science and Culture*:

"The aim of every post-war reconstruction in India", said Sir J. C. Ghosh in his opening address on the occasion of the Symposium on Post-War Organization of Scientific Research in India, "should be the removal of these two weaknesses . . . 'A low national income and limited industrial development.' And we are met together today to discuss how science should be organized in India so that this object may be achieved."

There, however, seems to be, as pointed out by Sir Juan at least two schools of thought in the country whi-

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view any prospect of scientific and industrial research with apprehension.

Firstly, there are those who do not favour scientific research or industrialization in India because of their disgust of the accompanying evils they have witnessed in the West; and secondly, those who favour industrial development but consider scientific research for this purpose to be unnecessary—they think that by importing foreign machinery and experts we can develop our industries.

Those of us who believe that we can profitably employ and utilize the results of foreign research in our industry are not only thinking in terms of parasitic existence but also in terms of permanent economic dependence and political servitude.

The chief error of this type of thinking lies in the failure to realize two basic facts of our modern world. In the first place, we are living in a highly dynamic world where everything is changing, and changing fast; the ancient sword has given place to the modern gun; the modern Hurricane is now making room for the ultra-modern jet-propelled aircraft; and the time-honoured peaceful occupation of growing paddy and potato in the field is now a "home front". Yesterday is being outdated by today, and today by tomorrow, at a speed unknown in human history. Secondly, side by side with this tremendous change is the tendency of our world to get progressively smaller in the sense that its inhabitants are being brought closer together.

If we, therefore, dispense with research and depend on others for our industrial development we shall not only live under conditions that were good only in the outdated past, but advances made elsewhere are bound directly to affect our industries with adverse consequences.

On the other hand, the opinion of those of us who, to quote Sir J. C. Ghosh again, "have been so impressed by the evils of the modern world, that they do not hesitate to declare that the introduction of Western methods for increasing our national income should be resisted," is based on more fundamental ground. They have seen the Western civilization crumble under its own power of science and industry; they have seen how women and children are being slaughtered with lightning speed by the monstrous technique of science: to them the abstract concept of "science" takes the concrete forms of bombs and torpedoes, tanks and guns, mines and mortars— instruments of misery and destruction. It is but natural that they should forget all the good that science has done and is still doing to humanity—Penicillin, Patulin and M. & B. are a poor match for the High Explosives. Human mind does not measure good and evil by balancing one against the other and ticking them off, but by the quality of impression that is left behind: and impressions of fear and horror outlast pleasurable impressions both in intensity and in time.

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Realism and Poetry

Poetry, however fanciful, is bound to be realistic up to a point; for it deals, after all, with real things, not necessarily those which exist or have existed, but things which are subject to the laws of reality. In an article in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* John O. Burtt observes:

Realism, I suppose, is the disposition to see things as they are, and although this does not tell us much. I think we can say that so defined its meaning becomes more elusive than the unwary would suspect. For the power to see things as they really are is not a gift bestowed upon any particular class of persons in view of their temperament or calling. It is rather a standard to be aimed at. There is however no doubt that certain attitudes of mind are more realistic than others, though it may not be easy to determine which these are. For instance it is natural to conclude that a thousand people who are not in love with a particular woman take a more realistic view of her than the one man who is; and the reason for this conclusion is partly that they are in the majority and partly that apathy is a more common state of mind than sympathy and so presumably more realistic. Realism has certainly something to do with the outlook of the majority, and yet it has something to do with knowledge also; for there are certain occasions when we should reject the majority's interpretation of a situation, as for instance in a medical matter, where the view of one doctor might be accepted as more correct, or if you like more realistic, than that of a hundred other people. Since we are ready in this case to disregard mere weight of numbers, we might well enquire why the lover also is not taken as an expert, on the assumption that he has a special knowledge of the woman which others do not possess.

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laws forbidding foreigners, and particularly Orientals, to buy or lease land; and as a result there have been cases of Hindu farmers being forced to leave land they had cultivated for years. Certain liberal professions, too, are closed to Hindus so long as they cannot be naturalized.

There was a time when Hindus, as the sole exception among the Oriental peoples of a certain geographic zone, were permitted to become citizens if they had already gained entrance to this country. The theory that India may be the original home of the "Aryans" possibly had something to do with it. But in the ill-famed decision in the case of *United States vs. Thind*, Supreme Court Justice Sutherland stated, on February 19, 1923, that a Hindu is not a "white person" in the sense of our naturalization laws: for the formula "free white person" must be interpreted as it is understood by the "common man." Since that decision twenty years ago, no Hindu has been permitted to apply for naturalization.

How "inferior," both in endowments and in training, are the few Hindus who live among us, is indicated by their notable work in private institutions whom the law cannot, of course, prevent from employing "undesirable immigrants." Hindus resident in the United States may often be seen at scholarly conferences; they are found as teachers in several of our universities, and as experts in social research institutes; some of them serve as curators of art museums, others as science editors for press syndicates. It may be questioned whether any other ethnic group in America has such a proportion of persons contributing actively to our academic and general culture.

The Hindu colony in this country now demands the abolition of the discriminatory rules which afflict them economically and, even more, morally. Like the Chinese, the Hindus do not expect the doors of America to be opened wide to potential immigrants coming here. They do believe that the time has come to give them, at least symbolically, equal rights with other peoples. Whether they are white persons or not according to the understanding of the common man, they should be entitled to a yearly legal quota of immigrants (which, as we have shown, would be no more than 100); and whether or not they are capable of being completely assimilated, they should be entitled to become naturalized.

The Hindus are in a much weaker position in this country than the Chinese. Their number is small, and they are not powerful economically or politically.

There is no Indian Embassy in Washington, and at Cairo, Roosevelt and Churchill met with no Indian representative. The Hindu spokesmen are in prison, and their people cannot exert the same pressure upon us as the Chinese. It is true that the so-called "Council of State" (the Upper Chamber of the powerless Parliament of India) adopted a resolution at the end of March recommending equality for the Hindus in America and that Sir Olaf Karoe, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, accepted this resolution in the name of the government. But it is still a matter of doubt whether the resolution will ever reach Washington: the Viceroy and the India Office in London will probably be reluctant to take a step which might be interpreted as intervention in American internal affairs.

Of course, it is not a question of America's "compensating" the Hindus for the contribution of their country to the present war. If it were a question of rewarding peoples according to their share in the fight against Fascist militarism, our debt to India could not be "redeemed" at any price short of complete national freedom. We have stressed India's great war effort because it underscores the guilt of our country towards its Hindu residents and towards potential Hindu immigrants. The Hindus demand not payment for "services rendered," but their natural rights.

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And in this case, America has no excuses to offer. We need consult nobody in the world on this question, for it is an internal American problem. The rights and position of no other power can be affected by our decision to admit or not to admit a certain number of immigrants of a certain race, or by the way we treat them after they are admitted. There are no international political complications or wartime expediencies to prevent us from removing a stigma from a great people. We shall simply rob the Japanese of the propaganda argument that we treat Asiatics as inferiors in our country.

Birla Scholar Studies U. S. Engineering

A student from India has a word of praise for American engineering.

Bal Dattatreya Kalekar of Wardha, India, a graduate student and instructor in engineering at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York State, hopes to utilize the education he has received in the United States in building up the industries of India.

At Cornell Kalekar is specializing in automotive engineering. His research problem for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy is concerned with an engine with a twin-carburetor layout. As his minor subjects Mr. Kalekar is studying machine design and mechanics. He is studying these under Dr. J. N. Goodier, professor of the mechanics of engineering, and P. H. Black, associate professor of machine design, both Cornell staff members.

Kalekar is a son of the prominent Indian author Kaka Kalekar. The young man began his education in the field of mechanical engineering in Bombay University where he made a first-class record graduating from the Engineering College at Karachi in 1940. During his College career in India, Kalekar won many prizes and scholarships and was editor of the college publication, "The Young Engineer." He won the Birla scholarship, offered by G. D. Birla of the famous family, in the summer of 1940. He sailed for the United States to get his Master of Science degree in mechanical engineering at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

There Kalekar did research work in the Sloan Automotive Laboratories under Professor E. S. Taylor and Dr. W. M. Murray, obtaining the degree of Master of Science. He then accepted a research fellowship at Cornell, going to Ithaca in 1941. He was appointed to the teaching staff of the College of Engineering at Cornell in 1943. He hopes to finish his research project and receive his doctorate this summer.

Before he leaves the United States he hopes to get practical experience in American industries. He expressed "great admiration for the engineering achievements attained by American industries and research engineers." Kalekar plans to write a series of articles on his impressions of America when he returns to India.—USOWL



THE LAST HIT
By Bhupan Chandra

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NOTES

Famine Commission and After

The Famine Commission is sitting and is carrying on with its investigations. Meanwhile Bengal is slowly sinking into apathy. Occasional outbursts of recriminations sometimes break up the silence to be followed by periods of deeper gloom. The condition may be compared to one of coma that overcomes a weak patient, after a severe illness, thereby indicating vital damage. This province does not seem to realise that there are many things to be done while the Commission is sitting and that we must prepare to guard against the recurrence of any such disaster in future. The function of the present Commission is mainly of the nature of an enquiry and even if any substantially sound recommendations are made, effect may be given to them—if given at all—only in the distant future. Public alertness is a great pre-requisite to compel the Government to honour their commitments. The sound recommendations of the Famine Commission of 1901 as embodied in the Famine Code, were quietly passed over because there were no organisations to mobilise public opinion and demand its application. The recommendations of the last Gregory Committee could be similarly ignored by the Government of India.

In a country of continuous famines, the need for a vigilant central public organisation has been keenly felt to detect and watch the course of it, to keep both the Government and people aware of their duties and to co-ordinate relief operations to mitigate sufferings. The crying need for such a body had been felt particularly during the last famine. It is high time that a representative body was immediately formed with non-official majority. It should be permanent and ought to function throughout

the year. Its main function should be of an advisory and co-ordinating character, with a view to assist official and non-official organisations in fighting distress, in increasing food supply, food production and in attempting to rehabilitate the pauperised agricultural population. Immediately on its formation, it should make its own survey of the situation.

Survey by this body is essential as unless the extent of damage is known, remedial measures cannot be adequately planned. Mortality figures during the last famine as calculated by the officials and the public have shown wide divergence. The faulty nature of the collection of vital and agricultural statistics has been admitted by some of the Ministers and the people know them to be so. There is ample scope for a non-official expert survey to find out how many people were affected, how many died, how many have been permanently disabled and require long term help, how many families have been destroyed and to what extent and in what ways rehabilitation is needed. Investigations into these problems by a government on which the people have no confidence, will fail to convince the public and will not serve as a basis for future planning.

When and if the report of the present Famine Commission is published and if the report contains any recommendations, this body will be in a position to analyse and put into action any suggestions of value without loss of time, thereby reducing the interminable delays of official red tape.

Government help for the body, whose formation we have advocated, should be forthcoming because its primary action would be to help in the balancing of provincial economy. But if no Government help is obtained, it sh

attempt to carry on independently since it is growing more and more plain everyday that the economic life of Bengal is gradually sinking below normal without any signs of recovery. The root causes of this collapse must be sought for and the extent gauged by specialists, and a plan to combat them should immediately be set up. Social pathologists and physicians are needed to-day to diagnose and stop the present decay in the national life of Bengal.

No Famine in Occupied Europe

The London correspondent of the *Hindu* cables:

In the course of a despatch headed "This is no famine-stricken Europe", the war correspondent, Alexander Clifford, says, "We are liberating a continent much less ruined than we supposed and a people who hate Germans even more than we believed."

"When we landed in France we were surprised and almost perplexed at the abundance of food in Normandy" he writes. "Quite obviously no one has been starving there, but we thought that perhaps it was because Normandy is agriculturally so excessively rich. Yet when we advanced out of it there was no great change. In Paris the people do not look pale, pinched or starved. Even during the transition period before the liberation, there was food to be had. There is great hardship in working class quarters. No one could pretend that things there are anywhere near normal. But I submit that the food situation in most France is better than it was in Italy. I have driven through many little villages and stopped at Inns for lunch and they always produced something and they sold it willingly. Their diet certainly is worse since the war, but your vision of a famine-stricken Europe must go by the board."

"In Belgium," says Clifford, "the situation seems even better than in France. En route to Brussels I went into the kitchen of a country house. The housewife confided to me that they had not really been badly off in Belgium. Everything was organised and even poor people were kept alive. The working people in slums have suffered and there has been progressive malnutrition owing to shortage of fats, but it is not so terrible as we had feared it would be. It is not like Italy where any scrap of food left over from our rations was ravenously accepted. Here, in Belgium, they rather hug their shoulders at our tinned stuff and offer us their fresh food in return."

According to Clifford this state of affairs is partly due to German organisation. "They can organise well and they have always recognised the maxim that the best slave is a contented slave; but much more due to the cleverness of the French and Belgian farmers and producers who kept their products back from the Germans and sold them on the black market."

"So it is not on account of their stomachs that the French and the Belgians hate the Germans ferociously", says Clifford. "It is because of the Germans' suppression of all freedoms and their cruel arrogance and gracelessness. The torture chambers are here and the hatred that results is genuine enough."

This despatch was published in a London daily. Reading this, a prominent journalist of Fleet Street told the United Press of India representative in London: "I hope the same can be said about India—there is no famine when she is liberated from the British domination."

Things are however entirely different on this part of the globe. In the thick of the war

and at a time when the British Government spokesmen waxed eloquent on India's magnificent war effort and the high morale of the Indian army, one of the worst famines in human history was allowed to sweep over the Eastern war zone and take a toll of millions of human lives that could certainly be saved through adequate and timely help. Not only that practically nothing was done to bring food supplies from abroad to the famine-stricken areas, but wastage of foodstuff on a colossal scale was allowed. The *New Orissa*, in its issue for August 31, disclosed that the Bihar Government had recently released 1,17,786 maunds of foodstuff. This was stocked last year for export to Bengal during the famine but never reached its destination. This amount was sufficient to provide full meals for 40,000 adults for one year. Recently the Bengal Government has intimated industrial concerns that 1,46,000 maunds of wheat products in their stock have become unfit for human consumption and may be available for sizing purposes. A statement by Sj. Manoranjan Chaudhury of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha revealed that 200 lorryloads of foodstuff, which were allowed to rot in open stacks in the Botanical Gardens of Silpore, have been dumped in a vacant land of Howrah. Government said that compost was being manufactured out of this foodstuff. Eight months ago, the daily *Basumatî* of Calcutta had warned the Government that thousands of maunds of foodstuff stacked in an open space in the Botanical Gardens would soon become unfit for human consumption if they are not properly stored. This warning went unheeded. The nature of foreign aid may well be gauged from the following cabled news:

Montreal, Sept. 18.—The present plans of the UNRRA do not include provision for aid in connexion with the food shortages in India, according to a Press conference statement made by Mr. H. H. Lehmann, Director-General of UNRRA, today.

Asked whether aid would be extended to India in view of the food shortages resulting from the limitations of war-time transportation, Mr. Lehmann said: "Unless a decision to do so is made at the present Council meeting, we don't at present intend to send supplies to India."—Reuter.

An organisation which pooled world resources to alleviate a supposed famine in occupied Europe does not think that aid should be extended to India.

Bombay Chamber on Menace of Foreign Combines

Discussing the fate of the Indian industries, the spokesman of the Chamber said:

It is a matter of great disappointment to us that all attempts by Indians to start key industries such as automobile, shipbuilding, aircraft, etc., had been unceremoniously turned down, while Canada and Australia and other countries in the British Common-

wealth had been allowed to do everything possible during the war to develop new industries.

The speaker stated that the recent policy of importing consumer goods on a large scale was causing serious concern to the Chamber and wanted to know how India would be treated in the post-war period regarding these vital matters.

It was emphasised by the speaker that those who invested capital in spite of all the restrictions imposed upon them were eager to know what future was in store for them.

With regard to the policy of taxing industries, the speaker observed that the policy had deprived the industries of the financial resources they badly needed.

The menace of foreign combines was causing grave concern to Indian industrialists and there was widespread apprehension that the Nitrogen industry with the manufacture of fertilizers would be handed over to a non-Indian combine.

"You are aware of the bitter lessons which we have learnt to our cost as a result of the operations of such combines as the Swedish Combine in the match industry, the activities of Lever Brothers in the soap and other industries and the Imperial Chemical Company in the chemical and dyeing industries. Their powerful connections and their great resources have not only stifled the growth of Indian industries owned, controlled and managed by the nationals of the country, but they have also deprived the country of the wealth which true national economy would have otherwise retained in the country", remarked the speaker and appealed for an assurance from Government that no fresh outside vested interests would be created in the country now and in the future but all industries hereafter would be owned, controlled and managed by the nationals of the country.

The speaker stressed the supreme need for a national navy of supply and asked what Government proposed to do in the matter.

The Government of Australia classified their industries into three categories at the very beginning of the war. The essential industries coming under Class A were developed through Government aid and they were promised protection after the war. Class B industries, needed during the war but which will not be wanted after the conclusion of the peace, were told that they will get expenses of liquidation and compensation while they wind up after the war. In India, not only nothing of this kind has been done, but discrimination and favoured treatment has all along been granted to foreign interests in their competition against Indian trade and industries.

Indian Merchants' Talk with Commerce Member

Questions relating to the future trade and tariff policy, development of a National Navy, India's place at International Conferences, controls and canalisation, and the need for greater consultation, hedge trading in oil seeds, shortage of coal, cotton floor prices, and supply of consumer goods with special reference to Government's import policy, were the salient features of discussions which took place between the Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber of Bombay and the Commerce

Member of the Government of India. The Secretary and the Joint Secretary of the Commerce Department were also present. The Chamber put forward the view that "the problems of peace, which was not far off, were of as much concern as the problems of war. Statesmanship lay in understanding the fundamental aspects of these problems in time and in evolving the lines on which they could be effectively solved in the true interests of India". The tendency of the Government of India, however, is quite different, driving in a direction exactly opposite to that which the Bombay Chamber advocates as the goal. Signs are unmistakably clear that the chief post-war aim of the Government of India will be to maintain the present stranglehold on Indian trade and industry in order to ensure better market for British goods in this country.

Government of India's Export and Import Policy

The Bombay Chamber made the definite and pointed allegation directly before the member in charge and the secretaries of the Commerce Department of the Government of India that

cotton goods had been exported out of India when they were urgently needed for covering the bare bodies of the people of this land. Foodstuffs were exported when they were badly required to keep off starvation and preventing conditions which brought about famine in Bengal and other parts in the country. Coal was exported with the result that several industries had been compelled to curtail their production and some of them had even to be closed.

These serious allegations are borne out by Government's own figures. The *Monthly Survey of Business Conditions in India*, issued by the office of the Economic Adviser, Government of India, in its latest number (Jan.-Feb. 1944) just received, states that the export of cotton manufactures amounted to 772.5 million yards in 1941-42 and 818.5 in 1942-43 while the pre-war figure for such export, was only 177 million yards. Internal production remained practically constant during the last five years, being about 4,200 million yards. Imports have fallen from 647.1 million yards in 1938-39 to 181.6 million yards in 1941-42 and 13.1 in 1942-43. Thus while production remained constant and imports fell heavily, large quantities of cotton piecegoods were allowed to go out of the country. As regards rice export, truth is being suppressed, the *Bulletin* states that since January 1943, the publication of export figures for rice has been discontinued.

British Plan to Exploit Post-War India

British plans for exploiting post-war India are being drawn up. Reuter understands

large industrial group, representing 50 industries, has been formed in the Midlands as the result of a conference convened to make a special study of potentialities of India as a market or manufacturing extension, for their engineering and other products.

This is likely to be the fore-runner of other groups representing export trade interests that will be set up with the encouragement of groups of members of Parliament who consider corporate preparation as an essential preliminary to plans for making international trade agreements after peace is restored.

In the meantime, the U. K. C. C. is strengthening its hold on India. Although all the Indian Chambers of Commerce believe that this organisation has become a menace to Indian foreign and internal trade, the Government of India sees no harm in its activities. A few days ago, the Commerce Member of the Government of India, in a discussion with the representatives of Indian merchants at Bombay, stressed the "harmlessness" of the activities of the U. K. C. C. and very kindly offered to "encourage the idea of collaboration between certain industrial groups and the Government for profitable exploitation of export and import business." Such arrangements only mean the offer of a junior partnership to Indian business interests in the U. K. C. C. activities whereas without this Imperial handicap, they could have been the major partner. The U. K. C. C. first appeared in this country as an organisation to deal only in war articles during the war. The Government have persistently declared that it had nothing to do with the normal trade and industry of India. But signs are quite clear now that this monopolistic organisation subsidised and patronised by the British Government has come here to stay even after the war. Only those favoured Indian merchants who are on the good books of the Government will be allowed to "co-operate" with this body, the rest will go to the wall.

Another instance of secret designs on the fate of India has recently been disclosed by Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, a delegate to the Bretton Woods Conference. In a speech at the Loyola College, Madras, he said that the Indian delegation managed to get a secret document which the United States authorities had prepared, allotting quotas to various countries on the basis of certain economic data. According to that document, Soviet Russia was allotted 900 million dollars, China 320 million and India 372 million dollars. Nothing was allotted to France. Later France was given 500 million, and they increased the Chinese quota to 500 million and reduced India's quota to 300 million. When the question was raised by the Indian

delegation, everybody began to disown the document. Two days before the Conference was to terminate, Mr. Morgenthau informed the Indian delegation that the quota was raised to 400 million dollars.

Sir Shanmukham Chetty asked the Secretary to the United States Treasury what was the basis for the allocation of the quota to China. Mr. Morgenthau replied: "China was given a greater share for military and political reasons" in view of the great sacrifice she had made and the sufferings she had undergone. The Indian delegation realised that China was entitled to great consideration.

When it came to the question of permanent seats in executive bodies, Mr. Morgenthau said: "The United States public will not reconcile themselves to the position in which two permanent seats are given to the British Empire." Therefore, remarked Sir Shanmukham, India lost a permanent seat in this international body because of her membership in the British Empire.

Living Conditions of the Civilian in India

Living conditions of the poor and the middle class people of India, particularly for those whose income is derived from other than the Government sources, have become terrible and intolerably hard to say the least. Conditions are similar in Bengal, Madras, Orissa and in many parts of the Central Provinces as well. A chronic famine continues to prevail in these areas. Hardship has been the greatest in Bengal, where the price of every article of daily necessity has gone up by four to eight times.

Accommodation difficulties in the cities continue. Release of some building materials might have eased the situation to some extent, but that has not been done. Travel has become a terror to the lower class passengers. Telephone and the post office have become thoroughly inefficient. The telegraph equally so. In many cases, telegrams reach their destination later than letters. City transport remains a menace.

But all these difficulties are for the non-official ordinary civilian, and not for profiteers and high officials. Travel for them remains as easy and luxurious as ever before. While the public ride on the bumpers of the buses, their cars may be seen in hundreds at the race courses. Food, clothing and medicine are all within their easy reach. During the last famine, essential foodstuffs were purchased at any price for distributing them among the employees of the official and semi-official organisations. Merchant and industrial organisations who had been virtually converted into official

houses by being switched on to war work, reaped this benefit. These bulk purchases on the already depleted public stocks shot prices up causing extreme suffering to the average non-official. Black markets flourished through these loopholes and are still flourishing.

Hindu Women's Rights

The Hindu Intestate Bill has evoked controversy in Bengal. A fragment of the vocal section of Hindu ladies in this province have opposed the Bill, while the majority have supported it and have blessed its sponsor, Mrs. Renuka Ray. The following letter published in the *Statesman* represents the view of the supporters of the Bill:

The Hindu Intestate Bill, which is most mild, is going to be placed before the Central Legislature in this session. Mrs. Renuka Roy should deserve our warmest congratulations for her untiring activities in this connexion. When everyone should support such a Bill and prepare the ground for more drastic and revolutionary nature, it is most distressing and disturbing that some ladies who happen to be the wives of the distinguished men of Bengal are doing to retard the progress of the Bill and thus they would do mestimable harm to the Hindu women of Bengal. The women of Bengal refused to be taught the Hindu ghastras from the arm chair lady politicians, who will do well in not shedding their crocodile tears for their sisters. Three recent cases in the High Court have not moved these distinguished ladies. So long the rights and interests were protected by these ladies and so-called Pandits, and one shudders to think of the terrible and pitiable conditions of the women under their care and patronage. These activities should not disturb Mrs Roy. She should go ahead with the Bill. We protest vehemently against the formation of the Bengal Hindu Women's Association who represent none but themselves.—Bela Dutta Choudhury.

Another lady, Mrs. Nilima Chaudhury, writing in the same newspaper, points out that

The opinions received on the proposed Bill were mostly favourable throughout India. I have no doubt that every Hindu woman of Bengal will support the Bill, as for the first time in many generations it proposes (a) to remove the sex-disqualification by which Hindu women, in general have hitherto been precluded from inheriting property in various parts of India, (b) a common law of intestate succession for all Hindus in British India, (c) it abolishes the Hindu women's limited estate.

The opposition to the Bill was also voiced in the columns of the same newspaper by Leila Ray Chaudhuri whose main grounds of opposition are that (1) the reforms should come through evolution rather than revolution, (2) that if the daughter is allowed to share in paternal wealth, the son also should have a title in the mother's *stridhan* property, and (3) that legal expenses will increase because more wills will be created. None of these arguments are anything like convincing. The Bill in reality is a very slow evolutionary measure, it seeks to secure a right for women that should have been conferred centuries ago and which is

enjoyed by women of our sister community for a long time.

Regarding the opposition by a small but highly vociferous group, all we need say that the main distinction of these estimable ladies is that they are wives of successful and eminent professional men. We have never heard their names in connection with any activity for the alleviation of misery amongst their fellow country-women. Now, when some active members of their sex try to uplift the status of our womenkind, they openly cry havoc in a mistaken attempt at retarding progress!

The Phillips Report

A cabled summary of the Phillips Report has been published in *The Modern Review* for September. A fuller statement is available now and the concluding portion of it is given below:

The present Indian army is purely mercenary and only that part of it which is drawn from the martial races has been tried in actual warfare and these martial soldiers represent only 33 per cent of the army. Gen. Stilwell has expressed concern on the situation and in particular in regard to the poor morale of Indian officers.

The attitude of the general public towards the war is even worse. Lassitude and indifference and bitterness have increased as a result of famine conditions, the growing high cost of living and continued political deadlock.

While India is broken politically into various parties and groups all have one object in common—eventual freedom and independence from British domination. There would seem to be only one remedy to this highly unsatisfactory situation in which we are unfortunately but nevertheless seriously involved and that is change of attitude of the people of India towards the war—to make them feel that we want them to assume responsibilities to the United Nations and are prepared to give them facilities for doing so and that the voice of India will play a part in the reconstruction of the world.

The present political conditions do not permit of any improvement in this respect. Even though the British should fail again it is high time they should make an effort to improve the conditions and re-establish confidence among the Indian people that their future independence is to be granted.

Words are of no avail—they only aggravate the present situation. It is time for the British to act. This they can do by a solemn declaration from the King Emperor that India will achieve her independence at a specific date after the war and as a guarantee of good faith in this respect a Provisional Representative Coalition Government will be re-established at the Centre and limited powers transferred to it.

I feel strongly, Mr. President, that in view of our military position in India we should have a voice in these matters. It is not right for the British to say his is none of your business when we alone presumably will have to play a major part in the struggle against Japan. If we do nothing and merely accept the British point of view that conditions in India are none of our business, then we must be prepared for various serious consequences in the internal situation in India which may develop as result of despair and misery and anti-white sentiments of hundreds of millions of the subject people.

The people of Asia—I am supported in this opinion by other diplomatic and military observers—cynically

regard this war as one between the Fascist and the Imperialist powers. A generous gesture from Britain to India would change this undesirable political atmosphere. India itself might then be expected more positively to support our war effort against Japan. China, which regards the Anglo-American Bloc with misgivings and mistrust, might then be assured that we are in truth fighting for a better world and the colonial people conquered by the Japanese might hopefully feel they have something better to look forward to than return to their old masters.

Such gestures, Mr. President, will produce not only a tremendous psychological stimulus to the flagging morale through Asia and facilitate our military operations in that theatre but it will also be proof positive to all people—our own and the British included—that this is not a war of power politics but a war for all we say it is for.

At the beginning of the war, Congress wanted only two things from the British Government—viz., a declaration that India would achieve her independence at a specific date after the war, and that a National Government would be formed at the centre and only limited powers transferred to it during the continuance of the war.

Chandler on Phillips Report

The publication of the Phillips Report has led to sensational developments. Senator Chandler in the Senate demanded that President Roosevelt should make a full report on conditions in India. He said: "I believe in co-operating with our allies, but only by knowing the truth of the situation in other countries can we hope for a genuine co-operative peace." He alleged that Mr. Phillips had been attacked by the British for his Report on the Indian situation and declared that British representatives in the United States had even approached certain American publishers with a view to preventing the publication of Mr. Phillips' views. Senator Chandler, had with five other Senators, visited India last year. He said that high British officials in the United States had told him that what was happening in India was none of his or the Senate's business. Mr. Chandler added:

"I repudiate that statement. Conditions there had a bearing on the war with Japan. If the British are going to be able to force a recall of our diplomats merely because they submit truthful reports, I think we ought to know about it."

'Our British allies have taken an incredibly harmful step which can only injure the friendly relations between ourselves and them in declaring President Roosevelt's personal ambassador, Mr. Phillips, persona non-grata. The British Foreign Office took this action because Mr. Phillips made a report on the conditions in India which the British do not like. Is the Government of the United States so weak, are our people so incompetent, has our sovereignty been so impaired that even the President is no longer permitted to know the truth about conditions in friendly countries?'

"Only by knowing the truth of the conditions in countries not as we wish them to be but as they exist, the American people in future organise and pro-

mote a policy of friendship with other nations that will lead to a lasting peace."

In answer to an inquiry, a spokesman of the British embassy said that it was not true that the British Government had described Mr. Phillips as *persona non-grata*.

Six days after, Senator Chandler made public a telegram which he said had been sent to London by Sir Olaf Caroe, Secretary to the External Affairs Department of the Government of India in which he said that the Indian Government could not again receive Mr. Phillips. The telegram said in part:

"We feel strongly that the British Embassy should be supported in carrying this matter further with the State Department. We are doing our best to prevent the entry of newspapers or letters carrying the text of Mr. Pearson's article. We understand that the designation of Mr. Phillips is still the President's Personal Representative to India. Whether or not he has been connected in any way with the leakage of the views he has stated, it would make it impossible for us to do other than regard him as 'persona non-grata' and we could not receive him. His views are not what we are entitled to expect from a professedly friendly envoy. The Viceroy has seen this telegram."

Senator Chandler further said that he was in possession of a confidential letter written by Mr. Phillips to President Roosevelt, dated May 14, 1943, which could not be made public this time, but if occasion developed he would read it in the open Senate. The campaign was started by the famous American columnist Mr. Drew Pearson, whom the President Roosevelt not long ago dubbed unreliable. Mr. Pearson, apparently supported by powerful politicians, such as Mr. Sumner Welles and Senator Chandler, laid the trap for the American President. He first hinted at the contents of Mr. Phillips' Report in India and when someone denied their accuracy he published the full text.

A resolution is also coming before the U.S. House of Representatives to be moved by Mr. Calvin Johnson, to declare Sir Ronald Campbell and Sir Girija Sankar Bajpai *persona non-grata* because of their efforts to 'mould' American public opinion.

"India More Important than 1,000 Phillips's"—Eden

The following *Reuter's* message from New York appears in Colombo papers :

Commentator Drew Pearson's syndicate column "Washington Merry Go Round" in Monday's New York Daily Mirror declares: "Diplomats are indignant over the ousting of Ambassador William Phillips from London as political adviser to General Eisenhower. Mr. Phillips came home for 'personal reasons'. But the fact is that he was asked to leave London because he wrote a letter to President Roosevelt criticising British policy in India and recommending Indian independence."

The letter published in this column on July 25 caused a furore. The British demanded official explanations. Later the Foreign Minister, Mr. Anthony Eden, asked for Mr. Phillips' recall. Britain also demanded

the recall from New Delhi of General Merrell, acting as chief of the United States mission in India during Mr. Phillips' absence. He resigned and returns shortly. The British objected because Mr. Phillips reported to his chief on India. London is sore over his point that India is of great concern to us on account of the Japanese war."

After quoting Mr. Phillips as stating, "The Indian Army is mercenary. It is time for the British to act. They can declare that India will achieve her independence at a specified date after the war," Mr. Pearson declared: "Mr. Eden cabled Sir Ronald Campbell, British Charge d'Affaires in Washington, stating that he and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, were perturbed and ordered the Embassy to approach the State Department with a formal demand for investigation. Mr. Cordell Hull informed the Embassy that Mr. Phillips' letter had leaked out through the former Under-Secretary, Mr. Sumner Welles. Mr. Eden again cabled expressing surprise that a paper of the calibre of the *Washington Post* published Mr. Phillips' letter and suggesting that the *Post* should publish an editorial contradicting and criticising the story. When Sir Ronald cabled this to London, Mr. Eden replied asking the *Post* to correct Mr. Phillips' statement about a mercenary army.

"In London Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden put the heat on the United States Ambassador, Mr. John Winant, and had that official ask Mr. Phillips if he still held the same views. Mr. Phillips said he did more than ever but was sorry his letter was published adding, 'I hope my other reports, even stronger, will not leak.' Mr. Eden cabled his Embassy to inform the State Department that Mr. Phillips was *persona non grata* in London, observing: 'India is more important than a thousand Phillips's'."

All Not Well on the Stilwell Front

A United Press message from London states that warm tributes to General Stilwell were paid by Admiral Lord Mountbatten just before he left London. But that all is not well on the Stilwell front is indicated by the *Tribune*, a powerful and outspoken weekly. Commenting on the Phillips Report, the paper writes:

"In itself this may be unimportant but it is a symptom of the growing tension in the Anglo-American relations over the Far Eastern policy. General Stilwell is now in a peculiar position. He is the Deputy Commander-in-Chief to Lord Louis Mountbatten, he is the Commander-in-Chief of the American-Chinese forces in North Burma. He is the Chief of Staff to Marshal Chiang Kai-shek and he is the Lease-Lend Administrator for China. He is also the most determined believer that America's future is definitely linked with China, both politically and economically and he is determined to keep out any who wish to trespass.

"In India there is a strong feeling that General Stilwell is more concerned about America's future interests in China than in co-operation with the conduct of operations as outlined and requested by the South-East Asia Command. He has been present only twice at the conferences of Army Chiefs during the last six months. He generally has the reputation for non-co-operation. Also it is said that his role in Northern Burma has been widely exaggerated by the American publicity machine. For two months he has been attacking 800 Japs at Mitajunga with a force numbering something like 12,000 but the place did not fall until the Chindits moved up from the south and took it.

"All this of course is not known to the public here because of strict Indian censorship on the one hand and the one-sidedness of reporting in America.

"We do not say that Gen. Stilwell is always wrong and Admiral Mountbatten right; but clearly his situation is not healthy and sooner a full statement is made to Parliament on the position in the Far East the better it will be for all concerned. Healthy relations cannot be constructed on suppression and ignorance."

America's Future in Asia

Demaree Bess had been foreign correspondent for ten years in China. In an article contributed to the *Saturday Evening Post*, he raises the question of America's future in Asia. He expresses doubts about the power and capacity of China to keep the peace in Asia and in the Pacific and tries to persuade America to take up in right earnest her obligations in these places. He writes:

It is probable that the future of the Pacific area is of more direct concern to the United States than anything which may happen in post-war Poland or Yugoslavia or France or Greece.

Europeans are going to settle their own affairs with or without post-war assistance from us. The Russians and the British, the French, the Dutch, the Belgians and all the others have made that clear to us in recent months. Our two major Allies—Britain and Russia—are more directly concerned with the future of Europe than we Americans are and for this reason they have made commitments in Europe which we still hesitate to make.

But this is not true in the Pacific. There we already have taken in formidable and permanent obligations. We have accepted responsibility for creating a post-war regime in Asia after Japan ceases to exist as a military power.

Attempting to enlighten us on this point, the Cairo conference stipulated that the Japanese will be stripped of all imperial possessions and thrown back upon their crowded islands—73,000,000 strong. It stipulated that Korea will receive independence eventually. It assumed that Chinese territory will not only remain intact but will be expanded.

But who is going to make the Japanese stay on their islands? Who is going to guarantee Korean independence while the weak and untrained Koreans prepare themselves for self-rule? Who is going to make sure that Chinese territorial integrity is preserved?

The Cairo Conference based its entire Far Eastern project on the premise that China is one of the world's four great powers. Demaree Bess wants to differ from this on ground that China has no modern army, navy or air force; it possesses no heavy industry and has no modern transport or industrial system. These grounds however do not rule out China's claim or ability to police the Far East.

Post-War Power Politics in the Pacific

Demaree Bess foreshadows the rise of an American Imperialism in the Far East. He says:

The obligations which we have already assumed in the Pacific area are one form of power politics, for the post-war regime outlined at the Cairo Conference is based upon power politics. The United States and the British Empire pledged themselves to underwrite the future of relatively defenceless Asiatic nations a pledge

which is predicted at present only upon American and British military power. Soviet Russia has put off the clarification of its position in Asia until after the war in Europe is ended.

We are hopeful that Soviet Russia and the British Empire will co-operate wholeheartedly with us in respecting Chinese territorial integrity and in keeping the Japanese bound to their islands and in guiding Korea through a period of tutelage leading to eventual independence. But it is well to remember that in 1922 we also were hopeful that we had settled the future of the Far East at the Washington Conference, when we induced the Japanese to join in the Nine-Power Treaty not to infringe upon Chinese territory. We made the mistake then of believing that this agreement would not require the use of American military power and we even reduced our already inadequate military establishment in the Pacific.

Bess then writes: "We have only ourselves to blame if we make that mistake again, for the Japanese, no matter how thoroughly they are beaten and disarmed, are a military nation more skilled in the acts of war than the Chinese." He believes that military power alone counts and wants America to remain a military power in the Pacific for the maintenance of the Far Eastern peace. He visualises Russia extending her sphere of influence in all those vast Asiatic territories which adjoin her borders and Britain controlling her lucrative resources of India, Burma and Malaya as it did before. It will have the natural support of other European Empires with possessions in the Far East, the Dutch, the French and the Portuguese. Forecasting the rise of an American imperialism, Bess finally says:

Are the American people willing to pay the price which our commitments demand? Certainly not if we are kept in ignorance of what the price is. Certainly not if we permit our Pacific policy to become the football of domestic politics or to be pushed this way and that by emotional groups with no clear view of our main objectives or of our own limitations.

For example, we cannot expect European empires to play our game if we make it our business to undermine their hold upon their Far Eastern possessions. We cannot undertake to free India from the British and the East Indies from the Dutch, and export Englishmen and Dutchmen to co-operate with us in maintaining the balance of power in Asia.

Similarly we cannot expect Soviet Russia to underwrite a regime in China which makes war upon Chinese Communists, as the Chiang Kai-shek regime has done in the past and threatens to do in the future.

The Pacific peace which follows Japan's defeat will be an extremely uneasy peace, and it can be maintained only by the utmost understanding and patience among all those concerned in it. The American share in that peace will require a high level of statesmanship and the maintenance of American military and naval power for an indefinite period.

India a Test Case for World Democracy

Pearl Buck has been elected President of the India League of America. In accepting her election she said :

"I have joined the India League of America because I have been brought to the conviction that India has become the immediate test case for world democracy in the eyes of all darker peoples everywhere. At is

moment freedom can be declared only in India. Millions in China, South America, North America, in the Isles of Oceans, in Africa and even in Europe are watching to see if democracy means what it says and if the four freedoms are true or false. By what we do about India, democracy will stand or fall. The League will continue to work for the independence of India, but not primarily from the point of view of Indian nationalism. Its purpose rather is to present India as the test case of Allied war aims and further winning of war in Europe as well as in Asia by proving through liberation of India that the war is being fought for democracy and freedom for all peoples."

Pearl Buck believes that the issue is all the more urgent because it will sustain the morale of Chinese, armies and Indian peoples and will secure wholehearted support for war effort not only from the people of India but also of the people of Korea, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Indo-China, Dutch East Indies, Philippines and other Pacific Islands.

Russian Tribute to Tagore

The Tass Agency has circulated the tribute paid to Rabindranath Tagore on behalf of the people of Russia by a modern Russian writer, Nikolai Tikhonov. It is given below :

There are names that call up great thoughts and great countries. Rabindranath Tagore's is one of these names. Behind it we have the vision of the vast country stretching from the Himalayan peaks to the Indian Ocean, the country of boundless fields, endless roads and ancient cities.

Amid Russian snows, through the thunder of upheavals in which that new world which we call our country was born, above universal voices that accompanied us in our searches for perfection we heard in an enchanted world the songs and talks in the penetrating voice of that wise singer of life—Rabindranath Tagore. As poet, novelist and dramatist he appeared to the Russian reader to whom he revealed the hitherto-little-known world of the mysterious Indian soul. Of the grandeur of this country with its age-old culture, gifted peoples we had known much, but of her soul, mighty and tender, we learned from books written by her finest son, her singer. I would compare the melodious blossoming of his lines in *Gitanjali* with the splendid entrance to that country. Later we met his *Gardener*, his *Morning Songs* and his lyrical plays.

We read novels *Gora* and *World and Home*; they became familiar to the Russian reader. Several editions of his *Reminiscences* came out here.

Tagore was not alien to human passions, nor aloof from noble love; the philosopher never supplanted the poet nor did the teacher supplant the artist. We know how much he has done for the enlightenment of India and for the protection of her cultural institutions.

One of his schools at Santiniketan stands as memorial to his thought for the future.

Tagore is very close to us for another reason: not confining his search for perfection to his native soil he studied all that was human and constantly reflected upon it. Peaceful life, creative work and the necessity for complete understanding among nations of the world drew his attention to that family of peoples as remarkable as the Soviet Union. We can but regret that now, when the mortal duel with fascism's dark forces is approaching its end, we are unable to welcome this wise poet in our victorious camp.

Tagore came from that race of giants of thought whose people belong to all progressive mankind. He was for India what Leo Tolstoy was for Russia. We

have millions of friends in India, but the first of them to say the profound word of his country, a word addressed to the whole world, was Rabindranath Tagore, poet, dramatist, novelist and philosopher.

The efforts made by Russia to acquaint herself with India and her hoary culture are not widely known. During the early part of the nineteenth century, a translation of the Rig Veda was published in Bombay with monetary aid from Russia. Scholars like Minaeff, Vassilieff, Scherbatsky have devoted their lives to the study of Indian culture and civilisation. Towards the close of the past century, a Bengali youth, Nishikanta Chattopadhyaya, held the Chair of Bengali Language at the University of St. Petersburg.

Assam Valley Saved by the Chinese

Drew Pearson writes in the *Washington Merry-Go-Round*:

The part which Chinese troops and the United States air transport command played in blocking the invasion of India can now be told.

At the time the Japs were driving into northern India last spring, several thousand Chinese troops were flown into India and succeeded in stopping the onrushing Japs.

Day after day the British army had been pushed back, until the Japs menaced the Imphal rail line and seemed on the verge of spreading out into northern India. British-Indian troops had been powerless to stop the Jap advance.

(One year before, at Quebec, the advance through Burma had been announced and Lord Louis Mountbatten had been placed in charge. Instead of an advance through Burma, however, the Japs reversed the process.)

In this emergency, the United States air transport command loaded several thousand Chinese soldiers into transport planes, and flew them over "The Hump" (the Himalayas, highest mountain range in the world), and dumped them down in northern India.

The Chinese were packed into the planes in such numbers that they practically lay on top of each other. Flying over 20,000 feet over the Himalayas they were without oxygen tanks. Unloaded in India many were dragged from the plane unconscious, laid out on the ground, and had to be revived.

However, given food and a week's rest, they bucked up and made tough jungle fighters. Thus the Japs were stopped and the Assam valley was saved.

Two facts stand out as a result of this hitherto untold chapter in the war. One was the amazing performance of the air transport command, which flew in all kinds of weather over the most difficult terrain in the world. They took Gen. Chennault's gasoline and flew it in reverse, not to aid China, but to aid India.

The other was the example of what the Chinese troops could do in a pinch and what they might be able to do against Japan in North China if properly equipped and led.

Early in the war, before the Japs took Burma and Singapore, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek formally offered Chinese troops to Prime Minister Churchill to fight in India or any other place in the Orient. The offer was refused.

Speed of Supply Depends on Will

The following news item deserves special attention:

New Delhi, Sept. 11.—Five thousand tons of vital war materials per month have been sent from India to Russia during the past 6 months along the East Persian route, which follows the age-old caravan tracks now converted into a modern motor highway.

Russia has received quantities of gunny bags, tossa canvas, jute ropes, tea, pepper, tin, wolfram and silk. Two special consignments were 1,000 tons of nickel and 1,000 tons of harvest yarn, both of which reached Russia in record time. The harvest yarn was made to a very exacting specification by the Calcutta jute mills. It had to be there before the Russian harvest and the average timing from Calcutta to the handing-over point was 28 days.

An interesting feature of the tin, mercury, wolfram and silk commodities is that they are flown from China to Assam in American aircraft, and railed to Zahidan for transport by truck. Hundreds of lorries have been used to get the consignments to our Allies in the north, and the road surface from Zahidan right up to the Russian border has been kept in excellent repair.—A. P. I.

But during the last famine in Bengal, food-stuffs could not be procured and supplies brought in excepting at a snail's pace.

British Public Opinion on Indian Deadlock

The London correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* reports that the *News Chronicle* recently ascertained by Gallup-poll the views of the British public on the desirability of discussions between the Government and Indian leaders with a view to find out a solution of the present deadlock. The question put to vote was: "Concerning the Indian situation, do you think that the British Government should take steps to re-open negotiations with Indian leaders?" 52 per cent. replied "yes"; 15 per cent said "no" and 35 per cent said "Do not know." The *News Chronicle* says that this is a considerable shift of opinion favouring re-opening of negotiations. When the replies from men were counted separately, it was found that no fewer than 63 per cent. favoured re-opening of negotiations. Only 15 per cent. opposed.

Colour Bar in the Commonwealth

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry, in reply to the call of the South African Congress requesting him to proceed to that country, said:

"To suggest a remedy is out of the question. It is an irony that the close of the war meant to establish freedom on a firm basis, should be attended with ominous signs of a recrudescence of colour prejudice within the Commonwealth. *Australia's White Policy* has been re-affirmed, and the Britishers of Natal think this a suitable time for exhibiting anti-Indian feelings."

There are people who believe that in the coming Peace Conference the colour bar threat will be finally destroyed and that an era of human brotherhood will begin. But such optimism is not justified in the present circumstances. At least two of the three big Allies have not yet been able to free themselves from colour prejudice.

Secret U. S. A. Mission to China

United Press of America reports from Washington that the Chairman of the War Production Board, Mr. Donald Nelson, now on a secret White House Mission to China, is believed to be laying the ground work for post-war industrialisation of China which would strip Japan of foreign markets and provide the United States with huge orders for heavy machinery. Mr. Roosevelt is said to be sending Mr. Nelson as his personal emissary to Marshal Chiang Kai-shek to discuss economic problems but the nature of these problems is not disclosed. Mr. Nelson has himself said:

"It is becoming ever more clearer that the best method whereby we can promote sustained healthy expansion of foreign trade is to aid undeveloped regions to build sound industries of their own. We have learned that when we help other peoples to build healthy industries we make them better customers for America."

Mr. Nelson, some months ago, had expounded the theory that the United States must help others to build up healthy industries to avoid serious global post-war depression. Washington believes that industrialised China with cheap labour as that of Japan could move in Japan's foreign markets simultaneously to raise China's standard of living.

Irishmen's Deep Distrust for Britain

Mr. Robert C. Miller, staff correspondent of the *United Press of America* cables from London:

"Most Irishmen are completely apathetic to the present war, while a few are outright scornful of the Allied cause, I learned during a recent impromptu stay in Eire.

"I talked with farmers, housewives, fishermen and local dignitaries with a view to grasping the Irish point of view towards the war.

"One old farmer, standing before his thatched roof house puffing philosophically on his pipe, summed it up for me in one sentence: 'If it were a good fight, the Irish would be in it.' And no amount of logic or persuasion could convince the Irish I talked with that the present war is a 'good fight.'

"The underlying reason for this, they admitted, is their deep-seated distrust of Britain and Britain's foreign policy. The Irish, regardless of wealth or station, are far more politics-minded than the average American, and to a man they have convinced themselves that Ireland never has received a square deal from the British and never will.

"The British tell us", argued a pert, red-haired salesgirl, "that the United Nations are fighting for the little countries. But what about Ireland? Weren't we a little country and did Britain fight for us? They did not. On the contrary they fought us."

Although India is not a small country, sentiment here as well is almost similar.

Two Powerful Minorities in the Offing?

The *United Press* cables from London that the British Press does not seem to have taken

much interest in the news from India about Gandhi-Jinnah meeting. Out of ten Sunday newspapers, only four, namely, *Observer*, *Sunday Times*, *Sunday Chronicle*, all conservatives, and the *Reynold's News*, socialist, have published scrappy News Agency message not giving more than eighty words only about this meeting. Neither was there any comment by any of the British papers.

London political circles, however, are reported to have been keenly watching all developments in India and refuse to make any comment on the Bombay talks at this stage. Mr. Reginald Sorensen, Prof. Harold Laski, Mr. Lawrence Housman and other socialist friends of India are also anxiously awaiting fuller news.

The *U. P.* correspondent reports that the general trend of feeling in London appears to be one of pessimism about the result of Gandhi-Jinnah talks. Those who entertain this pessimistic feeling point out that even if Gandhi is able to win over Mr. Jinnah and his Moslems, he will have to prepare himself to face two powerful minorities which are being carefully nursed at present by interested parties and encouraged to put forward special claims of their own. A friend of India, who is a keen student of Indian affairs, and knows India Office very well, told the *U. P.* correspondent:

"I know that India's fighting men will soon constitute themselves into a powerful minority who may directly oppose Congress-League demand for complete independence. I have a feeling that they will be encouraged to repudiate any settlement arrived at between Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah.

"The untouchables are expected to make common cause with the Sikhs who are known to be hostile to the present talks."

No Paper Shortage for Official Propaganda and Pornography—Haldane

At a recent meeting of the P. E. N. in London, Prof. J. B. S. Haldane said that the present lack of paper was having an effect on the output of literature, almost as serious as censorship. It was extraordinarily difficult to get paper for anything but official propaganda and second-rate pornography.

Notice

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays the Modern Review Office and Prabasi Press will remain closed from the 23rd September to the 6th October, 1944, both days included. All business accumulating during this period will be transacted after the holidays.

Kedar Nath Chatterji
Editor

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

GERMANY is now trying to weather the storm yet put before it in order to prevent the Second Hitler's Reich. The United Nations have achieved much during the last few weeks, mainly through diplomacy. The cracking-up of Rumania, the third biggest Axis partner in Europe, was the first major triumph of the Allied Powers in this year. Rumania's capitulation seems to have caught the Nazi High Command unawares as the collapse of the defence lines in the extreme south of the Russian front seems to have compelled the Germans to give up all ideas of holding on to the soil of France. Probably the reserves ear-marked for France had to be drawn upon heavily in order to buttress the defences on the frontiers of Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia and further the German High Command had to make hurried preparations against a major breach in the Reich's defences in the south-east through which the dreaded avenging forces of the Soviets might pour in and complete the disaster. Further defections from the Nazi ranks had to be provided for—and they followed in logical sequence, Bulgaria first and then Finland—and all these considerations were probably the reason why the Germans suddenly decided upon a retreat to the defences of the Maginot and Siegfried lines. Minor engagements took place on the soil of France and there are still some activities in the eastern and south-eastern regions but they are in main parts of the retreat plans. And thus the liberation of France took place with dramatic suddenness and almost without a single major engagement on the continental scale being fought after the battles in Normandy were over.

The Siegfried lines extend for a distance of about 400 miles, from the Swiss frontier to the coast line of north-west Germany and are over 30 miles in depth in many places. In a characteristic speech, delivered in 1939, Hitler described these defences as being totally impregnable and boasted that no conceivable outside power could force a breach in them. Since that speech these defences were further added to and besides for the major part of its entire length—up to the stiff and stubborn resistance that has Luxembourg frontier to be exact—the Maginot reduced the Allied advance to a very slow pace. lines form a powerful chain of outer defences. There is no doubt that these immense defences in depth, consisting of over 17,000 forts arranged in several series and interconnected by a maze of hidden roads and underground passages, form a formidable barrier against invasion forces. Whether they are insurmountable or not is a different question altogether now, since the titanic progress made in the development of aerial bombardment tactics. But there can be no doubt that the Allied Supreme Command stepping up his assault as fast as he can on the now will have to face the greatest problem as

the first and main line of defences of front degenerating into the conditions of positional warfare similar—but on a far larger scale—to what obtained in France during the last two years and a half of the first World War. Positional warfare will give the hard-pressed Germans some respite and further the struggle instead of rising to a terrific crescendo coming sharply to a close by the total collapse of Nazism, might meander into a long-drawn war of attrition. This latter state of affairs must be prevented at all costs by the Allied Supreme Command, as the consequences of a long-drawn struggle in Europe, from now onwards, would be serious indeed in Asia and might even be disastrous. Mr. Churchill's prediction that the war in Europe will be over by the end of October of this year, might have been just another hopeful augury similar to some other prophecies made by him before, but it did carry in it an indication that there were time-factors and limits in this war which the Allies cannot violate with impunity.

The use of paratroops on a large scale in Holland indicates that the Allied Command is determined to force issues at all costs. Paratroops are highly specialized combat units, drawn from the cream of the land forces and trained along extremely complex lines which call for not only the maximum of physical fitness but also for leadership, individual grasp of fighting tactics and a capacity for making instantaneous decisions—or initiative—to a degree uncommon in the other branches of the fighting forces. Modern methods of aerial warfare together with the latest developments in glider technique have converted these fighting units into long range engines of destruction—engines with highly trained individual brains—that can be projected across all barriers and over long distances. Needless to say, such units are very valuable because of their selection, training and limited supply and therefore the use of paratroops *en masse* indicates the determination of the Allied command to liquidate the major part of its entire length—up to the stiff and stubborn resistance that has been attained by this manoeuvre but no estimate can be made as yet regarding its extent. There are reports in the newspapers regarding the penetration of the Siegfried lines at five points, but again there is no indication as to the depth of this penetration. On the whole the position, as far as it can be gauged by the latest reports, is that General Eisenhower is main German defences in the Low Countries

and in Holland, and elsewhere the forces under then it is not very easy to explain the apparent his command are engaged in the preliminaries. continuance of rigidity in the German The Germans on their side are straining every defences. nerve in an attempt at stabilization. They have even gone so far as to leave large forces in all the major ports of France in order to deny transport facilities to the Allied forces for as long a period as possible.

On the Eastern European Front the position is complex. In Finland the Germans seem to have made up their mind to stage a resistance on the lines of the Italian front unaided by—even in opposition to—the Finns. The vast nickel deposits of Petsamo are said to be the main reason for this extraordinary decision on the part of the Nazi High Command, and no doubt the iron-ore and special steel supply from Sweden, which would dwindle to nothing as the Soviets' forces approached the Swedish frontiers, and the back-door entrance to Scandinavia through Norway are also factors for consideration. But all these seem to indicate that Hitler's Council is taking a long-term view of the war situation, just as if no extreme emergency has loomed across the horizon. In the Baltic States great battles are in progress in which the Soviets have flung in as many as 40 divisions and more—according to German reports—besides large masses of tanks and mobile artillery. The Russians have made some definite progress but no clear decision seems to be indicated as yet. Near Warsaw the Soviets' forces have captured Praga after a long and bitter struggle and a violent and swaying battle is in progress to the north-east of Warsaw. Further south the fires of battle seem to be smouldering.

But the really puzzling situation is in the Balkans. When the Rumanian defences tumbled down like the walls of Jericho it was expected that the great Russian armies of the south would flow surging in like a flood and after sweeping the unprepared Germans before it would strike at the Hungarian defences with the momentum of a tidal wave, carrying all before it. It was expected that not only all the Balkans but Hungary and parts of Czechoslovakia would be submerged in the maelstrom and that the German defences in the East would start not merely tottering and trembling but cracking wide open in great fissures all along the line. Contrary to all expectations the heaviest Russian blows are being delivered elsewhere, while the Hungarian and Czechoslovakian defences are gaining some measure of stability. And while parts of the Russian forces are carefully probing the defences of the Carpathians and the Hungarian frontiers others are thrusting deep southwards on to the Aegean Sea. Of course, one has to look at the German defences as one composite picture but even

Summed up, the situation in Europe does not justify, up to the present, any hopes of a collapse of German resistance within the next few weeks, unless the Wehrmacht's plans are disrupted from within, either by the cracking of the civilian morale or through widespread sabotage and revolt from the underground forces. The civilian population has so far taken the terrific aerial bombardment without breaking down but of course the strain is increasing as the Allied assault on the defences mounts to a peak. What the underground can achieve is known to their leaders alone.

In the Pacific Admiral Nimitz has again struck with great force, and this time the assault is practically on the last step before the Philippines. The amphibious and aerial forces of the U.S.A. have not slackened their efforts in the least since this island to island hop, step and jump campaign was taken over by the U.S.A. Navy. We have heard the repercussions of this campaign in the speeches made in the last meeting of the Japanese Diet, wherein the Japanese Premier and the Chief of the Japanese Navy gave the people of Japan the bare stark truth about the mounting intensity of the U.S.A. campaign. The U.S.A. authorities also have tried to impress on the public that the Pacific war was now entering a far more intense and critical stage and that the enemy was not at all giving up; indeed on the contrary. It was further stressed that the immense superiority in the air that has been enjoyed so far was now meeting with a growing challenge and that there were distinct signs that Japan was making a powerful bid for parity in the air. Practically all the successes gained by the Allied arms, in Asia, in the Pacific and on the Western Front in Europe, were in the main due to this absolute supremacy in the air, and it is in this field that Germany and Japan have as yet failed to find an answer to the problems set by the Allies, and all their failures are the direct consequences thereof. Needless to say, therefore, this Japanese attempt at regaining parity should be viewed with all seriousness.

In China the news are not very reassuring as yet. The Japanese triple offensive is still on the move and it has made some progress in two areas. But on the Sino-Burman frontier the Chinese have improved their position and it is to be hoped that in the near future, when the monsoons are over, General Stilwell's forces would be augmented and resited for initiating a major drive for the Burma Road. For in the present China offensive the Japanese have very nearly offset the Allied gains in the Pacific.

THE RAJAGOPALACHARI FORMULA AND THE C.C.

By PROF. D. N. BANERJEE,

Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Dacca

EVER since the publication of the mischievous, communal formula of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, a set of people as well as some newspapers have been carrying on a misleading propaganda that the formula is quite in consonance with the creed and policy of the Indian National Congress. Evidently, the object of this propaganda is to exploit our national sentiments towards the Congress for the purpose of ensuring public support to the formula. Even those who ought to know better and from whom the country expects a correct lead, have either intentionally or unintentionally, been a party to this propaganda. As will appear from what follows, the formula is definitely against the declared object and policy of the Congress.

Article 1 of the Constitution of the Congress as amended in 1939, says :

"The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment by the people of India of *Purna Swaraj* (Complete Independence) by all legitimate and peaceful means."

This object undoubtedly envisages the attainment of independence by the people of India as a whole, as a single political entity, and not by the people of a truncated India; nor, again, by the peoples of India partitioned or divided into a number of "sovereign" and independent fragments, or broken at a number of points by a chain of "Ulsters." No amount of casuistry or sophistry or mystification on the part of anybody, however great, can make the object imply anything else.

Now it may be, and has actually been, argued that whatever might have been the object of the Congress, its Working Committee declared in the course of its resolution, published at New Delhi on 11th April, 1942 :

"The Committee cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in any Indian Union against their declared and established will."

Even if we assume, for the sake of argument, that this resolution of the Working Committee was consistent with the object of the Congress—which I doubt very much—, and that it countenanced in certain circumstances partition, or separation, or secession, it does not mean anything. The reason is that the effect of this resolution has been completely neutralized and nullified by the action subsequently taken by the A. I. C. C. (All-India Congress Committee). Here, I should like to refer, before I proceed further, to a constitutional point. Under Article XX of the Constitution of the Congress, the Working Committee consists of fifteen members including the President of the Congress and a Treasurer. Of these fifteen members, thirteen are appointed by the President from among the members of the A.I.C.C. Besides, the Work-

ing Committee is the "executive authority," and as such is empowered to carry into effect the policy and programme laid down by the A.I.C.C. and the Congress. It has certainly no power to act against that policy and programme. Moreover, it is "responsible" to both the A. I. C. C. and the Congress, and is required to place before every meeting of the A. I. C. C. the reports of its proceedings. Speaking constitutionally, the cumulative effect of all these, and particularly the use of the expression "responsible" in this context, is that the Working Committee is subordinate to the A. I. C. C. which can undo what the former has done. It is in a sense a Committee of the A. I. C. C., and an agent of the latter. As its master and official superior, the A.I.C.C. may, therefore, with unquestionable constitutionality, set aside or repudiate any action or decision taken by the Working Committee.

Now, notwithstanding the New Delhi resolution of the Working Committee to which I have referred above, on 2nd May, 1942, during its Allahabad session, the A. I. C. C. rejected, by 120 votes against 15, a resolution of Mr. Rajagopalachari conceding the claim of the Muslim League to separation, but adopted the following counter-resolution of Mr. Jagatnarin Lal by 92 votes against 17 :

"The A. I. C. C. is of opinion that any proposal to disintegrate India by giving liberty to any component State or territorial unit to secede from the Indian Union or Federation will be highly detrimental to the best interests of the people of the different States and Provinces and the country as a whole and the Congress, therefore, cannot agree to any such proposal."

Again, on the 8th August, 1942, the A.I.C.C. adopted, in its Bombay session, a resolution which is now well-known, and which contained, among other things, a declaration which definitely envisaged a federal form of government, more or less on the American lines for the whole of India, with the maximum of autonomy for the constituent units and residuary powers vesting in them. It did not at all countenance any partitioning of India.

It is clear from what I have shown above that the resolution of the Congress Working Committee adopted at New Delhi early in April, in 1942, has been completely neutralized and nullified by the resolutions of the A. I. C. C. subsequently adopted by the latter in its Allahabad and Bombay sessions. In view of all this, it is not correct to state that the Rajagopalachari formula is consistent with the object and policy of the Congress. Indeed, it is not only anti-national, but also anti-Congress: It is a negation, nay, a *betrayal*, of the ideal which the Congress has placed before itself during the last sixty years of its existence.

Bengal's Contributions To It BY PROFESSOR N. KAVIRAJ, M.A.

A feeling of unity based on the community of interests is the essential pre-condition for the development of a normal political life in every large country. About the early decades of the 19th century, the psychology of a common subjection to foreign rule re-inforced by an intellectual awakening and a political training on more up-to-date lines under the influence of the West, sought to eradicate the obstacles to political union, based on castes and creeds, sects and communities, and races and nationalities, and tended to unite the people of India on a common platform with a more or less common programme to redress some common grievances. A sympathy amongst the hitherto unsympathising castes, a harmony amongst the conflicting claims of communities, a unity in spite of the diversity of interests were the result of a composite movement arising simultaneously out of the changing productions-relations due to the influx of foreign capital, deterioration of our textile industries and the increasing poverty of our peasantry,—no less the result of lessons on national resistance that an alien bureaucracy had unwillingly taught us by raising a race of educated middle class on the Western literature of revolt.* Through a series of repressive legislations which were the basis of the bureaucracy in India, the unity movement gathered its own strength, for every repressive act gave an occasion for a widespread movement for its repeal and through these movements which followed one on the heel of another, India achieved her political unity. Napoleon by his conquests aroused the Italian bourgeoisie from their political somnolence, so did the English in India by their nefarious activities.

The Indian National Congress was the embodiment of this political consciousness of the nationalist middle class. But the full-fledged middle-class nationalist consciousness which was revealed in the Congress could not but be the result of a slow and lengthy process which dated from the days of Rammohun, which thrived indifferently under the different *sabhas* and associations and finally culminated in an all-India nationalist movement under the First and Second National Conferences and the Congress.

That the initiative of Allan Octavian Hume was chiefly responsible for the inception of the Congress movement, nobody would deny, but this need not blind us to the fact that his initiative would never have come, had there not

* For effects of British rule on India and their influence on our changing productions-relations, see *Marx and Engels on India*, also Dr. Shrivanker : *The Problem of India*, and John Beauchamp : *British Imperialism in India*.

been the symptoms of a similar movement already in Bengal. He addressed to the graduates of the Calcutta University† because he knew that some of them had already been politically conscious of their national task and would be too ready to respond to his call. With educated Indians, the difficulty was enormous; the basis of the Indian government was so narrow and its officials were so prejudiced against Indian aspirations, that any constitutional organisation resembling anything like an Indian Parliament, founded exclusively by educated Indians, some of whom had bitter experiences with the Government, might very well be derided as a seditious movement out to destroy British rule; hence Hume's unique position as an Anglo-Indian, having connections with the Indian administration as well as with the Liberal Party of Great Britain, helped considerably in the organisation of a constitutional movement like that of the Congress.

The Congress could not be an accident, nor could it be the figment of the imagination of an Anglo-Indian. The idea was already there; in Bengal the idea had been born, bred and nurtured through half a century's endless endeavours. As early as 1823, Raja Rammohun Roy who had the foresight to see that the British rule could not be easily overthrown, wanted to take the fullest advantage of the lessons in Western civilisation and the democratic potentialities of the British constitution.‡ A free press, a free trial, and a rational education were the key to the political education of the middle class, and as this education progressed, the organisation of our public life became more and more complete. By the fifties of the last century the nucleus of a public life had already been formed. Those landlords of Calcutta who had earned the benefit of English education and were yet conscious of the hateful tyranny of an alien rule, had succeeded by the year 1851 in organising a public press, a public education, and, what is more, a public platform. The work of Raja Rammohun Roy and his school,—the activities of Prosonno Coomer Tagore, Dwarkanath Tagore, Raja Radhakanta Deb, Ramgopal Ghose, Peary Chand Mitra and Keshub Chandra Sen—had already prepared the ground for a public life in Bengal.

† Hume's Letter to the Graduates of the Calcutta University, dated March 1, 1833.

‡ In an autobiographical sketch, Raja Rammohun Roy admits that during his earlier years, he was prejudiced against the establishment of British power in India, but later from his experience with many Europeans he became convinced of its ameliorative as well as of beneficial aspects, see *The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, published by the Panini Office, Allahabad, 1900, pp. 223-25.

The echoes of Bengal activity could not be confined within the four walls of the province. Bombay, another chief centre of British oligarchy and English education, began her public life in the middle of the 19th century with an advantage of the earlier experiences of Bengal. Those farsighted citizens who were responsible for the opening up of a public life in Bombay were Naoroji Furdunji, Dadabhai Naoroji, and Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy. In 1851 the British Indian Association and the Bombay Association were founded in Calcutta and Bombay respectively. While the Calcutta Association continued to dominate the public life of Bengal for more than two decades, the Bombay Association lived indifferently, to be supplanted at last by a Bombay Branch of the East India Association about the year 1869, which too, "having no independent existence, was unable adequately to voice the popular sentiment and to defend the rights of the people."† Poona had also organised her public life about the same time and the Poona Sarbajanik Sabha was almost as old as the Bombay Association. In a word, by the fifties and sixties of the last century, the educated middle class, at the principal centres of British rule, had been conscious of their political rights as well as of their political role, although in degree Bengal had far outstripped her Western and Southern neighbours.

The basis of this public life was, however, narrow and confined within the limits of the Presidency towns. The only people who were conscious of the part that they had to play were some rich but enlightened landlords. By the latter half of the sixties and seventies of the last century, our political life became broader when a more conscious and vocal section of the middle class, mostly, Barristers, Professors and Judges hailing from rich families, with intellectual experience earned from abroad and sympathies more broad-based, came to take the field in politics. With the advent of Surendranath Banerjea, A. M. Bose, Pherozshah Mehta, W. C. Bonnerjee, Telang, Sankaran Nair, Ananda Charlu and others, who were mostly trained on the same political literature, and were under the spell of Mazzini's slogan of national unity, the Indian middle class in different presidencies discovered that their interests were identical. The identity of the interests of the middle class in the different provinces brought them closer to one another and roused a national consciousness that was yet unknown in Indian polities. This period witnessed the rise of a new class of more representative associations in the Indian Association of Surendranath Banerjea and A. M. Bose in Bengal, the Bombay Presidency Association of Telang and Pherozshah in Bom-

bay, and the Mahajana Sabha in Madras. Another important feature of this period was the close co-operation of the three presidencies on those vital problems which were associated with the repressive legislations of the Government of India, and this is most evident from the lot of correspondence* which took place between the leaders of different provinces on some important occasions.

It was in Bengal that the national spirit for the first time revealed itself. It was again in Bengal that the need of a national or an all-India organisation was for the first time felt. The national spirit in Bengal may be traced to the year 1861 when Rajnarain Bose appealed to the national sentiment of the Bengalees. The same sentiment in its various aspects may be discerned in the writings and speeches of Nabapal Mitra, Bhudev Mukhopadhyay, W. C. Bonnerjee, Surendranath Banerjea, Jogendranath Vidyabhushan, Lalmohan Ghose, Sisir Kumar Ghose, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, and Bhulanath Chandra. Unlike in Bengal, the national sentiment in Bombay had not manifested in its literature and sociology, it worked purely as a political force. The most active manifestation of this spirit was the East India Association in England of which the leading spirit was Dadabhai Naoroji. The Association brought the rising spirits in Bengal and Bombay closer, but it was not destined to play the role of a national organisation, for its roots were not in the Indian soil nor was it an adjunct of an all-India national organisation. Unlike those who were eager to draw the sympathy of the Liberal Party in London, the Bengal leaders headed by Surendranath Banerjea wanted to activise the national consciousness of the Indians by an all-India organisation on the Indian soil. As early as 1875, Surendranath joined the newly founded Students' Association of Bengal with an object of broadening the basis of our political life. The concern for the development of a national consciousness reached a more definite stage when the Indian Association was established on July, 26, 1876. As the founder himself put it, it was to be the "centre of an all-India organisation," and the comprehensive ideology that it set before itself is a sufficient testimony to its concern for an all-India movement. Really Surendranath was the first to explore the possibilities of an all-India movement. In 1877 he made his first political tour over the Panjab and North-Western Provinces, he toured over Bombay and Madras to enlighten the people on the reactionary policy followed by Lord Salisbury with regard to the Indian Civil Service question. Sir Henry Cotton refers to the successes of these Upper India

* H. P. Mody : *Sir Pherozshah Mehta, a Political Biography*—Vol. I, Ch. IV, p. 19.

* H. P. Mody : *Sir Pt. I, ch. viii.*

tours of Surendranath in his book *New India*. In the words of Surendranath himself,

"The true aim and purpose of the Civil Service agitation was the awakening of a spirit of unity and solidarity among the people of India."

Pausing to consider the net results of his tour, he concluded that

"for the first time under British rule, India, with its varied races and religions, had been brought upon the same platform for a common and united effort."

The national consciousness that was thus aroused gathered further strength from the Vernacular Press Act agitation and the Ilbert Bill controversy which evoked popular protest not only in Calcutta, but also in Bombay and other presidencies. Over the Ilbert Bill agitation, the leaders of Bengal organised a political conference known as the First National Conference at the Albert Hall in Calcutta in December, 1883. In this meeting in his opening address, (Amvika Ch. Majumdar in his *Indian National Evolution* tells us,) Surendranath is said to have suggested the necessity of an all-India political organisation. The same author quotes from Mrs. Besant's book *How India Wrought for Freedom* a statement that in December, 1884, there came a number of delegates from different parts of the country at the annual convention of the Theosophical Society at Adyar. After the convention was over, 17 prominent Indians met in the house of Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao in Madras. These 17 'good men and true' met and discussed various problems affecting the interest of the country and probably supported the idea of a national movement started at the Calcutta Conference of 1883. Mr. Majumdar further remarks that towards the close of 1884 when the Indian National Union was formed,

"a lot of correspondence passed between Calcutta and Bombay, though it is difficult now to trace them accurately with the exception of one addressed by Mr. Telang to Mr. Surendranath Banerjee enquiring about matters connected with the National Conference of 1883."

In 1885 a Second National Conference was convened by the three leading Associations of Calcutta, the British Indian Association, the Indian Association and the Central Muhammadan Association and to which came representatives from Bombay, Bihar, Assam, Allahabad, Benares and Meerut. Simultaneously the First Indian National Congress met in Bombay and a message was despatched from the conference welcoming the birth of the long expected National Assembly.

"Both the Conference and the Congress were thus the simultaneous offshoots of the same movement; but the

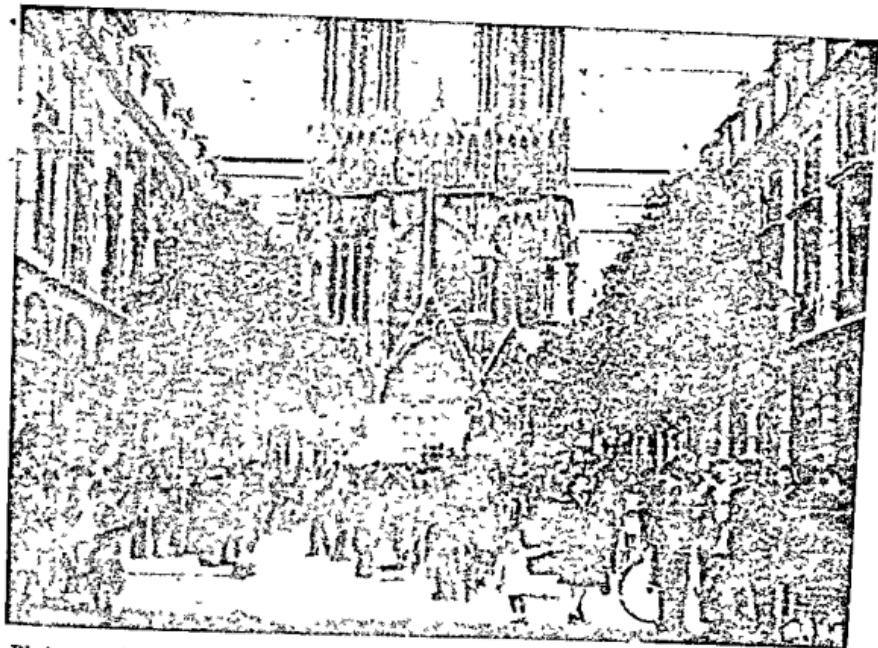
Bengal leaders wisely and patriotically merged their movement in that of the one inaugurated at Bombay as it had no necessity for separate existence except to the detriment of the other or possibly of both." Moreover, "the programme of the Conference was practically the same as that of the first Congress."

Thus the authorship of the idea of the Congress and especially that of its political programme must be shared by Hume with Surendranath Banerjee of Bengal and Dadabhai Naoroji of Bombay. Although Surendranath cannot lay a claim to be the founder of the Indian National Congress, he can at least lay a claim to have first suggested the idea of an all-India organisation, however vaguely, at the First National Conference in Calcutta as early as 1883 and to have organised a representative national gathering at the Second National Conference in 1885, simultaneously with Congress. Perhaps Sir N. G. Chandravarkar made a confession of this feeling when he said:

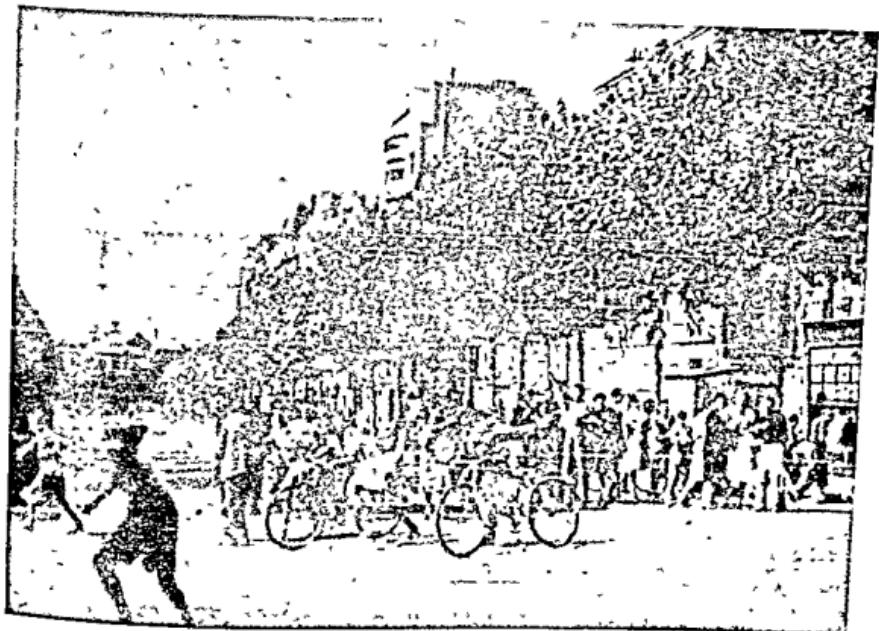
"If a father be found out for the Congress, let us not hesitate to admit that Surendranath is the grandfather, he is the father of our political consciousness."

* A. C. Majumdar : *Indian National Evolution*, chapters vii and viii.

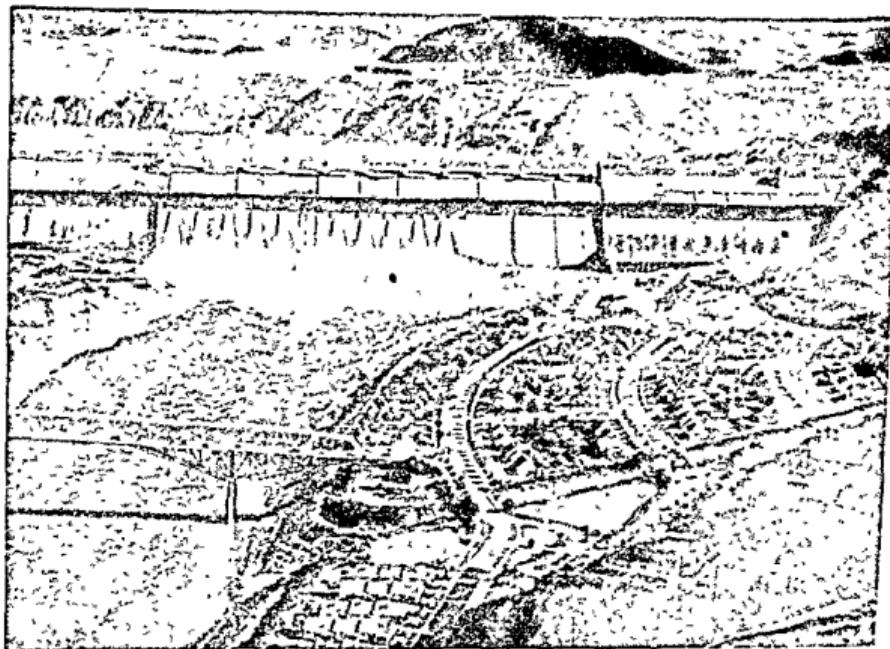
† Surendranath's claim to have first suggested the idea of an all-India organisation has been carefully considered in Jages Ch. Bose's *Surendranath Banerjee* (a snapshot), pp. 51-53. Even H. P. Mody in his biography of Pherozshah Mehta, a Political Biography, Vol. I, pp. 150-151. It may be interesting to note in this connection the remarks of the author of an important pamphlet under the title "The Congress and the National Movement: (From a Bengal Standpoint)"—written under the direction of the Reception Committee of 43rd Session of the Indian National Congress, 1928. In discussing the role of Surendranath in the evolution of an all-India organisation the author remarks: "The National Conference was the precursor of the Indian National Congress and ultimately merged itself into that body. While the Second National Conference was being held at Calcutta, the Indian National Congress was being ushered into existence at Bombay. It is somewhat difficult to-day to understand clearly how this happened, how in the year 1883 there were two national assemblies in session, but it is possible to guess at some of the reasons. The National Conference at Calcutta was entirely a spontaneous popular movement led by the irrepressible Surendranath and his colleagues. Surendranath was, in those days, the enfant terrible of Indian politics. He was a dismissed civilian, a professional demagogue and a released convict. He was a follower of Mazzini and an ardent advocate of democracy. The older leaders considered him irresponsible. Government looked askance at him. At its inception the National Congress, we know, was intimately connected with the Theosophical Society which had, though undeservedly, brought on itself, to some extent, the suspicion of Government. Mr. Hume and the other Theosophical leaders naturally did not want to incur further displeasure of Government by giving Surendranath a prominent place in the new organisation"—pp. 17-18.



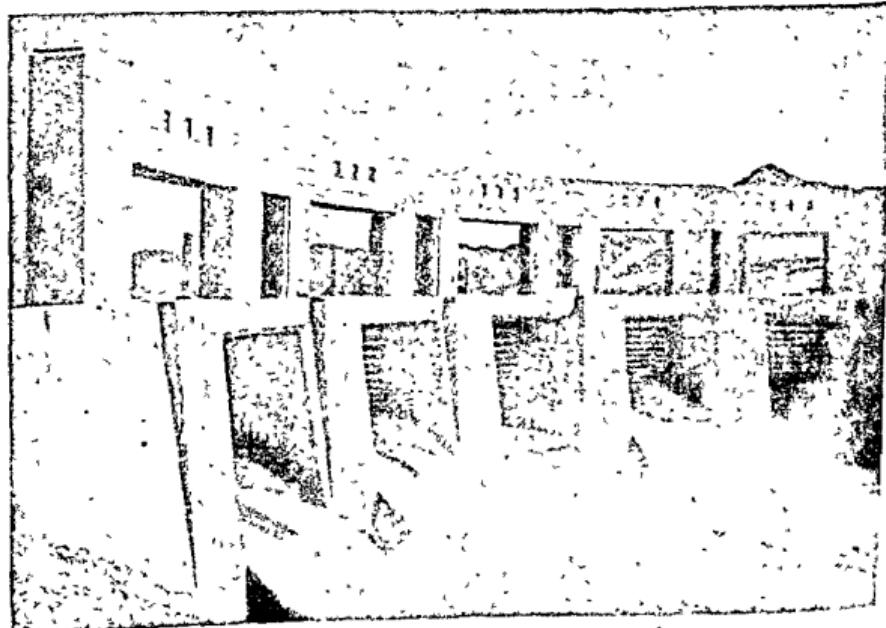
Rheims residents throng in front of the city's famous cathedral, as they welcome U. S. troops who liberated the city.



Women and children scatter for cover as a Nazi sniper opens fire during liberation of Paris.
Courtesy: USOWI



The big dam under construction in the Western U. S. will turn desert wastes into rich fields and supply electricity to neighbouring towns.



Water from the Colorado River rushes through the sluice gates of this recently completed dam in the Western U. S. to irrigate the thirsty land and to supply the neighbouring cities with power.

Courtesy: USOIL

except in underground work. In Ohio the legislators removed the law which prevented women from working as railway maintenance section hands, express drivers, railway-crossing switchmen, taxi-drivers, gas or electric meter readers and ticket sellers between the hours of 10 at night and six in the morning.

Ohio now also permits women to work in smelting plants, at blast furnaces, in delivery service on wagons or motor cars, in operating freight or baggage elevators, in baggage and freight handling. Previously an Ohio law prohibited women from working at tasks requiring them to lift more than 25 pounds at a time. That limit has now been raised to 35 pounds.

the rates of approximately 59,500 women workers.

No figures are available regarding the number of women workers affected by the Board's decisions in cases involving the equal-pay issue.

A recent unanimous Board decision directed a west coast aluminium concern to establish rates on the basis of job content, irrespective of the sex of the worker. Other decisions have benefited women in automotive, lumber, electrical and steel industries.

Last year the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union (affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations) reported



War expediency has forced many American women into the difficult occupation of ship-building

WAGES RATES FOR WOMEN

Although many industries still pay women beginners less than men starting in the same job, the principle of "equal pay for equal work" has won wider acceptance since the start of the war programme. Both the Government and unions advocate equal pay.

The U. S. National War Labour Board reports that since it announced its policy of equal pay in November, 1942, more than 2250 companies have reported voluntary equalization of rates for men and women doing work in equal quantity and quality. These voluntary applications of the equal-pay principle have increased



Women were found to be specially capable of doing the intricate detail work in the manufacture of planes

it had signed 150 agreements with employers providing equal pay in more than 800 plants.

The United Rubber Workers (CIO) late in 1943 had negotiated 142 contracts, and the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers (CIO) had signed 50 contracts, all containing equal-pay clauses. Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labour also report definite and widespread progress in obtaining wage adjustments for women.

W.M.C. DEVELOPS WAYS TO USE WOMEN WORKERS

The U. S. War Manpower Commission has found that it can make effective use of women

power, and in some areas has begun to reserve certain occupations for women only, to adjust more hazardous or difficult operations. Certain other jobs so that they can be handled by women, and to establish ceilings (i.e. maximum figures) on the numbers of male workers.

San Francisco, in the west coast state of California, has put a ceiling on the employment of men. Industries may hire men only at a rate which enables the factories to maintain employment at 90 percent of the male force as of October, 1943. All other new employees must be women. However, several war plants with heavy schedules are exempted from this ruling.

In another U.S. industrial centre, Louisville, Kentucky, several types of war jobs are now closed to men. The U. S. Employment Service, recruiting women to maintain the war working force at an adequate level, are now referring the women to jobs where industry does not have to make special plant adjustments or where adjustments can be made quickly; to jobs where

HALF OF NEW WOMEN WORKERS ARE WAR VOLUNTEERS

According to Government reports, approximately half of the 50,00,000 women who have gone to work in the last four years would not have done so under normal circumstances. Most of these are housewives who either found it necessary to go to work after their husbands entered the armed forces or who took jobs for patriotic reasons.

The main thing, however, is that all these new women workers—including those who belong to "Grandmothers' Clubs" and the 17-year-olds who must obtain permits to leave school—are helping sustain the Allied record-breaking rate of war production.

Courtesy: USOWI

THE HISTORIC FORT AT GINGEE

By N. RAMAKRISHNA

The famous historic rock fortress at Gingee is in the Tindivanam Taluk of South Arcot district in South India. The place is some twenty miles from the town of Tindivanam, a railway station in the South Indian Railway line on the main line from Madras Egmore to Trichinopoly. The interest of the place is chiefly historical.

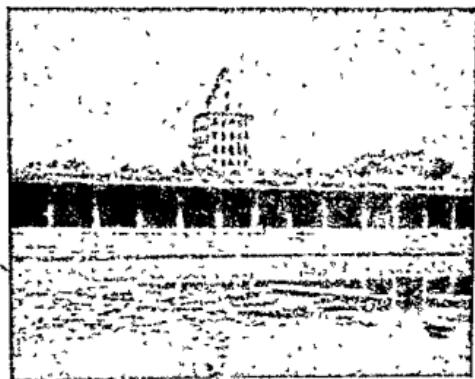
The fortress consists of three strongly fortified hills, Rajagiri, Krishnagiri and Chandraya Durg, connected by long walls of circumvallation. The most notable is the Rajagiri on which stands the citadel. It is about 500 or 600 feet high and consists of a ridge terminating in a great overhanging cliff facing the south and falling with a precipitous sweep to the plain in the north. The citadel is on the top of the cliff. A narrow and deep ravine gives a difficult means of access to the top. On every other side it is quite inaccessible, the sides of the rock rising from the base to a great height. Across the ravine three walls have been built, each about 23 feet high and rising one behind the other at some little distance which render the attack in that direction almost impracticable. The way to the summit leads across the three walls through several gateways. But at the very top a portion of the rock is divided by a narrow chasm 24 feet wide and 60 feet deep from the main mass of the hill. The only way to the citadel is across this chasm. The fortifiers of the rock artificially prolonged and heightened it through a wooden bridge across and made the only means



Across the deep ravine there is a wooden bridge giving the only access to the fort at Gingee

It is not possible to say who constructed the fort but tradition and the nature of the buildings point to the conclusion that the credit of building it goes mainly to the kings of the Vijayanagar Dynasty. The Mortello

Towers show the traces of European supervision. The great lines of fortifications which cross the valley between the three hills enclosing an area of 7 square miles were built at different periods. In the original form each consisted of a wall of about 5 feet thick built up of blocks of granite

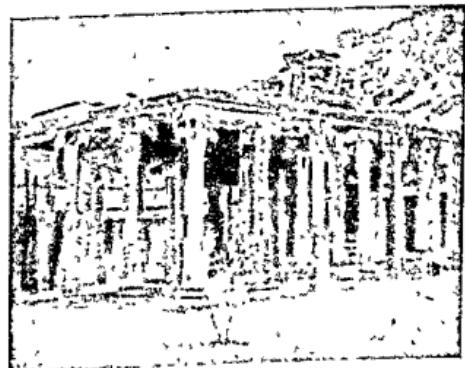


The Kalyana Mahal in the background and a portion of the Elephant Tank

and filled in with rubble but subsequently a huge earthen rampart about 25 to 30 feet thick has been built and riveted roughly in the inside with stone while at intervals in this rampart are barracks and guard rooms.

RUINS

Several ruins are situated within the fort area. There are the temples and the Kalyana Mandap (Kalyana Mahal), gymnasium and



The dilapidated Mandapam in the temple compound situated inside the fort

granaries. There are various mandapas supported on stone pillars and a large granary on the top of Krishnagiri.

The most attractive of all the ruins is the Kalyana Mahal which consists of a square court

surrounded by rooms for ladies of the governor's household. In the middle of the court is a square tower of eight storeys about 80 feet high with a pyramidal roof. The first six storeys are of the same pattern; with an arcaded verandah running around a small room about 8 feet square and communicating with the storey above by means of small steps. The room on the seventh storey has no verandah but there are indications that one such existed formerly. Other places of interest are the Raja's bathing stone, etc.

A little to the south of Rajagiri is a hill called Chakli Durg. The summit is strongly fortified but the defences are not connected with those of the other hills.

KRISHNAGIRI

At a little distance from Rajagiri is the hill of Krishnagiri, well fortified in the north-easterly direction of Rajagiri. A flight of



The temple of Ranganatha—three miles from the fort at Gingee

steps leads one to the top without much difficulty. The main places of interest are the Mandap on the top, a dilapidated temple and a number of cool places which can quite easily be compared with that of our modern air-conditioned rooms during the worst days of summer. Probably the kings used to spend the hottest part of the day there. There are springs which always furnish ice-cold water. The granary on the top of the hill is worth mentioning. A general view of Rajagiri and Chakli Durg can be commanded from the top and the deep moats and broad walls of fortifications can be seen right through.

HISTORY OF THE PLACE

Gingee was a stronghold of the Vijayanagar kings. Their power was at the height of prosperity towards the close of the 15th century. They were overthrown by the Muhammedans

kings in 1564 at the battle of Talaikot. In 1638 the Bijapur general captured it. The Bijapur army which was responsible for the capture of the fort was led by Shahji, father of Shivaji



The strongly built wall of the fort with the Mortello Tower

the Great. In 1677 the fort fell to Shivaji and remained in Mahratta hands for 21 years. The Delhi Emperor laid siege to it in 1690 and after 8 years the fort fell. In 1750 the French captured it and held it for 11 years. In 1780 it surrendered to Hyder Ali. The fort was looked upon as one of the unhealthiest spots of the Carnatic. The place is deserted now but the Government spends some amount of money annually for the preservation of the ruins.

THE BALLAD OF RAJA DESINGH

Gingee is popular and familiar to the Tamil population on account of the popular ballad still sung by wandering minstrels which has for its subject the story of Raja Desingh. According to the ballad, Desingh was an independent ruler of Gingee who did not pay tribute to any power. The Emperor Aurangzeb had remitted payment of all dues as a reward for his skill in managing a horse that no one could ride. The Nawab of

the Carnatic was jealous of Desingh and on his refusal to pay the tribute invaded the country. In the fight the Rajah was killed in spite of supernatural interference. The Queen committed "sati" and the Nawab built a city in the neighbourhood as a mark of honour in memory of the young queen and named the city Ranipet.

There is a temple of Ranganatha on the adjoining hill some 3 miles from the fort. There is a gigantic idol of Ranganatha cut out of a single rock more than 25 feet in length. It is said that the whole portion—the idol along with the Gopura—has been cut out of a single rock. A flight of steps nearly 100 in number leads to the top.

Within the fort area there is a temple where it seems was the idol of Ranganatha, but no idol is found there now. The temple has



The Rajagiri hill

fallen to ruins but there are some carved pillars and mandapams.

A river called Sankarabarani flows on the outskirts of Gingee and there are a number of Mandapas and towers on the banks of the river, all in ruins. The style represents that of the buildings built by the Vijayanagar kings.

SOVIET TADJIKISTAN

By POMUS

BETWEEN two mountain ranges—Tianshan, meaning 'celestial hills' and the Pamirs called the 'roof of the world' lies Soviet Tadjikistan stretching to the U.S.S.R. boundary with Afghanistan and western China.

Tadjikistan covers an area of 143,900 square kilometres and has a population of nearly one and a half million. The highest mountains in the U.S.S.R., the Stalin Peak, 7,493 metres;

the Lenin Peak, 7,127 metres; and the Fedchenko Glacier 77 kilometres long—largest in the world—are found in Tadjikistan.

Under Tsarism Tadjikistan was notorious for its low level of development.

With the fraternal assistance of the Russian people, the Tadjiks cast off the fetters of Tsarism and the power of Emir of Bokhara, establishing, in 1924, an autonomous republic which

in 1929, became a union republic. Three quarters of Tadzhikistan's inhabitants are Tadjiks, the remainder being Uzbeks—living in north-west—, Kirghiz and Russians. Within the Tadjik republic an autonomous region has been formed on the plateaus and slopes of the Pamirs, with Khorog as its centre, and its population consisting chiefly of Tadjiks and Uzbeks.

Many economic successes have been scored by the people of Tadzhikistan since the establishment of the Soviets. An irrigation system has been built in western Tadzhikistan and the adjoining mountain with the help of funds allocated by the Soviet Government. Thus, the area under irrigation was, in 1938, 290,000 hectares larger than in 1914, which means an increase of 67 per cent. Rice and cotton plantations have been considerably expanded: they are now six times of the size they were in 1914. And their area has increased by 110,000 kilometres. In 1939 Egyptian cotton was raised on an area of 40,000 hectares. Fruit growing is an important occupation in Tadzhikistan. On unwatered land the Tadjiks raise wheat and barley covering an area approximately of 600,000 hectares—30 per cent more than that before the first World War. Nowhere in the world does farming thrive on such an elevated land as it does in Tadzhikistan. Here vineyards are spread on land 2,000 metres high and barley is grown 3,500 metres above the sealevel.

Horses, large-horned cattle, sheep and goats are found in Alpine pastures. Tadzhikistan is famous for its sheep, and it has some of the finest mutton in the world.

Large textile mills sprang up recently in the republic, as well as fruit and vegetables canneries. Coal, oil, gold and non-ferrous and rare metals have become important products.

As compared to the pre-Revolutionary times, the volume of production in Tadzhikistan has increased no less than 400 times. In the recent years the water power of Tadzhikistan's river has been set into exploitation. Tadzhikistan had no roads under Tsarism but only winding paths cutting through the Pamirs with hazardous passageways across yawning abysses of mountain ravines. At present the country is criss-crossed with motor roads.

The years of the Soviet rule have been marked by a rise in the standard of living and educational level of the Tadjik people. Formerly deprived of all rights and with little say in her own home, the Tadjik woman has gained her emancipation, and is participating in building a new and happier life. 4,000 elementary schools, over a hundred high schools and hundreds of public libraries and club houses have sprung up in the recent years. A quarter million children are attending schools which is 600 times the number of pupils prior to the Soviets. Illiteracy has dropped from almost 100 per cent to 28 per cent. There are at present five colleges in the republic. Seventy newspapers, mostly in Tadjik, Uzbek and Kirghiz, are published here, while Tadzhikistan's national theatres, musicians and artists have gained a countywide recognition. A good deal of scientific research is carried on in the republic under the auspices of the affiliated branch of the Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R.

Deeply loyal to the Soviet system, which has brought to them freedom, national independence and cultural efflorescence, the Tadjik people have sent, and continue to send, their fearless sons to defend the mother country against the Nazi hordes.

EVO-REVOLUTION

BY PROF. KSHIROD CHANDRA SANYAL, M.A.

I

THE world is changing continually. A moment passes, and it is not the same world as it was a moment before. This mutability is characteristic of everything that exists—both lifeless and living. The lofty mountain peak may seem to be standing in the same proud posture of perfect erection for thousands of centuries, but the numerous streams and rivulets, that issue out of it, are imperceptibly bringing its towering head down to the dust. The irresistible forces of change spare nothing from their operation. This inherent changeableness of rocks and organisms may either be a very slow revolution or it may be a swift-moving

spectacle like the sudden flight of an arrow or like an abrupt jump in which several intermediate stages of development have been skipped over. The former process I would dub as evolutionary change and the latter revolutionary. This nomenclature must not, however, be taken to mean that evolution and revolution are two separate forces each working independently of the other. They are but two aspects of the same process of change. Evolution stands in the same relation to revolution as walking does to running or jumping. In other words, revolution is rapid evolution occurring at un-

certain and irregular intervals. This may seem quite commonplace and a discussion of the soit hardly necessary. But there have been persons in all ages and climes with whom Fabianism has been the only workable formula making for progress. "Inevitability of gradualness" is their favourite slogan. My purpose in writing this has been to show that revolution is inherent in every process of change and is bound to come if change is to take place, and that evolution and revolution have always been composite and complementary forces. To emphasise this composite and complementary character of the forces of change I have coined the word 'Evo-Revolution.' The Fabianists forget that the Cunctator's policy of caution and delay did not in itself lead to the deliverance of Italy from the Hannibalic danger, although it gave her the respite which was necessary for organising total efforts to humble the enemy.

Let us now try to see how the forces of 'evo-revolution' have been working in different spheres.

II

The theory of evolution suggests a process of gradual unfolding in which every subsequent stage is closely related to an earlier one. Life has evolved, according to this theory, in course of the ages, through continuous modification—first of one, then of a few, then more and more numerous ancestral species. Life is like a tree and the innumerable living patterns are like so many branches. But life, as we know it, has not existed right from the beginning of the planetary career of the earth. It is admitted by men of science that at a certain stage in our planet's history, we know not when, life originated in a simple form from lifeless matter. That was undoubtedly a tremendous change, nothing short of a revolution. We thus owe the beginning of our existence to a revolution, the first revolution in the evolution of life; it was not, however, the last. In fact, the emergence of every novel feature in the living forms—including the appearance of an entirely new species from a somewhat different ancestral stock—has largely been the result of sudden jerks in the evolutionary process, technically called 'mutations.' Mutations are, according to our definition, revolutions in evolution. Apart from such abrupt changes, revolutionary change may also mean a process of very rapid development of some particular form in a remarkably shorter period than has been necessary for the development of others of the same kind. The evolution of man, viewed from the perspective of the evolution of other mammals, has been such a revolutionary development. The point will be clear if we compare the development of the

horse (every stage in the evolution of which has been traced) with that of man.

The evolution of horses from a small Eocene mammal (Eocene is the earliest period of the latest geological Era, the Cenozoic Age) has taken at least fifty million years of limitless time, whereas the evolution of man from a man-like mammal has taken not more than ten million years, probably much less, and the much-vaunted civilisation of man beginning from the primitive conditions of the Stone Age is hardly ten thousand years old. Not unreasonably, therefore, man is regarded as a mere upstart in the history of the evolution of life.

III

The interaction of evo-revolutionary forces is equally noticeable in the world of physical phenomena. The great mountain ranges were, for the most part, built up as a result of violent 'revolutions' in the earth's crust in the Proterozoic and Paleozoic Ages (second and third geological Eras) of the planet's history. In fact, every remarkable physical phenomenon is the outcome of the combined efforts of evolution. When a beautiful coral island suddenly shoots up its head from under the blue waters of the sea, we are apt to forget the long period of its formation, bit by bit, which is hidden from our view. Or if we turn to any destructive natural phenomenon, we shall observe or at least infer, the working of the same evo-revolutionary forces which jointly produce it. The sudden outburst of a volcanic eruption has behind it an elaborate process of preparation inside.

IV

The evidence of History is also fully in accord with our thesis. Let us turn our attention to certain palpable historical facts. The tremendous socio-political changes which revolutionised Russia under Peter the Great (1689-1725), Japan in 1868 and Turkey after the last World War, do not seem to have been preceded by any evolutionary progress in the direction which the revolutions took. All these countries appear to have been thoroughly Europeanised (Russia, till the time of Peter, was more an Asiatic than a European country) almost overnight. But if the adoption of European manners and methods was an act of sudden importation in these cases, the evolution itself of Western ways and ideas had been a very slow and gradual process which took the Western European countries centuries of development in a particular direction before those ways and methods could be profitably transplanted to them. Industrial Revolution, which

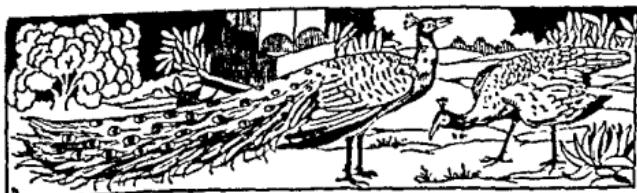
methods, was likewise the product of generations of patient and painstaking research by eminent men of science. The Renaissance or the New Learning, which was a tremendous intellectual upheaval and which is said to have begun with the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, was not an abrupt and momentary phenomenon, but had its roots deep in the past and was a long process of moral, material and intellectual activity. The rise of Protestantism was a revolution in the religious sphere, but the seeds of that revolution had been sown by men like Wycliffe (c. 1320-84) and Huss (burnt alive in 1415) long before Luther vented his protest against Papal Indulgences in 1517. Further, the Reformation was really a subsequent phase of the Renaissance. The political revolutions in England (1688), France (1789) and Russia (1917) came at the top of accumulated popular discontent which in every one of these countries was about a century old. Some are not prepared to regard the great achievement of the British Parliament in 1688 as a revolution. They say, it was a revolution averted. Perhaps to their mind, no change is sufficiently revolutionary unless it is attended with some amount of bloodshed. It may, however, be pointed out that an enormous quantity of blood having been shed in England during 1642-49, further shedding of that precious liquid was unnecessary in 1688.

The blood-stained lessons of that stormy period must have had a sobering and salutary effect even upon the despotic nature of James II.

In all the cases cited above revolution triumphed. There have, however, been cases where revolution failed to achieve its purpose. That failure has been due to either or all of the following reasons :—(a) defective leadership, (b) the country or the people concerned had not yet reached that stage of evolutionary development where and when a revolutionary attempt had a reasonable chance of success, (c) the forces of reaction were too strong for the revolutionaries at the time when the attempt was actually made. But though unsuccessful for the time being, every honest attempt at revolutionary progress is bound to bear fruit somewhere in the near or distant future. Scores of historical

illustrations of this statement can be cited. The Fabianists, however, maintain that every revolutionary attempt is almost always followed by a reaction towards retrogression. They might conveniently point their finger to the English Restoration of 1660 so soon after the execution of Charles I in 1649 or to the formal establishment of the Napoleonic Empire in 1804 after over a decade of republican rule or to similar historical occurrences. The English Restoration did not, however, mean the return of autocracy in England and Napoleon's Empire "was not an interruption, but an extension of the Revolution" in France and in Europe as a whole.

A strikingly common feature of all successful revolutions is that in such cases we generally find one or a handful of highly gifted men directing and controlling the entire movement, the success of which depends, in a large measure, upon their consummate leadership. Do these born leaders of men inherit the rare qualities of head and heart which make them great, direct from their ancestors? Perhaps not. Because heredity does not generally move in straight-line evolution in which certain characteristics are descended and continually developed from father to son onwards till we get a superman. Biologists would probably suggest that genius is the result of a chance combination in an individual of the chromosome contents of the sperm-and-ovum cells of his parents, which determine almost the whole of his hereditary constitution and character. This may or may not be a correct explanation of the riddle, but the fact remains that extraordinary men are accidental phenomena. They are not, however, entirely independent of the past. In fact, almost the whole of their wisdom is derived from the accumulated experiences of past generations part of which has been implanted in them through inheritance and part acquired through conscious efforts of the individuals concerned. In some respects, however, they are 'original' in the sense that they are uncommon. This originality is a rare gift and an accidental attribute in them. They are thus human embodiments of the spirit of evo-revolution. They design and build novel structures, but they always build on pre-existing foundations.



THE MALABAR MATRIARCHY

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I

THE name Malabar conjures up memories of enchantment and beauty, of love and romance, of chivalry and honour and the good old Marco Polo described his "Maabar" as the province which was the "finest and noblest in the world." Travellers visiting this beautiful province of peninsular India have been struck at once by the freedom and grace of her womanhood, by the nobility and chivalry of her manhood, by the entralling grandeur of her landscape and the weird fascination of her seascapes. But what specially attracts the sociologist of Malabar is her unique social system of which Matriarchy is the central hub, and hence the caption of this article in its present form.

The matriarchy of Malabar is the most fundamental element in her social system because all the peculiarities of the system, such as the consanguine family, her authority of women, the evolution of a military aristocracy, the promotion of liberal ideals and the cultivation of arts, are directly derived from that basic feature of Malabar social life,—Matriarchy. In view of the researches of McLennan and others, relating to the earliest beginnings of social order, it would not be unreasonable for one to hazard the opinion that in pre-historic times the nucleus of the first social order must have originated in the consanguine family around a Mother, who served as the centripetal force; so that what is peculiar about the Malabar society is not its matriarchal origin (which appears to have been almost universal) but the endurance of matriarchy in Malabar for such a long time.

The reason of this endurance in Malabar through all the vicissitudes of fortune and epochs of history is not, as is sometimes presumed, the "backwardness" of the people but lies in this that "no people have more fully appreciated the maternal family....". In such a family the woman senior to others in age was originally mistress or head of the family and she reigned and governed.¹" Historical evidence indicates that the reasons which made the continuance of matriarchy possible in Malabar were the warlike propensities and the aristocratic traditions of the Nayers. Exclusiveness and unwillingness to send daughters to their husbands' homes (note the same tendency among Bengal Kulins) are characteristics of an aristocracy. These in the case of Nayers being associated with military traditions (obligation to render military service which in those early days meant fighting in and out of season) naturally favoured the continuance and improvement of a system which provided for placing the duties of day-to-day management of the household in the hands of women, thereby freeing the men from the obligation of caring for wives and children. Their exclu-

1. See A. K. Ayer: *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, p. 47. The sovereign position of the mother in the family is further emphasised in the following passage:—"Her eldest daughter was prime minister in the family, and through her all orders were transmitted to her little world. The son recognised the priority of the mother before whom he did not even venture to set himself, unless she had given him permission. The brother obeyed the elder sister, and respected the younger ones. In fact, the affection between brother and sister was a feeling that endured while conjugal love was but a passing sentiment."—*Ibid.*

sive life in isolated semi-citadels (each one of which was provided with a "Tara" or gymnasium where the youths "were taught to accustom themselves to the use of arms" freed from household anxieties) was possible only when the domestic life was founded on the basis of a matriarchal family "composed of all the male and female line of a common female ancestor" and authority relating to family matters was vested in female members, specially the seniormost female member.

Proceeding under the urge of these necessities the Nayers founded a social system which is generally based on an enlightened view of life, so that no less a person than Mayne has described the domestic system of the Nayers as "the most perfect form of joint-family". A pen-picture of the Nayar household is given by the same author in the following words: "Each Tarawad lives in its own mansion, nestling among its palm trees, and surrounded by its rice lands, but apart from, and independent of its neighbours. This arises from the peculiar structure of the family, which traces its origin in each generation to females, who live on the same ancestral house, and not to males, who would naturally radiate from it, as separate but kindred branches of the same tree." The main characteristics of this system are:—(i) Indissolubility of the family and impenetrability of the family property excepting on the basis of unanimous consent of members, (ii) enjoyment of family property on a sort of communistic basis (earning according to capacity and spending according to need), (iii) enjoyment of equal status by male and female members (though functions are distributed on the basis of sex distinctions and sex limitations), (iv) absence of dependence of wife on husband or children on father, (children being taken care of by the Matriarchal family).

It will be observed that the essential distinction of the system (from the common patriarchal system) arises out of the absence in it of the institution of marriage which in most other societies is the means or instrument for maintaining the social organisation, called family. Writers like Lubbock and McLennan support the view when they come to the conclusion that the rules of inheritance in the female line (among the Nayers) must have had its origin in a "type of polyandry resembling free-love". I think that the accumulation of much baseless prejudice against this system would have been avoided if in describing the relation between the sexes among Nayers words like "polyandry", or "polygamy", were totally avoided and instead it was expressed just as "free love" or "companionship" because matrimony (with its usual social and legal implications) had really no place in the Malabar social system; though certain sacramental ceremonies celebrating the coming of age of a girl were gone through, the significance of which (ceremonies) were ritualistic and festive and not social and legal (as is the significance of marriage in communities where it exists).

Regarding the Tali-Kattu-Kalyanam² ceremony which a girl in a Nayar Tarawad goes through (while

2. Whence "Tarawad", the name for the family residence of Nayers.

3. *Hindu Law*, 5th Ed. S.203.

4. Which consists in tying a gold jewel
neck of the girl by a man of the same
Brahmin.

still a child) it is now admitted generally that it is at best a formal sacrament or a caste-rite but "in no sense a real marriage". The performance of this ceremony gives the girl right to dispose herself as she likes (indicating that she is about to attain puberty) and (perhaps as a popular recognition of that fact) she is addressed in North Malabar as "Amma" (a Mother or Lady). Mr. Justice Muthusami Ayar as President of the Malabar Marriage Commission lent support to the same view when he observed : "There is a preponderance of opinion among the witnesses whom I have examined and those who have sent in answers to our interrogatories that it does not constitute a marriage or create a right in the person who ties the Tali to cohabit with the girl". The Manavalan (as the person tying the Tali is called) who is either a Brahman or a man of equal caste, is "usually dismissed after the ceremony is over with a small present in acknowledgement of the service rendered by him on the occasion."⁵

On attaining "maturity" (puberty is meant) a girl in a Marumakkathayam Tarawad however, goes through another ceremony (either with a Brahman or a man of her own caste) known as *Samabandham*, but there is nothing to justify coming to the conclusion (as some have tried to come) that it constitutes a form of legal marriage or that any of the incidents of legal marriage follow from it. On the contrary, evidence of history, law or usage is definitely against taking the view that the Nayar woman's samabandham had any of the consequences of a legal marriage (as prevalent among Hindus of any other part of India). The Portuguese traveller Barbosa described the method of succession to the throne of Gentile kings in Malabar thus—"The heirs of these kings are their brothers, or nephews, sons of their sisters, because they hold those to be their true successors, and because they know that they are born from the body of their sisters. These do not marry, nor have fixed husbands, and are very free and at liberty in doing what they please with themselves." After describing the Tali ceremony of the kings' sister or niece the same shrewd observer records: "...and from this time forth for her pleasure she takes some Brahman, whomsoever she likes best, and these are priests among them, and of these she has as many as she likes". Describing the manners and customs of the Nayars of Malabar Barbosa writes: "These people accompany their lords day and night, little is given them for eating and sleeping....These are not married nor maintain women and children; their nephews, the sons of their sisters are their heirs. The nair women are all accustomed to do with themselves what they please with brahmans and nairs; but not with other people of lower class under pain of death". "And if she takes a dislike to any of them she dismisses him. The children which she has remain at the expense of

5. W. Wigram & L. Moore: *Malabar Law and Custom* (1900), Madras, p. 36.

6. "It is a curious fact that the same man may at one time tie the tali upon a number of Nayar girls collected together under one decorated pandal or upon several sisters. There is also no objection to the same person tying the tali at one time on the mother and at another time on her daughter."—*Ibid*, p. 37. This affords a further indication of the merely formal nature of the ceremony.

7. Duarte Barbosa: *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the beginning of the 10th century*, p. 106. N.B.—In the translator's preface the Hon. Henry E. J. Stanley (London MDCCCLXVII) on page ix observes—"This work is that of no ordinary capacity; it shows great power of observation, and also the possession by the writer of great opportunities for inquiry into the manners and habits of the different countries described."

8. *Ibid*, p. 124.

the mother and of the brothers of the mother, who bring them up, because they do not know the father, and even if they should appear to belong to any person in particular, they are *not recognised by them as sons*....."⁶ Turning to the evidence of law we find that the Courts specially differentiate between the rules relating to succession as prevalent among Nayars on the one hand and those among other Hindus in South India. In *Vasudevan vs. The Secretary of State for India*, for instance, the Court *inter alia* observed : "According to evidence on both sides, succession is traced among Nambudris through males, and property passes from father to son, whereas, among Nayars, succession is traced through females and property descends from mother to daughter.....Again, legal marriage is the basis of law of succession among Nambudris as among Brahmins of the East Coast, while among Nayars, there is no recognised connection between marriage and inheritance.... Further, a Nambudri woman, in common with a Brahman on this side of the Ghats, takes her husband's gotram upon her marriage and passes into his family from that of her father; and perpetual widowhood and incapacity to remarry on her husband's death are the incidents of marriage both among Nambudris and Brahmins of the East Coast. But among Nayars, a woman continues through life to belong to the family in which she is born, and the sexual relation which she forms, or her so-called marriage, operates in law neither to give her the domicile of her husband nor to create a disability in her either to remarry or to put an end to her marriage at her pleasure during her first husband's life".⁷

The origin of samabandham therefore appears to have been encouraged or inspired by circumstances and sentiments somewhat similar to those stated below :—The highly independent and refined Nayar woman and the cultured Brahman or Nayar men with whom she became acquainted by the very fact of their cultural and spiritual sympathies naturally, in many cases, felt attracted towards each other and in course of time attraction matured into friendship and intimacy and the latter ripened into love, which, as is very reasonable to expect among persons of refined tastes, in many cases, was signalled by going through a (personal, not social) ceremony—the *Samabandham*. In this connection it is worthy of note that the name given to it is very expressive of the nature of the ceremony. Analysing its two etymological components 'sama' (=equal) and 'bandham' (=union), samabandham clearly emphasises the equal, free, voluntary, and uncoercive nature of the ceremony which celebrated the union, which therefore must have been of a spiritual rather than that of a social category. As we have already seen, perfect equality of the partners and terminability at will were the essential features of samabandham. Such unions might have been inspired by highest motives and noblest considerations (as no doubt most of them were thus inspired)⁸ and they might have promoted (as no doubt most of them did) the virtues of fidelity, love and affection but they could not have been placed under

9. *Ibid*, p. 127.

10. I.I.R.—XI Madras. Pp.—157-163. Obviously 'marriage' and 'husbands' used here with reference to the case of Nayar women have been used all along in the so-called sense in the absence of more suitable terms.

11. In a memorandum (annexed to the Report of the Malabar Marriage Commission) by Mr. Justice Muthusami Ayer on this question of the nature of the Marumakkathayam Samabandham the learned judge *inter alia* observed :—"....referring to the Marumakkathayam Hindus, the report states that they are all or nearly all of them better than their custom and the majority (as we are told and believe) cleave to the woman for life." See, *Malabar Law & Custom* by Wigram and Moore, pp. 48-49.

in Malabar is a privilege. Their relation with Nair women therefore is a privilege. The basis of this relation (which is a privilege) is Matriarchy, and since privileges must disappear from modern democratic societies, Matriarchy must disappear from Malabar.

Let us examine them one by one.

A.—Now it must be obvious to any careful observer that social maladjustments in India are symptomatic of the time and not a peculiar malady of Malabar where matriarchy prevails (or rather prevailed). These maladjustments and inconveniences are the results of the conflict of cultures which Malabar along with the rest of India has been experiencing. Social values in the West are (or have been) different from our own ideas of those values. Life in the modern West has been appraised on the basis of one's acquisitions (conveniently measured by money). Towards the realisation of such values selfish individualism, arrogance and intellectual cunning serve perhaps as necessary qualifications. This has however not been the aim of life in India (either in the North or in the South) which consisted in the realisation of ideals of humanity through the promotion of co-operation, toleration and nobler virtues like charity and love. Social systems are but instruments for the realisation of the aims of the community life; and the aim of life being different from that of the west, the Indian social systems (of which Malabar Matriarchal system is one) naturally differed from the western social systems both in *form* and (what is more noteworthy) in *spirit*. With the advent of British rule and more specially of English education when two such different life's outlooks came to an involuntary contact with each other, the result, of necessity, was a clash, as a consequence of which have arisen all the *ideological conflicts of modern India* of which Malabar (being a part of India) has had her due shares. Perhaps Malabar's share of this conflict has been more than her due because Malabar with her extraordinary social system forms a special portion of the Indian sub-continent. It is certainly difficult to suggest a way out, but this much may be asserted with

certainty that the difficulties in which the Malabar people find themselves are not due to any special evil in the matriarchal system but to the conflict of two almost contradictory cultural ideals (referred above) and as such these inconveniences are being felt (in more or less degree) in other parts of India too where there is no trace of the matriarchal system.

In the northern parts of India, where the Aryan influence had been predominant, patriarchy and strict conformity to the rules of marriage have been the distinguishing features of the social order, and yet those northern communities have not escaped the turmoil created by the clash of western and Indian ideals of life. There, whether the joint-family is condemned by the 'modernist' as an unworkable relic of barbarous past encouraging the multiplication of drones or the pursuit of individualistic careers is condemned by the 'anti-quoted' as the sign of modern barbarism encouraging selfish greed and a narrow outlook on life, the fact remains that the social life has lost its equilibrium which it is seeking through the tumults of all these conflicts. If therefore patriarchy and the strict observance of marital law did not and could not maintain the social equilibrium (in face of the cultural conflict referred above) in communities in which they have prevailed since the dawn of civilization, are they likely to succeed in doing so where (as in Malabar) they are being copied as belated imitations? It is for the Malabarians to ponder over this question. The further question which they should seriously consider is that before they finally discard their ancient social system (which does not really appear to have been responsible for all their social difficulties) and accept the Anglo-Hindu order (Registered marriage etc.) which has failed to prove to be the panacea in the patriarchal communities in India, will it not be more desirable to see if their own system with necessary modifications (according to the needs of the time) will not be able to provide them with the solution which they are vainly seeking in foreign quarters?

(To be continued)

WAR ECONOMY AND PRICE CONTROL

By N. A. SARMA, B.A.

Economics or Politics? is the arresting title of a small book by Paul Van Zeeland, wherein the one-time Prime Minister of Belgium deals with the problems and prospects of International Trade. Economics is more and more becoming a handmaid of politics and vice versa. The author rightly infers that international trade lies on the borderland between politics and economics.

The organisation of war economy largely depends on the prevailing form of government in any country—whether it is of the 'Heil Hitler' type or of the "Votes for All and Every Authority by Election" variety or of the "Sindbad the Sailor and the Old Man of the Sea" form. For, in a totalitarian country like Germany where an all-powerful central authority commands and all others merely "goose-step" to those dictates, the economic organisation is too rigid and is apt to break finally under the stress of an all-out war. In a democratic country like England or the U.S.A., in the early months of the war when they do not yet realise the immensity of the danger nor the magnitude of the task involved, the different parties go on fighting like Kilkenny cats till finally some grave turn of events

suddenly and rudely forces them to "swamp" all their minor differences and silly bickerings in an all-abounding interest in the face of the national calamity—and then, there is no stopping them, in their determination or their effort to see the whole business through! On the other hand, in a country like India, simply there is nothing like a properly planned and well co-ordinated war economy. So, it all depends

Every book on economics commences with the platitude, rather jarring one should admit, that means are scarce in relation to wants. Never is it so true as in wartime. Supply will be short and demand, especially because of war needs, will get swollen up. There we have the problem of war economy—a proper and equitable apportionment of the strictly limited supply of goods and services as between civilian and military needs—and herein lies the rationale of a comprehensive scheme of government controls in the affairs of production, exchange, distribution and consumption. The push-pull, pull-baker methods of the market (they usually prefer to call it competition) may be inevitable or even useful to some extent in ordinary times. At least we can afford that pastime in normal times! But in war, as they say,

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"the tail begins to wag the dog". War economy is a 'straight jacket' and all others must fit into it. All war-time controls are essentially restrictionist rather than purposive—that is to say, they are "strict jackets" rather than "supporting garments". To wage a total war like this it is absolutely necessary for every country to balance the needs of the fighting forces and those of the civilians. No doubt, civilian consumption is bound to be appreciably slummed. Only, the burden must fall on all shoulders equitably and, a minimum standard of living must be provided for all. Therefore, in every country various measures have been promulgated to safeguard the interests of the consumers and price control is one of them. It is a minor, but essential aspect of the regulation of domestic economy. Price control is useful only as an integral part of a comprehensive whole. Says Mr. Donald Gordon, the Chairman of the War-time Prices and Trade Board in Canada : "A definite control of everything produced must be undertaken to decide what is to be produced, who is best equipped and qualified to produce it, and who is to get the production." The main object of flooring or ceiling prices is to confine price fluctuations within reasonable limits. "The effectiveness of control of consumers' prices is the ultimate test whether or not a price control system is successful." (Motell Ogdon - Foreign Agriculture, July 1941).

When Hitler unleashed his hordes against Poland, the whole German economy was already fully toned up to a war footing. There was an 'overall stop' on the whole range of prices and wages. Their motto was "a fixed ration at a fixed price." Of course, the ration was small and the price high. But everyone was certain of his or her limited share. But British economy was caught 'napping'. They had to collect the strings almost where they had left them in 1918. They first started with the prices of the more important essentials. And, by March, 1942, out of every 10 sh. spent by an average British family, about 8 sh. went to buy goods whose prices were controlled. And now Britain has almost a perfect price control system. "Price control in the present war has reached its highest stage of development in the correlation of the British policy of holding down domestic prices and the assurance by the British dominions of reasonable prices to their producers." (Motell Ogdon : *Foreign Agr.*, July 1941). The British are always slow to start—but invariably they finish first. And now and then, they even muddle through to success ! To give but a few other instances of price control measures : In September 1939, the Japanese Government prohibited all advance in prices, rents, wages, salaries, freight and insurance premia. In less than a week after the outbreak of hostilities, the Commonwealth Government of Australia fixed maximum prices for over 50 essential articles. Britain set before herself a determined ideal that "the children of that nation shall not suffer from malnutrition because of this war." British Food Administration under Lord Woolton has a glorious record. What dismal picture we get if we contrast the conditions in India ! War or no war, have we not a right to at least the 'normal' miserably low standard of life ?

In Britain, Germany, Canada and other countries, the principle of differential prices has been recognised and adopted—low and relatively fixed prices for necessities and very high and, if need be, rising prices for luxuries. Planning is centrally done while administration of the measures is through local price committees or district Economic Bodies. In Britain, food prices were subsidized to the tune of millions of pounds. In Germany, a considerable portion of the skimmed off excess profits is credited to price stabilization funds for the same purpose. Thus consumers' interests are always kept in view and producers get a fair price. Subsidies constitute a significant instrument in the technique of price control. Great Britain, with the aid

of subsidy payments, insulated the prices of cost of living articles like food and clothing.

And now, prices are all directly or indirectly interrelated. Once you accept this, the interdependence of prices rules out all piecemeal price control legislation. Of course, the 'blanket' or the 'overall' or the 'universal' type also has defects—which has not?—especially those relating to administration. Only, it has less defects than the other type. This is the lesson of experience in other countries. The American Price Control Bill was at first 'hedged in' by so many exemptions and exceptions that it was described more as a practical joke than a price control bill. (*Economist*, 6th Dec. 1941). Even U.S.A. is slowly falling in. For the first two years of war, the smallest price increase was registered in Germany. The official wholesale index rose by 5·3 per cent and the cost of living index by 6·6 per cent—of course if you are prepared to give evidence to their official version. And why this? —because Germany possessed a scientific system of price control in the early period of the war. Of course, now Britain has a better (being more flexible and dynamic) Price Control mechanism.

Also, control of prices at every stage is needed. Prices of raw materials, producers' prices, retail prices, wholesale prices—all must be brought within the ambit of the price fixing authority. Fuel, transport and labour are the most "strategic" of all prices. When Labour Minister Bevin said that he did not propose to "monkey with workers' pennies", pat came the *Economist's* stern warning : "To say that all prices except that of labour should be held down is as fatuous and futile as to maintain that all prices except that of labour should be allowed to rip." "The fact is you cannot leave wages and salaries which are the main factors in prices, to rise indiscriminately and still be realistic about preventing inflation." (Eccles, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board).

Price control necessarily implies regulation of supplies and distribution. A vigorous drive is always needed to unearth all hoarded stocks. Rationing is the logical corollary to price control. In the absence of rationing, price control would result in the early bird getting most of the worms openly—and the stronger bird knocking off all the worms occultiy (in the black market). This is just what has been happening all over India in the case of the few articles whose prices have been controlled, with the exception of a few cities like Bombay where rationing is successfully working. Thus the sacrifice of the cultivator in accepting fixed prices is generally not reflected in any tangible benefit to the middle and poor class consumers. Direct controls like Price Control and Rationing, if they are to be successful, must be well co-ordinated with monetary and fiscal mechanisms. "If the price freeze operated without support from complementary steps, it would be violated in at least three ways. Without a reduction or neutralization of spendable incomes, large-scale black-marketing would spring up and inflation would continue. Without formal rationing of scarce consumers' goods, informal and most probably inequitable schemes would emerge, with the retailer as the administrator. Without an adequate wage policy, legitimate claims for subsidy due to rising variable costs would overwhelm the administration." (W. W. Rostow—*American Economic Review*, September, 1942). Authoritarian rationing is thus the only corrective to the power of the purse. Rationing of one article leads to rationing of another—price control of one commodity leads to price control of another. The whole problem of distributing the nation's resources is one and cannot be split up into air-tight compartments. Look ahead and see things as a whole.

It is instructive to note price movements in various countries. The following tables are taken from the *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, (U. S. A. Govt.).

1. COST OF LIVING INDEX NUMBERS

2. WHOLESALE PRICES (all commodities)

3. RETAIL FOOD PRICES

U.S.A. 1935-39 =100.	Canada 1935-39 =100.	U.K. July 1914 =100.	Germany 1912-14 =100.	Year or month	U.S.A. 1926=100.	Canada 1926=100.	U.K. 1926=100.	Germany 1913=100.	U.S.A. 1935-39 =100.	Canada 1935-39 =100.	U.K. July 1914 =100.	Germany 1913=100.
99	102	158	126	1939	77	75	103	107	95	101	141	123
100	106	184	130	1940	79	83	137	110	97	106	164	128
105	112	199	133	1941	87	90	153	112	106	116	163	129
117	117	200	137	1942	99	98	159	114	124	127	161	132
120	119	200	136	1942	101	97.	161	115	133	133	164	129
123	117	199	137	(Dec.)	103	99	162	116	137	123	165	133
121	119	198	204	(March)	103	101	163	117	137	134	166	139
			(Aug.)	(Sept.)	1913	103						
(a) The All India Index Number of all Commodities' Prices Base—Week ended 19th August 1939=100. June 1912=155.2 June 1943=241.7								(July)				
(b) Index Number of Commodity Prices (Calcutta) Base 1914=100: All Commodities (Number 72) Feb. 1943=233, Sept. 1943=319 (when the War broke out it was just little over 100.)												
									1938-100			
									1939-106			
									1940-112	1943 (Mar.)—208		
									1941-122	1943 (Sept.)—238		
									1942-157	1943 (Nov.)—243		
									1942 (Dec.)—188.			

The reasons for the abnormal rise of prices in India are many and varied. Roots of the evil lie very deep—in the financing of Government expenditure by inflationary methods and in physical shortage of goods. The consequences of inflation are the consequences of the stage it is allowed to reach. Currency inflation and the resulting rise in price level, unless checked in time, would gather momentum like a snowball rolling downhill. An increase in note circulation, without a corresponding development in economic activity, leads to higher prices, and 'to carry the rise in prices' more notes are issued. Of course, the saying "not worth a continental" does not yet apply to the Indian Rupee. It is rather strange that we should find in our midst some publicists who still consider the Government methods of financing their war demands as sound. Fortunately their number is extremely limited. As Irving Fisher would put it, the attitude of those few persons is comparable to the optimism of a person who, having dropped off the fourteenth storey of a sky-scraper was said to have exclaimed, just before hitting the ground, "So far so good"! Unless the abnormal increase in purchasing power is rigidly confined, price control measures cannot be successful. Also, the increased purchasing power is very unequally distributed.

You cannot quite ignore the domestic problems and still accomplish your task of beating the Japs to their knees. Surely you cannot leave the home economy to shift for itself as best as it can under these war conditions and still wage a successful war! The fighting line and the consumers at home are but two sides of the same. Till very recently the Government of India preferred to "wait, watch and warn." I doubt if there is any other country in the world where so many committees have been appointed and so many conferences have been convened! 'Umpteen' Price Control Conferences held prolonged discussions and still nothing has taken shape. Not is it the fault of the conferences. The fact is we see a lot of planning by amateur bureaucrats but no plan. In the fifth year of the war, we are just tinkering with the merest details on the outer fringe of the problem of war economy. Our Government has in the economic sphere a consistent record of "too little and too late." How apt are these words: "It has been a question of driving bit by bit—inch by inch, driving the Government along the path which necessity has at last forced them to enter upon....What fear is that these expedients will be put off as long as possible by Government.....until, when they are adopted, much of the usefulness which could be derived

from them is gone. I believe that ration cards for everything that matters will soon be served out to every one of us.....Prices will have to be fixed all round.....But why not do these things now? Why not do them when there is still time? No one is stopping the Government except themselves." (Mr. Winston Churchill—House of Commons—16th November, 1916). We have in India an administrative machinery that is like an edifice without the ground floor and the cost of running it is in flagrant violation of all canons of economy and efficiency. We are thus 'subsidizing' from general revenues parasitic incompetence. So far our b'uc-prints, waving bureaucrats have been looking at the question of price control as a spare-time hobby. It is one long doleful recital of the utter abnegation of their duties and responsibilities to the people on their part. So long as the blessed word on the lips of the Government is "agreement" in economic matters during such abnormal times, the results would be inefficiency, flabbiness, artificial scarcity and finally famine. Spokesman of the Government with their heads bowed with the enormous weight of Nothing, lounging in brocaded armchairs, are never tired of waxing over the various measures they propose to enforce 'in due course' to mitigate our war-time economic maladies—while in the same breath they carefully reiterate the multitudinous difficulties and obstacles that must be surmounted in a vast agricultural country like ours before control of prices can be successful. What they say is often not worth the wagging of their tongues. It is all a hopeless fabric of lies and a tangle of evasions which even a schoolboy can easily unravel. None denies that there are many real difficulties. Administration of controls presents a serious problem. In a sub-continent like India, conditions differ from province to province. Also, production is not concentrated either in a few localities or in a few hands. Millions of very small producers have to be dealt with—especially with regard to agricultural pursuits and cottage industries. Again, all these small agriculturists may have to be subsidized. But if there is a ruthless will to succeed, are they really insurmountable? What we cannot justify, we only seek to explain away. A bird whispers in my ear that the Government is deliberately following this policy to placate some elements in the country (profiteers, private traders, war contractors, overpaid but under-worked legion of officials.....) so that it may with impunity resort to 'strong' methods to maintain what it calls "law and order" in the land. So again, Economics or Politics?—One never knows!

EARLY HISTORY OF SILK IN BENGAL

By DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

III

The story of the English trade begins in 1657, when the Company was at last adequately provided with capital, and a sum of £3000 was ordered to be invested in Bengal raw silk, while in the following year authority was given for regular purchases of 100 bales, worth about 20,000 rupees in all.³⁶ The superior efficiency of the Dutch merchants gave them a long lead in Bengal, but it was utilised mainly for Asiatic developments. It is not known whether there was any opposition to the Dutch purchases. When the new trade was definitely established, there are no signs of local hostility to their large exports, such as we should expect to hear of if their effect had been to deprive Indian workers of their raw material, and it is more probable that the supply was increased to meet the increasing demands.

In one way, the trade was simple, for silk was a royal monopoly, and merchants could expect reasonable treatment so long as their position at Court was maintained. The Dutch seem to have been better served by their agents at the Court, but in any case they had a very great commercial advantage over the English in their ability to supply the Persian market with spices, the commodities in most demand; the English being able to offer spices, were frequently in difficulty as to laying down saleable goods in adequate quantities, and the Dutch certainly seemed the larger proportion of the silk trade.³⁷ Mention has already been made of silk factories at Delhi which sometimes employed as many as 4000 weavers of silk. In 1788, Ghulam Hussain Salim³⁸ states that silk was produced well and in abundance in Bengal. Good silk stuffs were manufactured in this country. A very good account of sericulture in Bengal has been provided by H. T. Colebrooke and Anthony Lambert in their joint treatise, entitled *Husbandry of Bengal*, first circulated secretly and then openly published by Robert Knight. The following passage from the book gives a fairly good idea of this industry at the close of the eighteenth century (1794):³⁹

In districts to which our inquiries respecting silk have been limited, the culture of the mulberry is estimated at fifteen rupiyas fourteen annas, and the produce at 19 R. 8 a. for the bigha.*

36. Moreland, *From Albar to Aurangzib*, p. 139.

37. Moreland, *Ibid.* p. 40.

38. *Ricodus Salatin*, p. 23.

39. Colebrooke, *Husbandry of Bengal*, pp. 92-94.

109.

*First planting for a field of one bigha.

	Sa.	Rs.	As.
Cost of mulberry cuttings 8 ploughings, with 2 ploughs each at 4 annas		1	0
Expense of planting the slips ..	2	0	
2 hand hoeings ..	2	0	
Weeding twice ..	2	8	
Rent ..	2	0	
	4	0	
Total outlay before a crop is obtained	13	8	

Annual.			
Four ploughings as before	1	0	
2 hand hoeings	2	8	
Weeding 5 times ..	5	0	
	8	8	
Rent	4	0	
Use of money, at 25 % on the first outlay	3	6	
	7	6	
	15	14	

Annual produce, if the plant be sold, (as is frequently practised).			
In Dec., 7 loads of plant, (each load as much as the labourer carries) at 1 Re.	7	0	
March 51 do at 8 annas	2	12	
May 5 do " 8 "	2	8	
June 4 do " 8 "	2	0	
July 6 do " 8 "	3	0	
Sept. 41 do " 8 "	2	4	

Rs. 19 8 as.

From the apparent profit of 3 Ra. and 10 as. must be deducted the superintendence of the culture, and some labour which is not provided for in the estimate; such as that of gathering the crop and transporting it.

The peasant, who feeds his own silk worms, gives full employment to his family; how far their labour is rewarded may be judged from the usual estimation of the produce of silk. A frame, filled with worms from 610 cones, produces near 50 lbs weight of balls of silk, after consuming 10 loads of mulberry leaves; consequently 1 cwt. and a half of the cones, or 2 mans nearly, may be obtained from the produce of 1 bigha of land: the best cones may be sold to the filature at the rate of 18 sers for a rupiya; but a deduction must be made therefrom for such balls of silk as are of inferior quality. We have not materials for estimating the expense and produce of filature. With the hand reel, 2 sers (or 4 lbs. av.) of silk are obtained from a man of cones. This reel is tedious in its operation; but labour with it is paid no better than that of spinning cotton yarn, namely, about one rupiya and a half for a ser of yarn. However the charges of filature cannot be much greater; and making an allowance for the proportion of inferior silk reserved for Indian consumption, and similar to what is known in Europe by the name of floretta, the prime cost of filature silk, shipped from Europe, need not exceed 10 current rupiyas for a ser; if it sells on a medium at 25 sh. for the great lb., it might afford a considerable profit. (The production of raw silk in Bengal might be increased to supply much more than 150 or 200 tons, which is said to be the quantity now exported. Perhaps the districts, to which it is limited, cannot raise a much greater quantity than they do at present: but the silk worm

has been tried in South Bihar, and in the northern provinces of Bengal; and, upon, the result of experiment, we are warranted to presume that the production might be more generally diffused. It is at present almost confined to a part of the province of Burdwan, and to the vicinity of Bhagirathi river and great Ganges, from the fork of those rivers for a hundred miles down their streams.

Describing the chief centres of silk manufacture, Colebrooke writes :⁴⁰

The neighbourhood of Moorsheadabad is the chief seat of manufacture of wove silk; tapeta, both plain and flowered, and many other sorts, for inland commerce and for exportation, are made, there more abundantly than at any other place, where silk is wove. Tissues, brocades, and ornamented gauzes, are the manufacture of Benaras. Plain gauzes, adapted to the uses of the country, are wove in the Western and the Southern corner of Bengal.

The weaving of mixed goods made with silk and cotton, flourishes chiefly at Malda, at Bhagalpur, and at some towns in the province of Berdwan.

A considerable quantity (of filament silk) is exported to the western parts of India; and much is sold at Mirzapur, a principal mart of Benaras, and passes thence to the Mahratta dominions and the central parts of Hindustan.

The tesser, or wild silk, is procured in abundance from countries bordering on Bengal, and from some provinces included within its limits . . . Its cheapness renders it useful in the fabrication of coarse silks.

The conditions of silk manufacture is further borne out by Hill and Orme. Hill states that Bengal produced "cloth of all kinds, most beautiful muslins, 'silk, raw or worked.'"⁴¹ Orme says:⁴²

The vocation from agriculture left a much greater number of the inhabitants, than can be spared in others, at leisure to apply themselves to the loom, so that more cotton and silk are manufactured in Bengal than in thrice the same extent of country throughout the Empire and consequently at much cheaper rates. The greater part of these manufactures and of the raw silk is exported; and Europe receives the largest share; the rest goes by land and sea to different parts of the Empire.

The extent of silk manufacture and the earnings of the Bengal peasant through this source were considerable. About 1810, Buchanan found in Dinajpore alone 4800 looms engaged in the manufacture of silk cloth, the outturn of which was valued at Rs. 9,60,000.⁴³ Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra stated, in his journal *Vividartha Sangraha*, that 10 lakhs of people in Bengal were employed in the silk industry, that 140,000 mds. of silk were produced and that Bengal's income in the silk trade was two crores of rupees.⁴⁴

There are two other kinds of worms which produce silk in Bengal, viz., the tussar (*Tussesh*) and *Eri* (*Arrindy*) worms: the former found in such abundance over many parts of Bengal and Assam, as to have afforded the people, from time immemorial, a considerable supply of a most durable, coarse, dark coloured silk, commonly called Tassar silk woven into dhutis and sarries. This provided a cheap, light, cool and durable dress. This species cannot be easily domesticated.

The Arrindy silk worm was found in the interior parts of Bengal, in Dinajapore and Rung-pore districts, where the peasants reared and bred it in a domestic state; as they did the silk worm. Their cocoons are remarkably soft and white or yellowish, and the filament so exceedingly delicate, as to render it impracticable to wind off the silk. It is therefore spun like cotton. The yarn thus manufactured, is wove into a coarse kind of white cloth, of a seemingly loose texture, but of incredible durability. Eri silk is very durable and is often worn constantly for ten, fifteen or twenty years.

The following table,⁴⁵ enumerating the raw silk trade alone during the first three quarters of the last century, is illustrative:

1801	638,825 lbs.
1811	414,404 "
1822	574,228 "
1830	1,736,231 "
1840	1,108,465 "
1851	1,511,506 "
	(av. for 4 years.)
1861	1,485,276 "
1870	1,535,246 "

The flourishing silk trade of Bengal continued right up to the close of the nineteenth century. Early in the present century, the crash came. China and Japan greatly improved their silk manufactures while conditions here remained stagnant due to political and economic hindrances. The import of cheap silk piece-goods increased considerably to the destruction of the Bengal industry. Big silk factories began to be established in the other provinces of India and in the Native States while Bengal stuck on to her old domestic method of production. The *Review of Trade of India*, 1904-05, states "The exports have steadily diminished, and what was once a trade of some importance is rapidly approaching insignificance."⁴⁰ The industry to be destroyed was not of some, but of a very great importance which maintained its existence during two centuries against hard onslaughts and in the midst of a world competition.

(Concluded)

40. Celebrooke, *Ibid.* p. 109.

40. *Celebration of the Military Transactions*, Vol. III, p. 210.
 41. S. C. Hill, *Bengal in 1750-51*, Vol. III, p. 210.

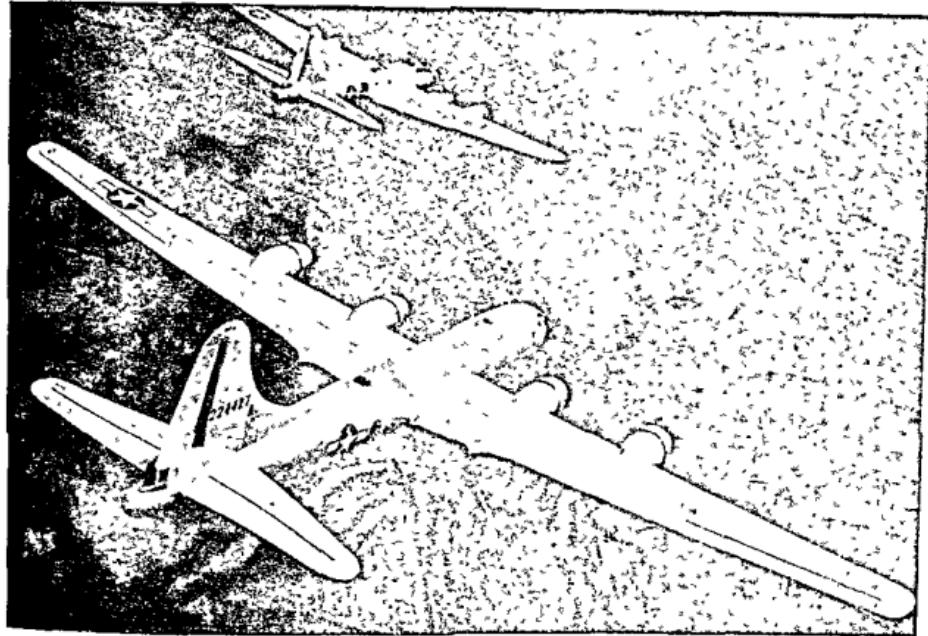
42. Orme, *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, Vol. II. p. 4.
42. Martin, *History, Antiquity and Topography*

of Eastern India, Vol. II, p. 971.
44. B. L. Mitra, *Silpik Darshan*, 1860, pp. 32-33.

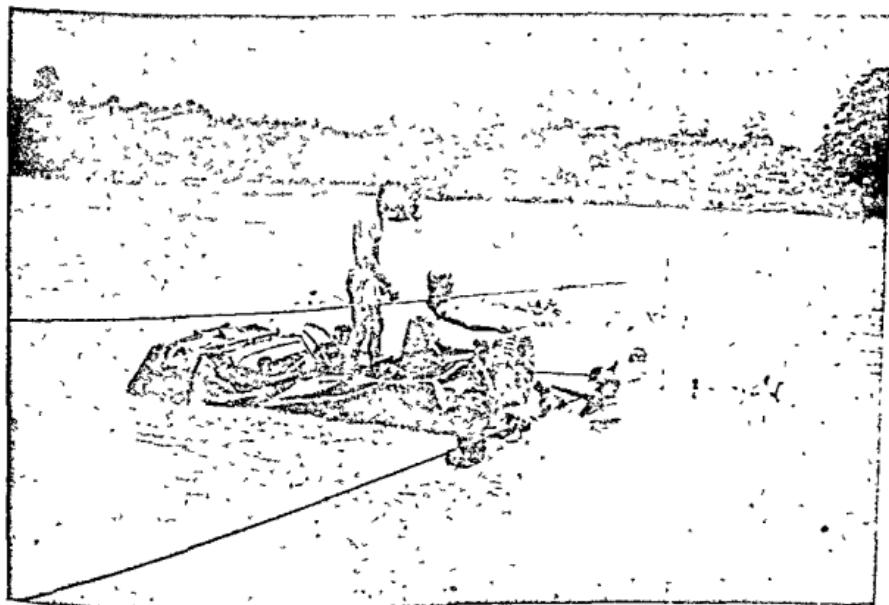
44. R. L. Mitra, *Silpik Darshan*, 1888, pp. 31-32.

45. R. K. Choudhury, *Evolution of Indian Industries*, p. 9.

48. *Review of Trade of India*, 1904-05, p. 33.



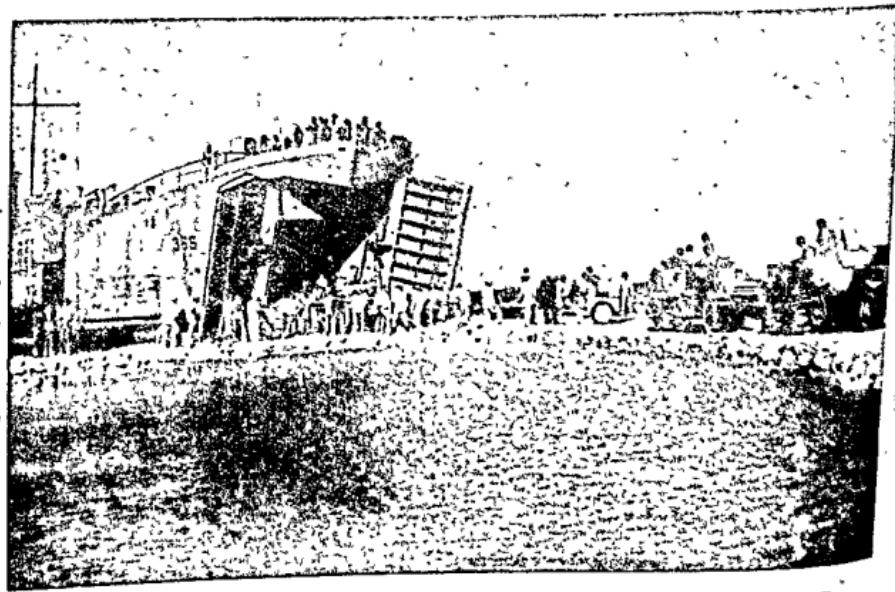
The new US B-29 Superfortress described as the largest and swiftest of all Allied bombers, will attack from much greater distance and with much more power



A floating jeep crosses the Mogaung River to the town of Kamaing, Burma
Courtesy: USOWI



This is the type of boat that carries the attacking troops from the transports to the beachhead in an amphibious operation



Capable of carrying large numbers of troops with much heavy equipment, the huge LST (Landing Ship Tank) has been the most famous of all the Allied types of landing craft

Courtesy: USOWI

IS CAPITALISM PLAYED OUT?

By D. V. RAMA RAO, M.A., LL.B.

THE system of economy which the word Capitalism represents seems to have undergone considerable change since the time it was subjected to severe criticism by the early Communists. Even to-day the term Capitalism is somewhat loosely used and is capable of an elastic interpretation. Thus while the fashion among the orthodox Communists is to describe it as a system based on deliberate exploitation of one class by another for the latter's own benefit, the more rational opinion is coming to view it merely as a system that has been evolved as a result of the unforeseen and uncontrollable forces that were released by the rapid mechanisation of industry coupled with the democratic tradition of laissez-faire i.e., the doctrine of free and uncontrolled commercial enterprise.

However it might be viewed, it is true that a certain amount of exploitation has been found inevitable in the Capitalist system as practised to-day. It must be noted, however, that ever since this fact has come to be realised, progressive opinion all over the world, irrespective of any group interest, has been persistently endeavouring to control and regulate capitalist economy with a view to minimise the evils of exploitation.

There is scarcely a country in the world where the private ambitions of a group or class have not been subjected to meet with the higher interests of national welfare. Although our world has to progress a great deal before distribution can be said to have reached a stage which can be called equitable, yet, there is a marked tendency in most of the countries not only towards communisation of all essential social services but also towards a fairer sharing of all national assets.

Indeed, Capitalist economy to-day has been modified to such an extent as to make Communist criticism look grossly exaggerated. The fact that a good many countries have been able to introduce measures, which can be described as steps in the direction of Socialist economy, without changing their essentially Capitalist pattern only proves that the Capitalist system is not wanting in flexibility.

On the other hand, the Communist experiment in Russia has shown the potentialities for evil inherent in a system which can come into being only as a result of a ruthless class-war and that can be sustained by an equally ruthless dictatorship. The Russian experiment has

clearly demonstrated that it is possible for people who raise revolutionary slogans about economic exploitation to have no scruples about political exploitation. This is what Bertrand Russell says in his book *Power* (page 297):

"Those who profess, at the present day, to be Marx's followers, have kept only the half of his doctrine, and have thrown over the demand that the State should be democratic. They have thus concentrated both economic and political power in the hands of an oligarchy, which has become, in consequence, more powerful and more able to exercise tyranny than any oligarchy of former times."

In the same chapter, a few pages after, he further says:

"The dangers of State Socialism divorced from democracy have been illustrated by the course of events in the U.S.S.R. There are those whose attitude to Russia is one of religious faith; to them, it is impious even to examine the evidence that all is not well in that country. But the testimony of former enthusiasts is becoming more and more convincing to those whose minds are open to reason on the subject. The arguments from history and psychology with which we have been concerned in previous chapters have shown how rash it is to expect irresponsible power to be benevolent."

Again (page 305) :

"Without democracy, devolution, and immunity from extra-legal punishment, the coalescence of economic and political power is nothing but a new and appalling instrument of tyranny. In Russia a peasant on a collective farm who takes any portion of the grain that he has himself grown is liable to the death penalty. This law was made at a time when millions of peasants were dying of hunger and attendant diseases owing to the famine which the government deliberately refrained from alleviating."

The experience of the Capitalist countries as well as the result of the Communist experiment in Russia point to the same moral, namely, that human nature is neither so selfless as to completely dispense with the motive of personal interest nor so selfish as to be completely dominated by the profit motive.

It seems, then, that a certain amount of exploitation, whatever economic system we may adopt, is unavoidable in the present level of human character and culture, and that it is not wise to attempt to dispense with the personal profit motive altogether as it is likely to raise its head in some other sphere if suppressed in the realm of commercial enterprise.

People who point out to the Russian Five-Year Plans and the great achievements of Russia and triumphantly declare them to be triumphs of Socialist economy would do well to remember that national plans have almost become a normal feature of most of the countries,

and that the achievements of Capitalist countries like England and America have been no less striking; nor have been the achievements of Germany and Japan less so. It may also be remembered that Japan which possessed far less material resources, could make an equally impressive march in a single generation without, however, turning Communist.

It is interesting to note that while the Capitalist countries tend to take an increasing interest in the Russian experiment and start to study it with a view to profit both by its achievements as well as its blunders, Russian economy, too, on the other side, tends to be considerably diluted from the orthodox communism as conceived by the early enthusiasts.

There is reason, then to suppose that the existing gulf between Capitalism and Socialism will not be a growing one, in future, but may very well tend to be narrower in view of recent experience gained by both Russia as well as the Capitalist countries. The fond belief, entertained in some quarters, that the outcome of the present war will be Russianization of the world is perhaps as likely, if not less, as that of Russia turning Capitalist.

People who contend that Capitalism will necessarily lead to Imperialism and war forget that there have been highly developed Capitalist countries like Sweden and Switzerland which have continued to be free from Imperial ambitions and which, indeed, may well serve as models in this respect for the future nations. It may be noted that it is national ambition and national rivalry rather than Capitalism that have largely been responsible for the growth of Imperialism and that have led to two world conflagrations in a single generation. Just as nations are learning not to allow Capitalist enterprise to grow to the extent of interfering with the higher interest of national welfare, it may be hoped, that the lessons of this war as well as the last will pave the way for the future nations to restrict their national ambitions so as not to come into conflict with the higher ideal of international welfare.

Capitalism, it may also be noted, has not necessarily proved an obstacle either in the spread of nationalism or democracy while the same cannot be said of Communism; for like most other doctrines which prove revolutionary in one set of circumstances Communism too can easily become reactionary in another set of circumstances. It is significant that Russia under Stalin, to-day, is not only drifting from its early Communism to a more liberal Socialism but is building up a sturdy nationalism.

India, which has yet to go a long way before she can be said to have reached a national status that can assure her a worthy place in the comity of nations, can hardly afford to fritter away her limited energies on amateurish ideologies. Commercial enterprises on a scale such as the Ford's in America, Imperial Chemical Industries in England and Tata's in India,—to mention a few among others—which have proved national assets, bear testimony to the opportunities for individual talent and enterprise which Capitalism affords. In a backward nation like India where the greatest need is one of raising the low standard of living, to concentrate on production becomes a primary duty. Viewed against this background the recent Plan for the Economic Development of India sponsored by Sir Purushottam Das and the six other able authors assumes additional importance. The stray criticism levelled against this economic plan, describing it as a Fascist one, is largely due to the confusion resulting from failure to grasp the significance of the changes that have come over the world since the time of Marx. It may not be out of place, here, to point out that both the Fascist as well as the Communist plans are essentially production plans and not far different from one another.

As has been pointed out, the Capitalist system has already undergone considerable change and is likely to undergo greater changes in future. It is, however, too early to describe Capitalism as either a system outliving its utility or a force that is played out.

HEINRICH HEINE

By M. K. PANDE, B.A.

HEINE occupies a wonderful place among the nineteenth century poets of Germany. Poetry us examine the following :
it is in romance that he especially excels. ¹⁴

was to him not an elaborate and painful toil, but a spontaneous utterance. So diverse and varied are his compositions that his poetic genius seems to be unique. But of all his works

Die Luft ist kuhl und es dunkelt,
Und ruhig fliesst der Rhein
Der Gipfel des Berges funkelt
Im Abendsonnenstrahl.

The air is cool—it is getting dark. The Rhine is gliding smoothly. The tops of the mountains are tipped with the gold of the setting sun.

He goes further on :

Die schonste jinyfrau sitzet
Dort oben wunderbar,
Ihr goldenes geschmeide blitzet,
Sie kammt ihr goldenes Haar.

A lovely maiden is sitting up there, and her golden ear-rings are glistering. She is combing her golden hair.

It is impossible to bring out the freshness and charm of the poem in the prose of a foreign language, and "the attempt to do so would be like gathering up dew-drops, which appear jewels and pearls on the grass, but run into water in the hand; the essence and the elements remain, but the grace, the sparkle and the form are gone."

Every word of this poem has got, what L. Abercrombie calls the power of "incantation"—a sweet and enchanting effect which one experiences while studying the best works of the great masters. The success of Heine lies in the fact that he makes his world ours, his experiences ours, his thoughts, emotions, sensations, passions a part and parcel of our own being. He is capable of lifting us above ourselves into the region of the pure serene, which Longinus calls the sublime. Like Goethe he does not take us through the metaphysical mazes, nor like Schiller he ravishes us with the sheer charm of the poetic diction, but he delights us with an imaginative description of love, joy, tears which constitute the very stuff of poetry. He was not a poet-philosopher, but merely a poet to whom this world was not the baseless fabric of a vision, but something quite real and sound. Let us look at the third stanza of his famous poem, "The Lorelei":

Sie kammt es mit goldenem Kamme,
Und singt ein Leid dabei;
Das hat eine wundersame
Gewaltige Melodie.

She is combing her tresses with the golden comb and is singing a song—that has a sweet and compelling melody.

This little poem is full of what A. C. Bradley calls "the aesthetic experience"—an experience too fine and intangible to be put in the language of prose. So long we are in touch with Heine, we seem to be moving in a different world altogether, a world which is independent, complete and autonomous. As a poet of nature also Heine is no less great :

Die blauen Frühlingsgaugen
Schau'n aus dem gross hörer;
Das sind die heben Weilchen
Die ich zum strauss erkör.

The blue violet flowers are peeping out of the grass, it seems as if Spring is looking at the world with her blue eyes.

It is such a lovely image that forces itself on our attention irresistibly. Also—

Im wunderschonen monat mai,
Als alle vogel sangen,
Als alle knospen sprangen.

In the leafy month of May, when all the new buds break and birds do sing . . .

So, on the one hand we see the rain-bow hue of romance, on the other a fresh breath of the loveliness of nature, seen in the poetic world of Heine.

Heine's patriotism also is worth noting. He says :

Deutschland hat ewigen Bestand,
Es ist ein kerngesundes land!
Mit seinen Eichen, seinen Linden,
Werde ich es immer wieder finden.

For ages Germany will stand. It is the most healthy land, with its oaks and lime trees. I shall always find it such.

How different is this healthy patriotism from the chauvinism and jingoism that has proved, and is yet proving to be, the bane not only of Germany, but of the whole world!

Germany had not gone chauvinistic during Heine's days. It was about six years after his death that Prince Bismarck became the Chancellor of Wilhem I. It is really from the date of Bismarck's accession to power that the history of modern Germany begins. Hence there is no trace in Heine's works of that baptism of fire which was to come later. Germany then was not a great power, as Heine says :

Deutschland ist noch ein kleines Kind.
Germany is still a small child.

Although Germany was a small child in Heine's time, nevertheless there were signs that augured well for her future greatness. In his famous poem *Deutschland*, he says :

Deutschland ist noch ein kleines Kind,
Doch die Sonne ist seine amme,
Sie saugt es nicht mit stiller Milch,
Sie saugt es mit wilder flamme.

Germany is still a child, but the sun is his nurse, and she will feed him not on weak milk, but on the wild flames of fire.

There were signs and portents in the apparently dull grey political horizon of Germany, which Heine could not fail to see with his poetic vision. The lull was but the harbinger of the great thunderstorm that was to break over the head of Europe from across the Rhine. Within ten years of his death, Germany annexed Sleswig and Holstein from Denmark, achieved a glorious victory at the battle of Sadowa and gave a thundering knock-out blow to France. Within ten years of his death, the 'little child' to whom Heine refers in the poem, was to acquire a Herculean strength and amaze the world. Thus the poem quoted above has a prophetic ring about it.

His outlook on life was optimistic like that of his contemporary Robert Browning and unlike that of Thomas Hardy. The following quotation will amply bear it out:

Herz, mein Herz, sei nicht beklemmen,
Und ertrage dein Geschick,

Neur Frühling geist zurück
Was der winter dir genommen.

O my heart, cease repining, the winter will pass away and spring with all its hopes will come.

Such was Heine—the poet.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF GANDHISM*

BY PROF. P. A. WADIA

Prof. Dantwala whose earnestness and devotion to his country have been as much in evidence of recent years as his scholarship, attempts in this small and unambitious brochure to give us an analysis and interpretation of the economic teachings of Gandhiji. He sets this interpretation in the background of world events. Thought on social questions is making rapid strides, and whilst accepting the basic values of socialism Prof. Dantwala undertakes a reassessment of Marxism in the light of the social and economic changes of the last three quarters of a century. This reassessment leads him to a defence and appreciation of Gandhiji's economic thought. Marx, he says, was the prophet of an age ushered in by the Industrial Revolution. Gandhiji is the prophet of the age of Fascism and Totalitarianism. The days in which Marx wrote his *Capital* and issued the famous Manifesto were days when the working classes were ground into the dust and the mire, when millions lived in squalor and misery, disease-ridden and destined to early death, and without a share in culture and education. Socialism was the clarion call which brought a new hope and a new vision to the world's weary and heavy-laden.

The war of 1914-18 seemed to proclaim the breakdown of capitalism. Capitalism appeared to be dying by the denial of its two fundamental assumptions of private enterprise and the profit motive. The peace of 1919 however marked the triumph of European bourgeoisie in maintaining the established social and economic order. The French Press clamoured a few days after the German Army had crossed the Rhine for giving Ludendorff carte blanche to strangle the new freedom in Russia. Even Great Britain, where men protest with vehemence that they desire to maintain the old liberties, witnessed the same people banding themselves together to restrict freedom, and anxious to maintain worn-out systems of credit and exchange in order that material well-being may be confined to their class alone. Everywhere men are found to lament the growth of atheism and while they offer lip worship to a religion of brotherly love, engage in the blasphemy of keeping millions of brothers in conditions appropriate to animals and prepare for the slaughters of their neighbours by bombing planes and dreadnoughts.

The happenings in Spain and Abyssinia and China in the years that preceded 1939 revealed a social economic order in Europe based on colossal greed and ruthless exploitation. The war of 1939 witnessed again to the moral bankruptcy of a world in which National Socialism, Fascism and Communism alike are attempting to pay off the crimes of democracy—shall we call them

the failure of democracy?—in allowing untold numbers of longing, aspiring humanity to sink into ever deeper misery and degradation. Fascism and Communism have demonstrated the possibility of organising the masses. Are these masses to be organised on a basis of fear or social confidence? Dictatorship and terror are built on fear. Prof. Dantwala tells us that with the giant machines of our present age we can only have a dictatorship of giant experts and technicians. He recognises that with the socialisation of the instruments of production the *de jure* ownership will pass into the hands of the workers; but he maintains that the very size of the instruments will put the manager in complete control of them. Bureaucracy and dictatorship would thus appear to be the inevitable concomitants of an age of large-scale production. He, however, visualises, in the alternative, a society in which the instruments are so simplified that the common man can ply them and understand them, and he believes that this alternative is the only effective way in which the State will finally withdraw and the Marxian dream fulfilled. Gandhiji is the great exponent of this alternative method; it involves not the condemnation of machinery as such, but its simplification and socialisation and is linked up with the conception of trusteeship in the enjoyment of property rights by the individual, which may ward off the necessity for revolution and the use of violence.

How far will the owners of property under a capitalist organisation grow alive to a sense of their trusteeship? The history of individualistic ownership of property in America has been a history of speculation in land, or the construction of rail roads or the manufacture of steel—the concentration of wealth without the slightest respect for the legal and moral rights of the millions. But, says Prof. Dantwala, the principle of trusteeship is a part of the technique of non-violence. Gandhiji would plead with capitalists voluntarily to submit themselves to the discipline of trusteeship. Show them the right course, give them a chance to mend their way. If that succeeds evil will be ended. It may be possible to avoid the use of violence and revolutionary methods by good will: but the evil of our days is not the abuse of the privileges of property, but the absence of a planned, co-ordinated and persistent social effort for the betterment of the conditions of human life which is implied in the ownership of property by the individual. This evil can only be removed by social control and ownership of the instruments of production.

Prof. Dantwala has compressed in this small volume the fruits of prolonged study and in this interpretation of Gandhism has brought to bear a sympathetic insight as well as a creative judgment.

* *Gandhism Reconsidered*: By Prof. M. L. Dantwala. Padma Publications, Ltd., Bombay.



Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc. are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA AND HIS TIMES
By Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the University of Madras, 1943. Pages 414.

This work represents the Sir William Meyer Lectures which the author delivered in the Madras University in October, 1941. The author has dealt with the career of the great Emperor Chandragupta and has given a short account of the administration, the army, social and economic conditions and the legal system prevailing in his age.

In delineating his life the author has discussed in detail the various sources, both indigenous and foreign. He has refuted the idea that Chandragupta belonged to a low caste and discussed the various theories about it. In discussing the administrative system he has principally relied on the Arthashastra of Kautilya. It is well-known that most scholars in the present time do not accept the view that the Arthashastra was composed in the time of Chandragupta Maurya. The author, however, holds the contrary view and believes that this unique text depicts the condition of the time in which Chandragupta lived. This problem is not treated in detail in this book but the author has in his previous works discussed this question and shown a number of grounds in support of his view. He has elaborately dealt with the various aspects of law and administration with the help of ample materials supplied by the Arthashastra, and his book may be regarded in the main as an elaborate exposition of that work. The author has, of course, also treated the Greek sources in detail and compared the data supplied by them with those of Arthashastra. On the whole the author has succeeded in placing before the readers all the important materials bearing on the subject. He has also devoted a short section on the coins of the period.

There are several appendices to the work dealing with (1) Chanakya and Chandragupta Traditions (Buddhist and Jaina) and (2) Parallelism between Asoka's Edicts and Kautilya's Arthashastra. The get-up and the printing of the work are excellent. As the first great Indian emperor who aimed at the ideal of an all-India empire and succeeded to a great extent in achieving it the life and times of Chandragupta cannot fail to evoke interest in all Indians who have a regard for the past of their country. The book under review is, therefore, bound to be a popular one and will enable even those who are not professed students of history to gain a fair idea of a glorious epoch in the history of ancient India.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

MEN AND SUPERMEN OF HINDUSTHAN: By Joachim Alva. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay, 1943. Pages 403. Price Rs. 11.

Joachim Alva, the author of this handsome khadi-clad volume, is an Indian Christian Nationalist from the West Coast, who as a student threw himself into the vortex of the Congress movement in Bombay during

those stormy days of "War Councils" and "Dictators", and was imprisoned. Since then his contacts with the public life of this country have been deep and varied, wide and intimate. In the tantalizing solitude and suggestive confinement of the prison-cell, the author recapitulates the fast-moving drama of India's political struggles and draws some exquisite pen-pictures of the principle actors and actresses on the stage. Gandhi and Tagore, Azad and Jinnah, Motilal and Jawaharlal, Mahomed Ali and Ambedkar, Andrews and Horniman, Nandu and Mira Ben, Radhakrishnan, Raman and Gidney are some of the couple of dozen personalities that cross the author's mind in an impressive array, representing almost every sphere of national activity and every section of political thought, who have influenced, for good or evil, the destinies of this country during the last three decades.

Alva's sketches will easily remind the reader of A. G. Gardiner's *Prophets, Priests and Kings*, which remains even to-day the model for pen-picture artists. Alva's political zeal and literary acumen combine to make his essays informative as well as interesting. He does not pretend to cover the achievements of a life-time within the compass of a few pages, but has attempted to assess the true role of his supermen in India's national life, ignoring other facets of their personality and creativities. Even Tagore and Uday Shankar are seen in this perspective. The only measuring rod the author employs is how far these personages have advanced India's political status and rehabilitated India's national dignity. This does not, however, mean that Alva is indifferent to the cultural movements and social revolutions that have influenced, even more deeply than political agitations, the national consciousness of the people, much less to the visions and ideologies in which every fresh generation is being nurtured. In fact, looking at the gallery of his "Men and Supermen," one gets a fairly complete picture of the variegated background of India's contemporary national life. The author has a remarkable gift for story-telling. Anecdotes and personal reminiscences enlivened with sparkling wit lend absorbing interest to his sketches. Certain misquotations are, however, to be regretted, and from his numerous references to "Anand Bhurban" (sic) and "Mani Bhurban" (sic), it is difficult to infer that they are printing mistakes.

MANINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

URBAN MORALS IN ANCIENT INDIA: By S. L. Ghosh. Published by Sushil Gupta. Price Re. 1-8, Calcutta.

The book under review is the result of the author's wide study of the subject. In it he has reviewed the science of Love in Ancient India on the background of its contemporary history. He has also tried successfully to present to his readers a faithful picture of the sex life of a society during the time of Vatsyayana. The chapter on the origins and times of Vatsyayana is short and comprehensive. It may be mentioned in this connection that a learned edition of the

of Vaishnavayana is yet an urgent necessity for the reconstruction of the fallen monument of Indian erotic Science.

SAROJENDRANATH BHANJA and S. C. MITRA.

LANGUAGE POLICY OF ALL-INDIA RADIO:
By R. S. Shukla. Published by the Provincial Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, U. P., Allahabad. Pp. 122. Price Rs. 2-8.

The propagation of highly Persianised Urdu under the deceptive name of Hindustani and the step-motherly treatment meted out to Hindi—even in the Province with a Hindi-speaking majority—has been a source of constant resentment among the Hindi-speaking people. The feeling is as wide-spread as genuine. The book under review throws a flood of light on the language-policy of the A.I.R. and exposes its real character with the help of facts and figures, showing the comparative difference between the various items broadcast in Hindi and Urdu, as well as their respective staff, listeners and members of the focal advisory committees.

In his preface to the book, Sjt. Sampurnanand, Ex-Minister for Education in the U.P. has rightly characterised the activities of the A.I.R. as being "dictated by a definite pro-Urdu and anti-Hindi policy". The notable example he has cited is—"The death of Sri Ramanand Chatterji was announced as "Ramanand Chatterji Surga-bash ho gaye" which, translated literally, means that Ramanand Chatterji has become residence in Surga, this word being the A.I.R. version of the Sanskrit word Swarga (heaven)."

Want of space prevents us from quoting more of such funny examples. We, however, do not find ourselves in entire agreement with all the arguments advanced by the author but the facts and figures collected by him go to show that the position of the A.I.R. authorities with regard to their language-policy is wholly unjustified and absolutely indefensible. It is high time that they revise this policy and remove the just complaint.

M. S. SENGAR

INDIAN LABOUR AND POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION: By Com. M. N. Roy. Published by Radical Democratic Party, 30, Faiz Bazar, Delhi. Pp. 58. Price Re. 1.

In this small book Com. Roy has emphasised the necessity of counting Indian Labour factor as the most important one in Post-War World Reconstruction in which India shall be an important constituent. Capitalistic methods must give way to socialistic production and distribution if reconstruction is to avoid pit-falls of the last Post-World-War attempts. Purchasing power and the standard of life of the Indian peasants must increase. Means of production should be taken out of the hands of private owners. To achieve his ideals, the author advises the Government to take up the cause of labour and do away with the middle-men and the capitalists who stand in the midway, because these classes are creating troubles in the war-efforts during the present war, and will cause further trouble in Post-War Reconstruction. Even the "Scorched Earth" policy is supported by the author. It may be noted that Com. Roy is appealing to an Imperialistic and Capitalistic Government for attainment of socialism in preference to his own countrymen other than the peasants and industrial workers.

Evidently this book has propaganda value in favour of the Indian Federation of Labour which has been set up by Com. Roy against All-India Trade Union Congress, when the latter declined to lend its support to the war efforts—the war being characterised as Imperialistic and in support of the domination of subject nations.

A. B. DUTTA

MUSINGS OF BASAVA: By Prof. S. S. Basawanal, M.A., and Prof. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, M.A.,

D.Litt., Lingaraj College, Belgaum (South India). Published by the authors. Pp. 128. Price Re. 1.

Basava, we are told, was one of India's outstanding religious teachers, a great statesman and also a man of letters. His *vachanas* (or sayings) started a literary tradition unique in Kannada literature. In this book we have a free rendering of some of those sayings into English.

We do not know how far the reputation of Basava travelled beyond the boundaries of his native district or province. The authors of this book perhaps have made him more famous than he was before. And as to the worth of the translation, no opinion can be expressed without a comparison with the original. Those who read both will be in a better position to judge. The authors' status in the academic world, however, compels us to think that it is a good translation.

But we have a small grievance. One of the joint authors is a professor of English. Yet there are so many un-English words in the Introduction to the book that one who knows only English will not understand half of it. If all those words are untranslatable into English, then why write in English at all? Again, sometimes the authors' English itself seems to be un-English. Such words as *recordation* (cf. "recordation of the vibrations of his soul etc." p. 16) and *wordable* (cf. "strain the limits of the wordable", p. 28) are needless comingages, if permissible at all. And "need not necessarily" (p. 19) has an excess of words. When one writes in English one should remember that the King's English has right to remain pure. It ought not to be a jumble of words from all languages interspersed with freely coined new words and phrases.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

THE SECRET OF HINDU SANGATHAN: By Swami Dharma Theerthaji Maharaj, President, Hindu Missionary Society. Published by Har Bhagwan, Hon'y. Secretary, Hindu Missionary Society, Krishnanagar, Lahore. Price Re. 1.

In this little book of 48 pages, the Venerable Swamiji has advocated that the ideal of Hindu Sangathan must be based on religious and social service and it must be founded on fundamental religious truths and vital social needs of the Hindus. The Hindus should organise as free men and pledge their hands and hearts to the service of their common ancestral home and the re-building of a great and free nation in which the Hindus, the Muslims, the Christians, the Sikhs and all others shall mingle their efforts and aspirations for love, prosperity and righteousness bringing abiding victory and peace to all. The book is well-written and deserves careful consideration by all lovers of truth who desire to work for freedom, justice and equity and are prepared to share a common citizenship and national life with the Muslims, the Christians and others who constitute the nation.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

THE SHIP DOCKS: By Shankaran Palat. Published by K. Krishna Iyer Bros., Trichur (Madras). Price 2s. 6d.

Mr. Palat plans his story in such a way that he has scope for introducing a lot of stray incidents into the journey that he makes Peter Merton undertake. The young son of a baron, Peter goes to Oxford; he is lively and full of fun there. A woman's delight, Peter has a few idiosyncrasies—as easily as he bids good bye to Anita for her jealousy and middle-ness, he loves and leaves Paula for consideration of prestige and money. Misunderstanding between Peter and his parents looms large, he stages a silent walk out from the family. Peter now goes on a voyage



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over the world. At this stage the book is a dull reading; however, Mr. Palat has endeavoured to brighten up the atmosphere with the presence of Rosemary. Peter returns home, joins a newspaper, and later walks up to the Parliament with the support of the paper. He now longs to see Paula and marry her, but to his utter disappointment he finds Paula already married. Poetic justice is lost sight of, the affairs stand more disappointingly realistic than the "real". It is really tiresome and unromantic to follow up the details of Peter's transference of love from Anita to Paula, and then from Paula to Rosemary.

SANTOSH CHATTERJEE

ENGLISH-BENGALI

IMPERIAL LIBRARY : AUTHOR CATALOGUE OF PRINTED BOOKS IN BENGALI LANGUAGE : Vol. I A.I., Vol. II G.L.

The authorities of the Imperial Library are to be congratulated on having brought out two decent volumes of this catalogue, which was a long-felt want and which will be of particular help to those engaged in compiling the history of Bengali literature. We wait with eagerness for the completion of the catalogue at an early date.

The method of spelling proper names adopted in the catalogue seems in some cases to be hideous viz., Bankim has been spelt as Vankim, Amalchandra Home as Amalcandra Homi, Brajendra as Vrajendra. Some of the books, which bear no name of the author in their title-pages, have been wrongly ascribed to some other authors; for instance, 'Kautuk-kana' and 'Bangalicharit' of Jagendra Chandra Basu the founder of the Bengali weekly *Bangabasi*, have been entered under the name of Indranath Banerjee.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE.

SANSKRIT-HINDI

BHAKTIRATNALI OF VISNU PUPURI GOSWAMIN: Editor and translator Ras Mahendranath Lahiri Bahadur, Retired Postmaster-General, Bihar and Orissa. To be had of Rabindranath Lahiri, M.A., B.L., 17, Dower Lane, Ballygunge, Calcutta. Demy 8vo., Pages 2 + 244 + 7. Price Re. 1.

This is a popular edition of the *Bhaktiratnavali*, an anthological work containing a selection of verses, chiefly from the *Bhagavatapurana* (with at least two verses, III, 32, V, 45, from the *Haribhaktisudhodaya*) pertaining to bhakti or devotion to Krishna. The work divided into 12 sections is stated to have been composed in 1633 A.D. In the present edition the text of every verse is accompanied by a running Hindi translation and by Sanskrit meanings of the words arranged in a prose order. One would miss the author's own commentary on the work called the *Kantimala*, a good edition of which would have been a very welcome feature of the book. Sources of the verses have generally been indicated. It is, however, a matter of regret that inaccuracies, apparently due to the printer's devil, were noticed in these indications here and there. As regards the text proper, one verse which occurs twice in the edition of the work in the Sacred Books of the Hindus Series (I, 46, XIII, 5) is omitted here in chapter I, but without assigning any reason. The source of I, 103 has not been indicated in either of the two editions.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI

SHAILLEYA : By 'Barua', compiled by Mahavir Adhikari. Rishi-Prachi-Pratichi, Delhi. Pp. 168. Price Rs. 2-8.

This is a collection of ten short stories, the subject and style of which are too patently realistic. Every now and then the reader is 'shocked' into dangerous and dynamic thinking by the challenging presentation of the

working and ways of the mind of woman, against the background of the transitional period through which society is passing at present. Somehow in several stories the reviewer found the current or chain of circumstance more frozen like the stone than fluid like the stream; also the realism creating a feeling of revolution. The book, no doubt, breaks new ground, but it will be for time alone to show what will shoot up in the ploughed plot. Maybe, the undersigned has not been able to get into the writer's frame of mind.

ANTAR KI BAT: By Radhakrishna Prasada. Pustaka Bhandara, Patna. Pp. 100. Price Re. 1-4.

Twenty-five short stories, centred round the various aspects and expressions of our social life and 'shot through' with the red strand of psycho-analysis. As such, they are highly suggestive, but the young writer—a young graduate—has succeeded skilfully in sustaining, what may be characterized as the spirit of delicacy and dignity. His observation of emotional and mental reactions to incidents and attitudes is sympathetically critical, as his style has the vividness of veracity. Over and again, while reading the stories, the reader is reminded of master Russian story-writers

G. M.

TELUGU

SOVIET RUSSIA : Pp. 71. Price annas twelve.
BOLSHEVISM : Pp. 29. Price annas four.

NEW LIFE MOVEMENT IN CHINA : Pp. 22. Price annas four.

PAKISTAN : Pp. 29. Price annas four. Published by the Cultural Book Club, Madras.

These pamphlets are translations of well-known English versions. Students of politics would welcome these popular editions in their own mother-tongue.

PATA PATALU: By T. Kameswar Rao. Published by Navayasahtya Parishat, Guntur. Pp. 45. Price annas eight only.

This is a collection of old popular songs. These folk songs would be very much appreciated by all. The author attempts to revive interest in old traditions, beliefs and customs of Andhra-adesa.

K. V. SUBRA RAO.

GUJARATI

APANUN HINDUSTAN : Translated by Purushottam Trikamdas. Published by the Oxford University Press, Bombay. Cardboard cover. Pp. 148. Illustrated. Price Re. 2. (1943).

This is a Gujarati translation of Minoo Masani's English book *Our India*. The translator is a Nationalist, as ardent as Minoo Masani, and has done his work well, preserving the spirit of the original, which is a very informative and laborious work, giving all the information of the past and present condition of our country, economical, moral, agricultural, commercial, and industrial. It is a welcome addition to Gujarati Literature.

SURAT: Parts I-II, M. J. Pathakji, M.A., LL.B., Professor of History and Economics, Bahauddin College, Junagadh. Published by the Baroda Government. Thick cardboard. Pp. 230. Price annas eight each (1943).

Surat has been famous in history, as it happened to be the gateway for Mecca for the Mahomedans and the scene of the first entry of the European Powers into India. Its varied and chequered career, its glory and splendour now faded, the intelligence and luxury-loving nature of its inhabitants, and every other phase of their character has been so well put and in such detail, that it is likely to prove a model work for the purpose for which it has been prepared, viz., to form a flower in the garland of the Sayaji series of books for juveniles.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

John Dalton

1766-1844

Exactly a century ago, on the 27th July, 1844, John Dalton, the founder of the atomic theory, passed away from this world. P. Ray writes in *Science and Culture*:

Though one of the greatest scientists of the world Dalton was not less so as a man. For, he was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth; and it was by means of sheer perseverance, selfless devotion, firm determination, ceaseless labour and untiring struggle against many adverse circumstances that he rose to the high position in life—a position not of wealth, of course, but a far nobler one of benefiting mankind. Though rich in fame he always remained poor in worldly wealth. His habits were extremely simple and unassuming; he never cared for money and devoted himself unreservedly to the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake.

Dalton was born in 1766 in a thatched cottage of a humble family in the village of Englesfield in Cumberland. His father Joseph Dalton was a handloom weaver.

Between 11 and 12 years of age he opened a school

in his father's barn for children of both sexes. At 15 he left his native village and walked about 40 miles to join his brother's school at Kendal where he worked as a teacher with his brother for 12 years. During this period he was also engaged in self-improvement and self-education. By hard and unremitting toil he became a good mathematician and acquainted himself with the work of Newton, as well as those of other English and Continental men of science. In 1793 he came to Manchester as a teacher in Manchester Academy (Manchester New College) and earned £80 only for a session of 9 months. For six years he served as a tutor in this college teaching mathematics and natural philosophy. He then resigned and devoted himself to scientific enquiry earning his bread by private tuition which provided him with sufficient means to meet his small needs. He continued with this mode of life till his death in 1844. At the same time he was always meditating and experimenting upon the composition of air and constitution of gases, which led to his discovery of the Law of Thermal Expansion of Gases with which his own name is associated with that of Guy Lussac. He also studied the absorption of gases in liquids and as a result thereof formulated the Law of Partial Pressure, also associated with the name of Henry. To him we owe further the discovery that gases are heated by compression and cooled by expansion against pressure.

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In 1800, he became the Secretary of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, of which he was elected President in 1817 and continued as such until his death.

He had his laboratory in the house of the Society, and his diary and manuscripts still remain in their possession. The Society also published most of his scientific papers. The Law of Multiple Proportions resulted from his examination of the composition of marsh gas and ethylene, as well as of oxides of nitrogen. For, he found that when two substances combine they do so in simple multiples of whole numbers. He showed that atomic conception of matter could satisfactorily account for all the physical properties of gases studied by him, as well as the Law of Constant Proportion formulated by Proust and that of Multiple Proportion by him. He thus adduced experimental evidences for the first time in support of the Atomic Theory of Matter.

The fundamental assumptions of Dalton's Atomic Theory can be stated as follows:

(1) Every elementary substance is made up of minute indivisible homogeneous particles called atoms. (2) Each kind of atom possesses a definite and constant weight. (3) Chemical combination takes place between atoms.

It may be said that through the formulation of Atomic Theory Dalton provided the final and absolute proof regarding the conservation of matter, and that his service to chemistry is on a par with that of Newton to astronomy.

Dalton was invited to deliver a series of lectures at the Royal Institution in London in 1803-4 when he publicly announced for the first time the discovery of the Atomic Theory and the Law of Combination in

Multiple Proportions. Dalton was invited to deliver lectures also at Glasgow, Edinburgh and other places, and received scientific honours from almost all parts of the world. In 1816 he was made an Associate of the French Academy—the highest dignity awarded to any foreigner. In 1822 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and in 1826 the first Royal Medal of the Society was awarded to him.

With the simplest possible apparatus that can ever be imagined Dalton achieved results of far-reaching consequence. A penny ink-bottle closed by a cork with a tube fixed in it, a couple of ordinary apothecary's scale and one or two thermometers serve as typical examples of the apparatus in his stock.

His habits were very simple, methodical and uniform. He practically spent every day all his time in the laboratory except on Thursday afternoon, when he would play a game of bowls with his friends and afterwards refresh himself with a pipe of tobacco. He was a very early riser and would repair immediately to his laboratory. Dalton lived a single life and used to say, when questioned by friends, that he had no time to marry.

With utter contempt for wealth Dalton lived a life of self-imposed poverty. Late in life he was relieved from the drudgery of his tuition and the worry of earning his bread by a Royal Grant of £150/-, afterwards raised to £300/- per annum.

Dalton was held in great esteem and love by his countrymen, especially by the people of Manchester who already raised in his life-time a sum of £2,000/- for his statue.

Jan Ignace Paderewski
PIANIST-STATESMAN OR POLAND

Paderewski was to Poland what Tagore was to India. J. M. D'Souza observes in *The Calcutta Review*:

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To Quraishi, who has been in charge of tool designing at the plant almost since the outbreak of war, goes a good part of the credit for making guages and other precision instruments which are playing an important part in the operations of the famous bomber plant.

Quraishi has not always been an engineer. Since going to the United States he has had a varied career which has taken him across the vast expanse of that country. He has taught school in Indiana and studied engineering at the University of Michigan. For a time he ran a dry-goods store in the small city of Cumberland, Kentucky, and before that was owner and publisher of a newspaper in Winston Salem, North Carolina. To top off this varied taste of America, he once travelled from one end of the country to the other as a salesman for a perfume company.

A member of the American Society of Tool Engineers, Quraishi went back to Detroit at the outbreak of war to take charge of the huge tooling operation at the Lincoln plant and at Willow Run, and played a vital role in getting the production lines started. He was married in Detroit and now has a young son, Brikat.

Quraishi firmly believes that the tooling up of America for war work, and the construction and equipping in a few months of huge war factories that dwarfed peacetime plants, will go down as a historical landmark in the accomplishments of that vigorous nation.

—USOWI.

Nervousness—Cause and Cure
Paramhansa Yogananda observes in Inner

Culture :

Nervousness is a malady which can be overcome by a specific medicine—calmness. The disturbance of mental equilibrium which results in nervous disorders is caused by continuous states of excitement or excessive stimulation of the senses. Indulgence in constant thoughts of fear, anger, melancholy, remorse, envy, sorrow, hatred, discontent or worry, and lack of the necessities for normal and happy living, such as right food, proper exercise, fresh air, sunshine, agreeable work and a purpose in life, are the causes of all nervous diseases.

Any violent or persistent mental, emotional or physical excitement causes a disturbance of the

balance in the flow of life force throughout the sensory-motor mechanism and the bulbs of the senses. It is as though we put a two-thousand volt current through a fifty-watt lamp. The lamp-wires would be burned out. In the same way, the nervous system cannot withstand the assault of intense, destructive thoughts and feelings.

Nervousness appears to many as a simple problem, but it is a deadly enemy, with far-reaching results. It is difficult to heal a man of any disease, so long as he suffers from nervousness. The unbalanced life force in his body makes it a tremendous task for him to concentrate or meditate deeply enough to acquire peace and wisdom. Nevertheless, nervousness can be easily cured by any one who is willing to analyse his condition and remove the disintegrating emotions which are tearing him apart, day by day. Analysis and calmness in all situations of life will heal the most stubborn case.

Realization that all power to think, speak, feel and act comes from God, and that He is ever with us, inspiring and guiding us, brings an instant freedom from nervousness. Flashes of divine joy will come with this realization; sometimes a deep illumination will pervade the being, banishing the very conception of fear. The power of God sweeps in like an ocean, surging through the heart as a cleansing flood, removing all obstacles from our path. The delusion of matter, the consciousness of being only a mortal body, is overcome by contacting the sweet serenity of Spirit, attainable by daily meditation.

The victim of nervousness must understand his case, and must reflect on the continual mistakes of thinking which are responsible for his misadjustment to life. When the nervous man once admits to himself that his disease is not mysterious in its cause, but the logical outcome of his own habits, he is already half cured.

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RAS-LILA
By Kshetundra Nath Majumdar

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The Breakdown of the Talks and After

The Gandhi-Jinnah talks have broken down and the correspondence that passed between them during this period is now public property. This breakdown has brought out the unrealities of the problem and the unrealities of the solutions offered by both Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Rajagopalachariar in bold relief. Mr. Jinnah's attempt to avoid pointed questions put by Gandhiji asking for a clarification of the Lahore resolution on Pakistan in all its implications and his eagerness to stick to an explanation of the mere text of the resolution, shows that he himself has no clear idea about the shape of what he calls Pakistan. Gandhiji's offer of the most generous terms to Mr. Jinnah, and his earlier concrete proposals to Lord Wavell, has given Gandhiji a pull over the reactionary forces. He has proved that the British are not interested in a settlement of the Indian political question and that Mr. Jinnah is now afraid, more than ever, to face the implications of the Lahore resolution—his own demand for Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah has also gone down in the country's estimation because of the undignified petulant attitude displayed by him in his letters and in some of his subsequent press statements.

The special representative of the *Leader* at New Delhi writes :

It is not generally realized how damaging has been to British propaganda the result of Gandhiji's efforts of the past four months in finding a solution of the political deadlock. Has he not proved that Indian nationalism is prepared to wholeheartedly line up with the Allies in fighting the aggressors and building up a lasting peace? Has he not exposed the fact that the British rulers are not prepared to trust Indians even with the conduct of domestic affairs? Gandhiji has, in short, undone all that British propagands had done during the past three years to prove that Congressmen were pro-Axis. Indeed those who had 'doped' Beverley Nichols to write that fifth called the 'Verdict on India' feel that the book has appeared too late.

Gandhiji's attempt to conciliate Mr. Jinnah has also been equally damaging to Britain's *bonafides*. A standing argument against the Congress is that it wants to establish a Hindu Raj in India and that the Muslims cannot submit to it. Gandhiji's offer has proved that the Congress meant what it said in its Working Committee resolution passed at New Delhi that it would not coerce any part of India to remain within an All-India Union against its wishes. Gandhiji's offer to Mr. Jinnah did not go beyond that resolution. It has only given a concrete form to this view. Gandhiji has offered freedom to the territories having an overwhelming majority of Muslim inhabitants but subject to the important proviso that the fundamental interests of India are not sacrificed in the sphere of defence, communications and economic co-operation. Thus the familiar pretexts that Congress is a totalitarian body claiming the sole right to represent the whole of India and out to establish a Hindu Raj, have been knocked on the head. The trend of comments in the U.S.A. on the Gandhi-Jinnah talks indicates that Americans who fought a civil war to prevent the southern States from breaking away from the Union have appreciated in particular the weight of Gandhiji's arguments. The New Delhi correspondent of the *Leader* has also stated : "I hear that American opinion is satisfied that the Congress leader has made a most fair offer."

communications and economic co-operation. He has not conceded to Mr. Jinnah's absurd claim of nationhood for a community which in reality is a body of religious converts. In respect of descent, language, history and political institutions, Muslims of India are an integral part of the Indian nation. Racially almost all the Indian Muslims belong to the same stock as Hindus. Hindustani is simple Urdu, and simple Hindi is easily understood by a vast majority of Hindus and Muslims alike all over the country since about 1000 A.D. The mother-tongue of the three crores of Muslims in Bengal is the Bengali language.

Both the Hindus and Muslims have equally contributed to the history and culture of India for about seven centuries and for the last century or so political institutions of both of them have been fashioned and moulded after the British pattern. For centuries together they have both been under the same Central Government.

There is no doubt that the last word about the communal question has been said on behalf of the Congress.

"Ambedkar Runs Amok"

The *Indian Social Reformer* has described Dr. Ambedkar's Madras tour under the caption *Ambedkar runs amok*. At a luncheon given by the editor of the *Sunday Observer*, the anti-Naicker journal of the Justice Party, Dr. Ambedkar analysed the causes which led to the collapse of the Party at the 1937 General Elections. The Party had held office for twenty years till 1937. The chief cause of this collapse was, in his opinion, that Justice Party men, after securing jobs, forgot what they owed to the Party and did not use the strategic positions they occupied to advance the Party's interests. He indignantly asked:

"What earthly benefit can the members of the community get if one of them happens to be an Executive Councillor? It is that fellow who draws the salary and that fellow lives in glory. If he goes there and remembers he has come there as their agent, he is there also in office in order to give a new turn to society, the going of that man is certainly worth while."

The *Reformer* then sums up:

His thesis in this speech was that the "spoils system" was the essence of democracy. In another speech he attacked Mr. Srinivasa Sastry, Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Sastry came in for his bitterest invective. In another speech during his South Indian tour Dr. Ambedkar outlined for the information of the Scheduled Castes a scheme which he said, the Government were preparing but which was not yet complete. According to this scheme, all the waste lands of India will be ceded to the Scheduled Castes, new villages will be created exclusively for them, and money grants provided for enabling them to develop as a political power strong enough to dominate all other communities. The Army authorities want land for their schemes to make the Army independent of civilian production in agri-

culture and industry. The Bombay Government want lands for their road programme. Other provinces may have their programmes which require fresh land. Moreover, the waste lands are scattered over the whole of India. Then, there is the problem of finding means of reconciling the conflicting interests of the numerous castes statutorily grouped under the head of "Scheduled Castes". The Mahar will not associate with the Mang even when both have been converted to Christianity. The "Scheduled Castes" have no corporate existence outside the scheduled and the grandiose scheme which Dr. Ambedkar in the name of Government promised to the depressed classes cannot possibly be realised. If Dr. Ambedkar spoke in his personal capacity, no harm will be done, but it is a serious matter when the people are fed with false hopes in the name of the Government.

Some of the speeches delivered by Dr. Ambedkar contained threats of violence against those who might not agree with his plans, the trend of every one of them was that Governmental power would be utilised for achieving the objects outlined by him. He has declared himself a firm believer in the utilisation of Governmental power for Party ends. Government of India's silence may be continued to have amounted to acquiescence.

"Britain Has No Intention to Give India Freedom"—Amer-Asia

The New York Magazine *Amer-Asia*, commenting on the significance of the Gandhi-Jinnah meetings, writes:

"Ever since the failure of the Cripps mission, the entire emphasis of the British propaganda both within India and abroad, had been concentrated on the contention that as long as there was no unity within India she cannot be considered ready to be master of her own destiny.

"In reality, this British contention was false and unjust. The truth is that Britain has no intention of giving India her freedom—the fact has been sufficiently demonstrated by Britain's insistence that the 562 native Indian princes must agree to any future political settlement when it is obvious that these autocratic rulers will never voluntarily consent to a settlement that deprives them of British protection.

"As far as the question of Hindu-Moslem antagonism is concerned, this problem has been artificially aggravated by British propaganda and by small sections of both Hindu and Moslem communities. This is particularly true of large landowners who, after fearing a real unity between Hindu and Moslem peasants, have become chief allies of British in obstructing Indian struggle for freedom. The British Government used its supreme power to keep thousands of Congress Party leaders in jail and maintain strict censorship on the news from India. It used its extensive propaganda machine to stir up anti-American sentiment in India and anti-Indian sentiment in the United States and America, that there was nothing but disunity in India—a conclusion which is wholly untrue.

"In the daily life of the Indian people, both on the social and economic levels in the legislative assemblies, there is as much unity as in most other countries. The only time there appears to be serious disunity in India is when a hard and fast agreement between the Congress and the League is made an essential pre-requisite to the attainment of Indian freedom."

It is becoming increasingly clear to foreign

observers, particularly in the U.S.A., that if India were a free nation, the variety of economic, social and religious problems would exist just as they do in most of the countries and that they would be handled by the normal processes of democratic procedure. But since India is not a free country and since the Indian people are impoverished politically and enslaved, the most powerful weapon in the hands of the British Imperialism is the policy of divide and rule.

Churchill on India

In a review of the war situation in the House of Commons, Mr. Churchill referred to India in the following words:

"Once again India and her vast population are reposed serenely among the trumets and hurricanes of the world behind the Imperial shield (cheers). The fact should sometimes be noted that under British rule in the last 80 years incomparably fewer people have perished by steel or firearms in India than in any similar area or community throughout the globe."

Mr. McGovern (Independent Labour Party) interjected: "Many have perished by hunger."

Mr. Churchill continued: "Well, the population has increased by 60 million in the last 10 years. It is evident that the famine which was caused by military conditions affecting transport is by no means representative of the administration under which the broad peninsula of India has met the increase of population, exceeding in speed of that of any increase throughout the whole world (cheers)."

"I think it a very remarkable fact that India has received this shelter and has been this vast harbour of peace protected by the armies and authority of Great Britain, and protected also by the care and attention of this House, in which the brave fighting races of India have at all times borne a most honourable memorable part."

Mr. Churchill's chief asset in his political career has been his contempt for truth. But the audacity of this picture of India serenely reposing behind the imperial shield, beats anything he has done or said. India as a fact is suffering all the horrors of war which Britain is suffering and more. The British people are not suffering from dearth of food. They are better off than before the war. The general health of Britain has greatly improved. The only difference is that she has flying bombs over some of her cities but the total death roll from bombs over Britain is far less than the number of people killed in the famine and the pestilence following it, both of which are direct results of the war. As regards birth rate, it has been pointed out on several occasions—and comparative figures are available in any good book on the population problem—that it is far below that in Britain or the U.S.A.

Flouting Justice

The Sessions Judge of Belgaum, in a case of police highhandedness, remarked about some serious allegations against the local police:

"Those allegations are very serious indeed, and, if true, are calculated to undermine the confidence of the public in officers whose duty it is to be the jealous guardians of law and order. In particular, the allegations of the gross abuse of the wide powers of arrest under Rule 129 of the D. I. Rules for stifling criticism in the Press, . . . deserve very serious notice and a thorough inquiry."

A lawyer correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* writes to his editor to say that what is disclosed by the Belgaum judgment generally holds good with regard to his district also. Police highhandedness, and the protection of the puffed up officials is nothing new in India. The Defence of India Rules have given the police unparalleled opportunity to harass the people. Strictures from High Courts against police highhandedness are not infrequent but not a single case has yet come to light telling the people that the Government have taken action against the headstrong officials for maintaining the dignity of the High Court. The Calcutta High Court's severe strictures on the conduct of police officials in the High Court building was lightly passed over by the Executive.

Recently the action of the police has been condemned by the judges of the Nagpur High Court in the most severe terms. The judges remarked:

"They cannot call in all their powers of detention and in the guise of exercising those powers conduct a secret investigation into a crime. If they have information that these detenus have committed crimes or offences, they are not bound to investigate into them. They can rest content with detaining them under Rule 26 or 129 'provided the matter falls within the ambit of those Rules.' But if they want an investigation they must proceed in accordance with the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code. If they do otherwise it is a fraud upon the Act and their action is not taken in good faith. They cannot make the best of both worlds."

The facts of the case were that Mr. P. Y. Deshpande, an Advocate of the Nagpur High Court and also the Editor of the Marathi Weekly *Bhavitaava*, was arrested and detained under D.I.R. 129 without being told what was the charge against him. It was alleged against the police that the Rule was used only as a cloak to interrogate the prisoner in respect of a dacoity in Bombay Presidency. Their Lordships also came to the same conclusion and with regard to the powers of the police of the Provincial Government they said:

"In the present case issues of facts were raised. The good faith of the police and of the Provincial Government were expressly challenged, and facts were set out which, if unrefuted and unexplained, were sufficient to support the allegations. An affidavit, therefore, was necessary and should have been filed from the start. In fact it is the complete absence of any refutation of these facts and the failure to explain them that leads us to conclude that the orders in these two cases were not made in good faith and that they are a fraud on the Defence of India Act and its Rules."

Mr. Deshpande was also long d . . .

interview with his legal advisers. Different excuses were given at different times for disallowing the interview. Their Lordships described as "deplorable" the putting of some "false obstruction at every stage" and bitterly remarked:

"And all this was done to deprive a man of a little legal advice so that he might defend his liberty. All done in the name of public safety and the efficient prosecution of the war. Is the realm really in such desperate straits? Are the war efforts really hampered or endangered? We have certainly seen no evidence of it, nor do we believe that can be possible. We have a more robust faith in the might of Allied arms. But if it does, or is likely to, then why not frankly and openly take away these rights and liberties by legislation? That is done elsewhere, partic'larly in countries with which we are at war. Why not here?"

The flouting of justice, in this particular base, happened in a province under the sole charge and care of a British Civilian Governor carrying on the administration with the help of advisers selected and appointed by him, and directly responsible through a British Viceroy to a British Cabinet which professes freedom and justice for the "world".

Bertrand Russell on the Future of British Empire

"I am afraid there is likely to be another world war—but not in this generation"—this opinion was expressed by Bertrand Russell on his return from America to London to take up a fellowship at Trinity College, Cambridge. Answering the question as to what is likely to happen throughout the world within our lifetime, he said :

"Britain is already a secondary power but most people here cannot yet see it. England's power originally lay in her lead in industry and the fact that she possessed the largest navy. That is no longer so. Russia and America are more powerful in arms and industry and we cannot hope to compete with them. There are many well-meaning people here who are against Imperialism but they don't count the cost, we can't hope to hold down the Empire and India particularly should be freed. But this means a loss of power and money and we must face this fact.

"This transition from being a great power to being a second-rate one will not be easy. Indeed we can't hope to achieve it under present economic system without considerable hardship."

About the Far East, which he knows well, Russell said :

"I doubt if England will easily give up her imperialism there. She finds the rubber, oil and tin too attractive. Indeed we may have a deal with U.S. oil companies and other interests, a super Anglo-American commercial imperialism which will agree to share the swag. Eventually the white man's meddling with the East will have to cease. China will probably develop militarily and become strong. India, China and Japan with their enormous populations and utterly disproportionate share of power and property are not always going to be satisfied with the present arrangement."

Russell believes that a world federation determined to punish aggression can keep the

peace only if its powerful members are not themselves willing to practice aggression. Those who, like Britain, have had too large a share must be willing to make sacrifices for the sake of justice. Russell predicted that with the exception of Finland, Poland and Sweden, all European countries are likely to be diplomatically, if not ideologically, pro-Russian. The only eventual solution, according to him, is international socialism with a world government and paper currency based on index figures for commodities instead of gold.

No World Peace Without Free India

John Gunther discussing problems of peace in *Sunday Chronicle* writes, "England won't be the same after the war. It is quite possible her people may become bitterly jealous of American power, wealth and influence."

Gunther says, "There are several outstanding issues between Britain and America and more will develop as time goes. Population of the U. S. A. is 130 millions and that of Europe 400 millions. But there are 338 million people in India alone and 475 million in China. There can be no decent peace in the world—no globe peace—unless Asia is taken into consideration."

Commenting on this statement a close friend of Gunther told the *Free Press Journal* correspondent that like the majority of thinking Americans Gunther believes there can be no stable peace on earth if the biggest country in Asia—India is not free.

Coupland Challenged in America

Reviewing Reginald Coupland's new book *The Indian Problem*, in *New York Times*, Kate Mitchell writes:

"Prof. Coupland's analysis of the Indian problem is open to challenge on two major points. In the first place, the Hindu-Muslim conflict is not permanent and inevitable nor is it the central problem of India....The assumption of a permanent Hindu vs. Muslim alignment in Indian politics ignores the growing demand on the part of the rank and file members of both the Congress Party and the Muslim League for an agreement on the basis of full self-determination for all minorities within the framework of a Free India.

"Even more questionable is Professor Coupland's treatment of Indian Princes.....No amount of hopeful generalities can disguise the fact that Indian Princes will not voluntarily relinquish powers and privileges guaranteed to them by their present treaty relations with the British Crown. And no division of India into regional units can make possible a workable federation between the democratically-governed areas on the one hand and medieval autocracies on the other."

Foreign Exploitation of South India

Commercial India understands that plans are afoot with investment schemes aggregating to fifty crores of British capital for the rapid industrialisation of South India after the war. The report runs :

While Indian business opinion is knocking its head over the political deadlock and crying itself hoarse demanding a National Government British Business interests are briskly planning their own and India's future. Complete schemes have been drawn up in regard to several new industrial enterprises and these schemes have been practically approved by London City interests.

According to the information now available plants will be put up near Mettur, Trichinopoly and Coimbatore for the manufacture of rayon, vanaspati, rubber goods, finished leather products and electrical goods.

The plans have been so drawn up as to avoid all competition with existing European concerns.

In the farther South, another European concern will spring up for the large-scale manufacture of automobile tyres. There is a plan for starting an enamel industry under the auspices of the Travancore state. There are fears that foreign interests have their eye on this too.

There are other interesting reports too of American penetration in Coimbatore. Coimbatore has grown into a big textile centre and if the talks between certain millowners and their American visitors fructify negotiations would have been completed for the import and erection of ultra-modern textile plants. More than half the existing mills now manufacturing yarn will be strengthened with additional spindles and there would be no further need to import mercerised yarn.

American businessmen are keen in offering technical assistance to India. The Chrysler Corporation had offered help in the development of the proposed Motor Car Industry at Bangalore sponsored by Seth Walchand Hirachand and Sir M. Visvesvaraya. American advice is reported to have been sought for in respect of the fertiliser industry to be started near Mettur. According to the *Commercial India*, one or two Indians might be leaving for America to choose the machinery. It is certainly better for the Indian industry to develop through Indian enterprise aided by American technical advice. In that case the independence of Indian industries will be retained on a larger scale. Companies started in this country under the cloak (India) Ltd. with British capital and enterprise constitute the greatest menace to the economic life of this country.

Engine Building in India

In a discussion with the members of the Indian Chamber of Commerce at Lahore, Sir Ardesir Dalal, the Planning and Development member of the Government of India, said :

Locomotives had not been made as the making of a locomotive was a long drawn-out matter. The Government had entered into negotiations already with some industrialists in the country for the manufacture of boilers. If the manufacture of boilers would prove a success it would be a stepping stone towards the making of locomotives which could not be done at once. Big boilers were being ordered to be made. The order for making locomotives was placed outside India, because locomotives were required badly.

In January 1940, Messrs. J. Humphries and K. C. Srinivasan, in their report on the construction of locomotives in India in State Workshops, had clearly shown that

the moment was particularly opportune for the manufacture of locomotives in this country despite the war in Europe and had recommended such manufacture being taken up at once. They had estimated that the "all-in cost of production" of an X-E Locomotive complete with boiler and tender at Kanchrapara would be Rs. 98,000, and these could be expected to be cheaper than imported locos by about 20 per cent. In the considered opinion of these two experts, appointed by the Railway Board to go into the problem, the minimum economic size of a locomotive manufacturing works in India would be one with an average annual output of 100 broad gauge locomotives. It was further established, in their opinion, that this production capacity was not in excess of the annual demand of the railways in India for broad gauge locomotives, boilers and components. Almost five years have passed since the publication of this report and the public eye cannot discern any further action in this matter.

Sir Ardesir's Faith in Government's Industrial Policy

In the same meeting, Sir A. R. Dalal said : "I can tell you categorically that Government of India is most genuinely anxious to help in the post-war development and it is not true to say that Delhi is planning not for the good of India, but for the benefit of Britain. If I were convinced that the Government of India was not genuine in its intentions towards the post-war planning and development, I would not be there for a day more and would leave my job."

It is very difficult to agree with Sir Ardesir's complacence in this matter in view of the fact that whatever little protection and encouragement has ever been granted to any Indian industry, has been obtained only after prolonged and intense pressure of public opinion in and outside the Central Legislative Assembly.

Even the Steel Protection Act, which has indirectly made Sir Ardesir what he is to-day, came on the Statute Book only after an intense public agitation. The refusal to permit the establishment of an Indian motor car industry, and the cold shouldering of the ship-building and aircraft manufacturing projects, are matters of very recent occurrence. The development of an Indian basic chemical industry has been kept at bay in favour of the I. C. I. Discrimination in favour of the foreign, specially British, against Indian industries is being widely made not only in case of big industries, but also in respect of smaller ones. An Import Council has already been set up at New Delhi to bring in ordinary consumption goods from abroad, specially from England, instead of trying to get them manufactured in this country.

No Plan for Indian Industrialisation

The Leader, a liberal organ, in an editorial article, has put the following question to Sir A. R. Dalal:

Have the many reconstruction committees, which have been in operation for some years, now evolved any plan whereby the markets which will be released from the dominant position which Japan occupies will be captured by Indian industry? This is a question to which Sir Ardesir Dalal and the Government of which he is a member will have to give serious attention. A policy of luke-warmness towards industrial development on the part of Government will not do. India has many advantages in the matter of raw materials and labour supply and with the vast sterling balances that she has accumulated during the war, she should be able to plan a design which would help her both to produce capital and consumer goods. Important as the question of a just division of the national income is, the standard of living of the people cannot be raised by ignoring the need for greater production in both industry and agriculture.

After his China tour, Mr. Donald Nelson, a former Chairman of the U. S. War Production Board, said in Chicago that it is "to the advantage of the entire world to see that China emerges from this war as a leading industrial nation of the Orient replacing Japan." America has an interest in Chinese industrialisation and proposes to help her to become industrialised. But Britain has so far produced no scheme for the industrialisation of India. Neither has the Indian Government shown any such interest. A number of Committees have been set up in the name of post-war planning, but up till now they have given the one unmistakable indication that whatever their real functions might be, they have very little to do with the development of genuine Indian industries.

Partition Question at Peace Conference

Mr. De Valera has expressed his intention to bring up before the Peace Conference the question of terminating the partition between Eire and Northern Ireland. The need and urgency of restoring the unity of Ireland is ever before the Government of De Valera. He is reported to have said that no opportunity for bringing the injustice of the present position and its bearing on the relations between Ireland and Britain to those concerned has been or will be neglected. Prof. Savory has brought up this matter to the House of Commons. He thinks that De Valera's move implies that Eire proposes to bring a purely domestic question of the United Kingdom before the Peace Conference.

The minority question has been always, especially since the last Great War, an international problem and the League of Nations had much to do with it. Partitioning of a country in the name of protection of minority rights ought to remain an international concern in the interests

of world peace. De Valera's move has a special significance for the peoples of India and Palestine. Partitioning in Ireland and Palestine has proved that the division of country provides no solution for the minority problem, it becomes instead a source of perpetual trouble and only widens the gaps of divergences. The establishment of two sovereign states in India, too, will be the ruin of India's peace and progress and will fill the country with warring camps of diverse forces pulling in diverse directions in pursuance of divergent allegiances.

The United States of America has a legion of races within her body politic but with no separate minority rights. She fought a civil war to prevent the Southern States breaking away from the Union. The present-day strength of America may be traced back to the successful termination of this civil war.

Lahore Grain Syndicate Warned

A Press Note issued by the Punjab Government runs as follows:

Since the start of rationing at Lahore, there have been several complaints from consumers in the Press against the quality and clearness of the wheat distributed through retail depots. Strong criticism has been directed against the Lahore Grain Syndicate which is responsible under the Rationing Controller's supervision for wholesale distribution. Government have made thorough inquiries and after considering all the reports received have come to the conclusion that the Syndicate's organisation has been defective, and that it has displayed inefficiency to a degree which justifies action against it.

In view of the heavy losses already incurred by the Syndicate, Government have refrained from imposing any heavy fine on them but have issued a severe warning that any future deficiencies will meet with severe action. Public have been assured that action will continue to be taken by the Government and by the Rationing Authorities to see that mistakes made by the Syndicate and others concerned with distribution are not repeated.

In Bengal, complaints against very bad and heavily adulterated foodstuff supplied at the ration shops have gone completely unheeded. Municipalities have been prevented under the D. I. R. from checking adulteration. Lakhs of maunds of foodstuffs have been destroyed owing to negligent storing. Black marketing runs rampant as usual. Ministers and British civilians in charge of civil supply have not shown the slightest concern for checking corruption, inefficiency and rank dishonesty in the distribution of essential foodstuffs.

Malaria in Europe and India

The epidemiology of malaria has been discussed by Dr. V. B. Whigglesworth, M. D., F. R. S. in an article published in the *Discovery*

(London) for April last. The author states that devices is well within the reach of any Government or well organised body. What the vast amount of malaria that occurred in South-Eastern Europe during the War of 1914-18, and the widespread epidemics that followed the return of the troops to their homelands and the movements of populations consequent upon the peace treaties, focussed attention on malaria in Europe, and the next 20 years saw the unfolding of a new and fascinating chapter in medical entomology. The result was a practical stamping out of malaria from this region. Malaria was very prevalent in the eastern counties of England a century ago, but there also it has been brought completely under control. England has been virtually free from this preventable pest except for a recrudescence in 1917-18.

Dr. Whigglesworth has explained the success of anti-malarial methods used in practice. He has cited the example of the successful workings of the scientific method in Assam and North Bengal tea gardens. The tea plantations of the Assam hills and the Dooars are among the most malarious regions of the world. The carrying species is *Anopheles minimus*, a mosquito which breeds in open grassy edged drains and streams. Dr. Whigglesworth then continues :

Faced with the problem of recommending methods of control which the tea planters could employ during the period of economic depression in the early thirties, malariologists devised many ingenious procedures applicable in different localities. One of the most successful of these was to plant suitable shrubs along the margins of the streams so that eventually these ran through a tunnel of dense shade. No larvae are to be found in these shaded streams, and it was supposed that the female mosquito would not lay her eggs in shaded water . . . She would not lay in moving water. Indeed her selection of the grassy margins of streams depends on the fact that she can find there both local shade and still water; and the efficacy of dense shrubs in eliminating breeding is due to the exclusion of marginal vegetation so that flowing water extends right to the edge of the stream. It is possible to exclude the mosquito from the streams either by covering them with dense shade, or by exposing them to full sunlight and clearing away by hand all the grass along the margins. It will depend on local conditions which method is the more practical.

The classic method of poisoning mosquito larvae by applying a film of oil to the surface of the water is still a valuable stand-by. The killing of the adult insect is likewise a standard method for the control of mosquitoes. It is a method of prime importance at the present time for the prevention of malaria on the war fronts. The mosquitoes are killed by regularly spraying quarters with insecticidal mixtures, usually extracts of pyrethrum in kerosene. The liquids are atomized in hand spray-guns, or power-operated paint sprayers or dispersed in some gas kept liquefied by pressure.

Eradication of malaria with these simple

Britain's Health

What an independent and progressive nation can do to ensure the health of its citizens, without disturbing the present structure of the society, is best illustrated by the British White Paper on *A National Health Service*. Simultaneously it may be compared with the continually increasing deterioration in the health of millions of people on a colossal scale in a country under her "trusteeship" and the absence of any programme for upliftment.

The basic principle of the British White Paper is that everybody in the country, irrespective of means, sex, age or occupation, shall have equal opportunity to benefit from the best and most up-to-date medical and allied services available. The insistence on the maintenance of health rather than the cure of disease is a sound principle and it forms the foundation of the whole plan.

The scheme is given there in some detail. First it is the intention of the Government to disturb existing tried organisations as little as possible so that the local administration of the scheme will be in the hands of the local authorities, or more exactly of local authorities grouped so as to ensure the best possible district service having regard to geographical condition and population distribution. The main object is to weld together existing services into a comprehensive scheme, modifying it and supplementing it as necessary. The Parliamentary responsibility of the scheme will be borne by the Minister, but he will have the technical advice and the guidance of a new advisory body representing the medical profession in all its aspects, and to be known as the Central Health Service Council. In addition to this there will be another executive body composed mainly of members of the profession and to be known as the Central Medical Board, which shall be the employer body with whom the practitioner who joins the new service enters into his contract of employment.

While preparing the local plan by the local bodies, the needs of the area will have to be assessed and full hospital and consultant services, partly on its own initiative and partly by agreement with existing voluntary hospitals will be provided. All hospitals of whatever kind will have to conform to national standards of employment of their staffs, and there will be provision for inspection of . . .

sultants associated with these hospitals are to pointments for the grow more fish campaign be on a salaried basis, either wholetime or part have been made. The Fishery Department of time at rates to be agreed later.

Steps will be taken to secure the best possible and illustrated pamphlets for the guidance of geographical distribution of medical men in the light of the needs of each area. The general practitioner can operate either as an individual, normally on a capitation basis of the number of patients for whom he is responsible, or as a salaried member of a group of doctors working at a health centre. Permission to acquire a practice in an area already adequately served may be refused, and compensation may be paid to the doctor vacating such a practice.

For the patient the service will be free, except perhaps for partial payment of certain appliances, and the cost will be met partly out of rates by the local authority and partly out of the Exchequer. At a health centre under normal circumstances the whole family can receive consultation and treatment by appointment with this selected medical attendant, and in emergency by another member of the staff who happens to be on duty at the time.

The scheme strikes one as eminently rational and designed to secure a first class service to the community. The people of this country, dying in millions of preventable diseases, look at the scheme drawn up by the "trustees" for their own benefit only to be reminded of the utter helplessness of a subject nation. Britain believed that courage and power of endurance depend to a large extent upon health and that 'the health line of the homefront may become as important as the battle line.'

Grow More Fish in Peru and Bengal

The Discovery writes :

British scientists have continually stressed the need for the British Empire to utilise to the full the fishery resources in inland waters and on the coasts of our colonies in order that the deficiency of first class protein among the natives can be corrected. It is interesting to learn that a fish farm of the type so often advocated is helping Peru to meet wartime food shortage among the fast growing population in the upper Amazon valley, the scene of development of rubber and other tropical materials needed for the United Nations' war effort. The fish farm was established three years ago, and according to the President of Peru it has already delivered to the markets of Iquitos more than 22,000 pounds of dried paicha, considered to be the largest fresh water fish of the world. Specimens of this fish have been recorded up to 15 feet long, and it is regarded commercially as the most valuable food-fish in the Amazon Valley. Because it is so valued there is a constant danger of over-fishing, so that steps had to be taken to make sure that stocks did not become depleted. So the paicha reserve, said to be the first fish farm in the Amazon River system, was set up to operate as a fish hatchery, providing small fish for re-stocking rivers, as well as a farm for mature fish.

This is what a small country in South America has done. In India, fat salaried ap-

D. D. T.—the Wonder Insecticide

According to *Industrial and Engineering Chemistry* a new plant is being rapidly constructed in the U.S.A. at a cost of half a million dollars to augment existing capacity for the production of D.D.T. (dichlorodiphenyl-trichloroethane). This compound was first synthesised in Germany seventy years ago, but its use as an insecticide was only patented five years ago by a Swiss firm. Originally used as a moth repellent, it has now proved an excellent controller of body lice and hence typhus. Its importance in warfare is so great that the first 500 pound batch produced in America was flown to an overseas battle zone. D.D.T.'s potency is said to be so great that a single application dusted on clothing once a month gives protection from disease-carrying vermin. When sprayed on the walls and the floor of a room, mosquito or any insect coming into contact with such wall or floor falls down dead. The potency in this case remains for about three months.

Britain Minds Her Own Agriculture While Indians Starve

While large parts of India have been suffering from acute food shortage and people are dying of hunger, which implies that the grow more food campaign has not yielded the results desired, in Britain there has been a remarkable increase in agricultural production. The agricultural correspondent of the *Daily Express* writes that food production in Britain has more than doubled, that the acreage of land under cultivation has increased from 6,862,000 to 11,610,000 acres, that the potato crop has been doubled and that of rye increased six-fold, and that the British farmer can now feed the population on rather more than two days out of three, instead of only one day in three which was the case before the war. As the result of a highly efficient system of food rationing and distribution, all sections of the people are getting enough food in quality and quantity to keep them in good health.

In India, particularly in the most starved province of Bengal, food problem has been mishandled in a manner probably unprecedented in human history. The Government in this

country could not claim more than a ten per cent increase in food production as a result of the grow more food campaign on which millions of rupees have been squandered. It is doubtful whether this small increase is due to the Government campaign, or is a natural outcome of high prices for agricultural produce.

Mohenjodaro to Influence British Town Planning

Mr. B. S. Townroe, member of the British Central Housing Committee and a member of several Town Planning Committees in Britain delivered a lecture before the India Society, London, on May 26, 1943, on 'City Development in India and Britain—some comparison' Sir John Woodhead presided. Mr. Townroe said :

"Those who bolster up their wishful hopes of a new world, planned according to their own individual beliefs of what will be the best for future generations, are infected at times with the slow poison of totalitarianism. They forget that many of their much boasted ideas are at least 5,000 years old . . . Buried cities in the Indus Valley at least 5,000 years old, when excavated, showed they were well planned and drained. Every large house had a bath-room. The old Vedic treatises afford striking proof of the knowledge and commonsense of the early peoples of India in regulating their building development and wisdom in their municipal administration.

When we think of the great urban civilisation in the Indus Valley of 5,000 years ago, we gain humility in facing the issues of to-day. From Indus we can learn both patience and wisdom in dealing with the re-development of our bombed cities in Europe and North Africa and the Far East in the years to come"

Long before the birth of Christ, town planning was a regular feature in the municipal life of India. Taxila, Pataliputra, Kasi, Vesali and a host of other cities may be mentioned. During the Christian Era before the birth of modern Britain, Bengal had Gaur, Pandua, Pundranagari, Tamralipti and many other well-planned cities.

Gift of Science to Humanity

Mr. D. N. Wadia, Mineralogist to the Government of Ceylon and a former President of the Indian Science Congress, speaking at Colombo on Soviet Science said that the planning of science and technology in Russia had transformed an illiterate agrarian people into an efficient industrial state.

He explained in considerable detail the organisation of Soviet scientific research from the subsidiary points serving factories, mines and farms to the Supreme Council and the Academy of Science.

Scientific research in Russia had been directed mainly to the development of its mineral resources and agriculture to such an extent that the Soviet Government maintained a corps of 10,000 geologists including 3,000 women at a cost of £33,000,000 for mineral research work alone. Investigations, he said, had for instance proved Russia's petrol deposits to be near seven hundred million tons.

In agriculture, he said, large-scale mechanisation and electrification had resulted in new breeding and culture methods. He instanced perennial wheat which sown once yielded four or five harvests.

We give here only one instance of the application of science to meet the need of the people in Soviet Russia. Immediately following the German invasion of Russia in 1941, shortage of food was apprehended and the Government of the U.S.S.R. ordered a large increase in the potato crop. This policy presented very serious practical difficulties. Apart from the huge losses of valuable agricultural land, which was by no means balanced by the loss of population requiring to be fed, it was impossible to provide the necessary quantity of seed. In the ordinary way potato crops are raised by planting seed potatoes taken from the crop of the previous year. The seed potatoes sprout at the "eyes" and these sprouts give rise to the new season's plants. After sprouting, the bulk of the seed potato rots in the ground. The order to increase potato crops meant that the growers would have to take more potatoes as seed, while at the same time circumstances demanded the greatest possible economy of existing supplies for use as food. Professor Lysenko and his colleagues at the Lenin All-Union Agricultural Academy devised a satisfactory method of overcoming this difficulty. In their method, the crowns of the potatoes, containing most of the eyes, are sliced off and used in place of the whole tuber. While normal seed must be sown at the rate of some 15 cwt. per acre, when crowns are used, only 3 cwt. is required. There is therefore a saving of about 80 per cent of the unused portion of the tuber being unimpaired for use as food. The crop is at least as good as when whole seed is used and in many cases appears to be less liable to disease. In 1942, 250,000 acres were sown in Russia by the new method, while this was increased tenfold in 1943. As a result 8 to 9 million tons of extra potatoes were obtained in 1943 without in any way reducing the quantity available for food in 1942. For this work, Prof. Lysenko has been awarded the Stalin Prize for Agriculture. Another value of the Russian work lies in the development of methods of cutting and drying the crowns by which they will withstand ordinary conditions of transport and can be stored for considerable periods.

The Lysenko method has been immediately adopted for potato cultivation on the American continent. In the U.S.A. the "potato eye" trade is now well established and it is rapidly coming into general use in Canada for supplying the more remote regions. The Scientific and Research Institutes and agricultural departments under the Central and Provincial Governments of India, however remain mere

onlookers. The most that a Bengal Government marketing officer could do was to tell the people over the radio that want of potatoes was being keenly felt because there were no potatoes.

Pre-requisites of an Indian Navy

New Delhi, Oct. 6.—Vice-Admiral H. Godfrey, Flag Officer Commanding, the Royal Indian Navy in an address to the Delhi Rotary Club stressed the importance of seapower to India and pointed out four pre-requisites of an efficient Indian navy.

"Ninety per cent of India's export trade", he said, "is seaborne. It only requires half a dozen Japanese cruisers in the Bay of Bengal to bring the trade of Calcutta, for instance to a standstill. Even an army of two million men in India can do nothing to prevent it."

The four pre-requisites of an efficient Indian navy mentioned by Vice-Admiral Godfrey were "a corps of officers who devote the whole of their life to the service and look ahead," a fine mercantile marine, a link-up of industry for the production of war machines and popular backing of the service.

The foremost pre-requisite was, however, not mentioned by Vice-Admiral Godfrey. It is essential that India should possess a powerful navy, consisting both of mercantile marine and warships to protect it, in her own interest. That she has the wealth to spend on the building of a first class navy may be proved from the simple fact that she has been able to grant a credit for over a thousand crore of rupees to England with very little prospect of that money being paid back. It is not for nothing that all Indian attempts to build up her own navy have been systematically prevented.

Microfilms May Replace Books

J. B. S. Haldane, writing in the *Workers' Star* of Australia, describes a new invention destined to revolutionise the modern methods of acquisition of knowledge. He says:

The new invention is this. An entire book is photographed on a film.

This is not, however, an ordinary photographic or cinema film, but a microfilm only just over an inch across.

It is quite thin, and far too small to read directly. So its image is projected on to a screen with an electric light.

The reading machine is about two feet high, and can be stood on an ordinary table. At present it costs about £15 and is not for sale, though a few have been given by the Rockefeller Foundation to British libraries.

The revolutionary fact is the extreme smallness of the films. A whole book rolls up into a case a good deal smaller than a reel of cotton. You could carry the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in one pocket, and the whole library of the British Museum could be stored in a fair-sized house.

Microfilms have been used for some years in America, particularly for scientific publications. But in spite of the efforts of Mr. Watson Davis, of the American Science Service, most people regarded them as an amusing toy rather than a serious invention.

But the war has altered this. It is impossible to get European scientific journals in any numbers, though single sets of many can be got through Portugal, Turkey or Sweden. But they can be photographed on micro-films.

Reading machines are now available in the Science Library in London, among other places, and these journals can be read from microfilms, of which there are a number of copies.

Demand for Control of the Waters of the Nile

Increasing reference is being made in the vernacular press to Egypt's claims on the condominium of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The general feeling is that time has come for the fusion of Sudan and Egypt into one kingdom.

Nationalists have been joined by the Wafdist and the Opposition Press in voicing the "Sudan for Egypt" slogan. They claim that Egypt should control the waters of the Nile. Both the Liberal and the Nationalist Parties are urging the Premier Nahas Pasha to have a round-table conference of all Egyptian parties to secure recognition by the Allies of Egypt's wartime support to the democracies. Meanwhile the Egyptian Government has decided to form a Sudan Department to deal with all questions concerning the Sudan in its relations with Egypt, and, following the appointment of an official trade delegate at Khartoum, traders have begun exchanges with the Sudan. The question of the present joint Anglo-Egyptian rule over the Sudan was left in suspense as one of the four reserves of the declaration of independence. It was also left for future negotiations under the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. Foremost among these questions are now the complete independence of the Valley of the Nile, modification of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, the evacuation of British troops from Egypt and the proposed Arab Federation.

The Nationalist

We welcome our new contemporary, *The Nationalist*. In a signed editorial, declaring the aims and purposes of the new daily, Dr. Symaprasad Mookerjee candidly states, "A new journal, let us not try to disguise the fact, springs from the consciousness of purposes yet unfilled." Dr. Mookerjee continues:

The *Nationalist* will be found to be truly nationalist . . . Our aim is to foster the habit of robust independent thinking in our readers which alone can lead the country out of the morass in which it finds itself today . . . We have our faiths and our convictions. One of them is the faith in the power, the dignity, the glory of a United India, giving equal opportunities to all her children, of whatever caste, creed or community . . . This is our creed, and this our charter; and we believe in the irresistible power for good of the cordial co-operative effort of the millions of our countrymen, irrespective of their local or circumstantial differences. In their diversity we still perceive an essential unity."

The appearance of *The Nationalist* will be more than justified if it can realise the Indian national ideal of an achievement of unity out of diversity, which is more apparent than real,

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

The biggest event in October has been the naval battles are not yet available, and in all commencement of the American assault on the Philippines. After a task force had probed deep into the inner defence lines of Japan a landing was made on Leyte island of the Philippine group on the 19th of October. Japanese naval forces attempted an interception and the biggest naval battle of this war followed. The results of this action were very satisfactory for the American forces and according to the latest U. S. A. reports the Japanese navy has received a crushing defeat. In the air the U. S. A. airforces have been able to meet the challenge of land-based Japanese planes and as a result the ground forces received all the support they needed. Good progress was made in Samar and Leyte in spite of stubborn and organised enemy resistance. The U. S. A. landings have been made in force and General MacArthur has begun his campaign for the re-conquest of the Philippines under the best conditions possible under the circumstances.

The battle of East Asia has at last begun in real earnest though the peak is as yet far off. Up till now there have been minor engagements, limited in scope and attritional in nature. The fight in the main islands of the Philippines is yet to come and despite all handicaps the Japanese are bound to put up a fierce resistance, for here they are in force and under the command of one of Japan's best Generals. This trial round will really indicate the quality of Japan's war-machine and will further show what technical progress Japan has been able to achieve during the two years and a half that have elapsed since the capture of Manila. The re-conquest of the Philippines is not going to be an easy job by any means, although if the Japanese navy has been really crippled to the extent that the U. S. A. authorities believe, then the defence will not be in a position of advantage for very long. Without sea-borne supplies the defenders will soon feel the strain and with the command of the sea and the air General MacArthur should be able to mount his offensive to a crescendo at a fast pace, with further landings of men and material on a progressively increasing rate. But whatever the results of the naval battle might have been, it must not be imagined that the Japanese forces on land would fight with any the less ferocity or vigour. Up till now there has not been any real test of strength between the Japanese and the western Allies on a commensurate scale, and it is now imperative for both sides to measure the steel of their opponents in preparation for the final issue. Full reports of the

probability further battles are impending. Mr. Roosevelt's announcement seems to be definite with regard to the crippling of the Japanese fleet and Admiral Nimitz is equally positive about the severe damage inflicted on it. The Philippine campaign should, therefore, proceed without a hitch to a speedy conclusion. If the Japanese are driven out of the Philippines and the Formosa waters dominated by the American naval and air armadas, then China might expect some measure of a respite in the near future. All these are, however, mere speculations at the present stage, time alone will demonstrate the reality.

China is indeed in need of relief. Seven long years of a devastating war against a ruthless enemy equipped with modern weapons against which China can only pit the flesh and blood of her sons. Unfair criticism of the Chinese forces have appeared in the press of her allies. These self-same Allies she had aided to the limit of her capacity—and beyond—in the days of their trials. Now that the tide has turned, it is easy to forget that debt of honour and to adopt a superior attitude, as is only to be expected of "superior" races. But one may be excused for speculating as to what would have happened if China had thrown up the sponge in 1942, or for that matter, what might yet happen if she crumples up now. However, let us hope that the dawn is not so very far off as it seems to be just now. For the present one can only hope that the Japanese offensive in China has come very near its end. At the moment Japan's stranglehold on China is far stronger than it has ever been before and if the offensive makes further substantial progress, America's task will be heavy indeed when the time comes for the final conflict, and, as it is, it is not light by any accounting even now.

The monsoons are over and the campaigning season is open on the Burma front. Strangely enough one hears of the possibility of a fresh Japanese offensive and that from no less a person than Mr. Churchill. The total Japanese strength in Burma has been variously estimated as being between six to ten divisions, that is to say somewhere in the neighbourhood of 150,000 men. Of these about 50,000 have been slaughtered, according to Mr. Churchill's accounting, and the remainder are said to be in a very low state of physical fitness. And as for their equipment and morale both have been repeatedly reported as being poor. If that be so, then why in all reason is there any talk of a Japanese offensive, instead of a major assⁿ "on Burma, to clear the road to China

relieve distress in India and to restore to us the barest minimum living conditions. It is all very puzzling indeed in whatever way the published records be looked at. Then comes the recall of Stilwell to cap all. This Allied leader had experience, some knowledge of terrain and a certain amount of success—achieved under great handicaps—to his credit. We confess we have no knowledge of "inner facts" but we must say that the reasons given for his recall in the British and the American press do not seem to be quite adequate. There is some mystery about the affair which will be revealed after the war is over, that is to say if it be ever at all.

To sum up, the positions at present in the Eastern theatres of war are as follows. In the Pacific, a new phase has been entered into by this bold bid on the part of the U. S. A. armed forces for the reoccupation of the Philippines. This is the first major assault upon the Japanese defences and much will depend on the events of the next few weeks. In China the Japanese campaign is still making headway and the situation still remains grave. The Japanese have achieved considerable success, and if they are left in undisputed possession of their fresh gains for any length of time, then serious complications may arise in the execution of the Allied plans for the war against Japan. In Burma according to press reports, the initiative is entirely in the hands of the Allies, whereas, according to Mr. Churchill, the Japanese might possibly seize it again.

Winter is fast approaching in Europe, and in its train come weather and climatic conditions that would clamp down brakes on all large-scale offensives in those regions. In Eastern Europe this year's campaign of the Soviets is already meandering down to a slow ding-dong fight. In East Prussia the Russian advance has come to a standstill and further south the Soviets are now hitting at key points. But a great deal has been attained by the Russians within this month of October. The Germans have been driven out of Rumania and a large section of the Balkans. In the Northern sectors the German forces have been driven back across Finnish territory, beyond the Norwegian border. East Prussia has been invaded, and the Baltic States substantially cleared of the enemy. With the coming of winter the Soviets will be in a more difficult position with regard to the conduction of a Winter campaign this year. In the previous three years the Germans had to undergo all the rigours of a Russian winter in the shelterless open and with hundreds of miles of devastated country in their rear, over which transport conditions were almost hopeless. This winter the position is reversed and therefore there might be a lull in the fighting in Eastern Europe until next spring.

There remain barely three weeks more of campaigning season in Eastern Europe and there is no indication as yet of the possibility of a major break-through either in the East Prussian or the Polish defence lines of the Germans. Therefore, there is hardly any possibility of any decisive battles being fought in Eastern Europe within this year, unless the defending German forces are further substantially weakened by calls made on their reserves for service in other theatres of war. In Western Europe the Allies are still fighting hard for a decision. Aachen has been occupied after a long-drawn struggle and some slight progress made further down the line. Fresh landings have been made on the Dutch coast and Belgium has been nearly cleared of the enemy. But the fighting has been extremely bitter and progress exceedingly slow all this month. Now with wintry weather destroying visibility and clogging up the roads and fields, the defence will be in a more advantageous position and therefore progress will have to be either slow or else dearly bought. And therefore in the West too the Germans will probably be able to hold substantially to their positions for the next few months in spite of the immense discrepancy in numerical strength of the opponents, the strength of the Germans being estimated at 600,000 in the West and that of the Allied forces under Eisenhower at anything up to 30,000,000 or more. The Germans are fighting with great skill and with extreme stubbornness everywhere and there is no apparent slackening in their fighting opposition anywhere on this front either. In Italy the same slow progress in the face of bitter and skilled defensive fighting continues.

In short the German effort to pin down the offensives of the United Nations to a static condition of positional warfare still continues and winter conditions are likely to help them. Germany has lost all her satellites, with the exception of a few Hungarian divisions, her own fighting strength has also come down to below 20,000,000 according to Allied estimates. But in spite of all this there does not seem to be any cracking up of her morale or letting-down in her war-effort. There is still talk about fighting down the Allied campaigns to a standstill and of holding on till the opponents' will-to-fight is worn out. All this points to a prolongation of the war in Europe. We had remarked in these columns in a previous issue that we could not perceive any reasons for hoping for an early end of the war in Europe, and now the portents do not tend to belie our apprehensions. Allied officers are reported to be of the opinion that this struggle will continue well into 1945. So Germany's efforts at gaining time—we do not know to what end—seem likely to succeed to some extent.

THE NEED OF THE HOUR

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

The whole governmental propaganda machinery is at full blast in proclaiming that everything is well with the province of Bengal. Serious attempts have been made in the recent past to minimise the magnitude of the famine disaster of 1943 and to ask people to disbelieve their eyes and to discredit their own sufferings. Costly official literature inundates Bengal giving the *humanly possible exploits* of the Ministry during the famine which resulted in the death of approximately fifty lakhs of the helpless and hapless population of Bengal. Behind this smokescreen, a makebelieve rehabilitation scheme is working commensurate with the capacity of the Bengal Government for planning and its execution.

The whole province, in spite of the Government and their propaganda, is going deeper and deeper in the depths of misery in the form of economic ruin, degeneration in health, growing illiteracy, mass destitution and consequent depopulation. The weakness of the Government is noticeable in their sensitiveness to all forms of honest criticism from quarters that are above all bias or prejudice. It is passing strange that comments from persons who are fit to adorn the *musnuds* of not only the provinces but of the centre itself or to become a Minister of the Crown who have witnessed the actual miseries with their own eyes in the huts of villages far away from town who have relations and friends in the province itself, areresented in undignified language by the head of the executive who happens to be present here by an accident. He is not conversant with the joys and sorrows, troubles and tribulations of a people who for the dark shade in their skin are not allowed to be a citizen of His Excellency's country. His Excellency suffers from a handicap that his tours do not bring him to the doors of the destitutes and he has not the opportunity of hearing the tales of woe from the lips of the sufferers themselves. His contacts are restricted to 'loyal' subjects of His Majesty who gather round him to sing hallelujah to British rule and paeans of praise to every ruling satrap of the province. The weakness of the present government is further disclosed in their attempt at hiding truth. And in their mad pursuit they did not hesitate to suppress materials for future history by prohibiting publication of current prices of rice in the districts in the *Calcutta Gazette*. Public resentment ran high against this measure, but with no effect.

The 'popular' Ministers of the province have been drawn mainly from one particular group receiving their support and inspiration from rank communalism and maintaining their existence through statements which in the most crucial days of the famine have in every detail proved to be untrue.

About the past, the less said the better; but past experience may indicate the future lines of action. It has been discovered that the present Government equipment is hopelessly inadequate to cope with any abnormal situation. The people having lost confidence in the Ministry partly due to their (the Ministry's) eagerness to satisfy their white 'masters' both in and outside the Legislature, and partly to a combination of causes which are widely known and need no enumeration, look for an organisation which will combine deep sympathy with intimate knowledge of the prevailing conditions of the province. Such a body is absolutely necessary both in the interests of the government and the governed. Through such a body the Government may put their case to the public which has some chance of acceptance.

The people need it very badly for their own existence or to save themselves from further sufferings.

It is not known when the Report of the present Famine Enquiry Commission will be published and whether their findings or recommendations will be given effect to if they are unsatisfactory to the Government. It is for this and for many other reasons that a Central Public Organisation should be formed and proceed with its business immediately on formation.

India has become a home of chronic poverty and recurrent famines and Bengal has witnessed three of the worst famine under British rule, viz., in 1770, 1866 and again in 1943. The causes have aggravated with the growing power of the British and thorough neglect of agriculture, loss of industry, economic drain, indiscriminate raisings of bunds and high roads interfering with the natural slope of the country and obstructing the flow of flood water, etc. These have caused shortage of food spread of malaria, economic impoverishment and occasional famines. These and some others may be termed as the *remote causes* while the *immediate causes* for each famine while differing in minor details agree in certain broad aspects. These should be gone into by the Committee. Various causes of the last famine, some of a very grave nature, have been attributed by various agencies, and it is necessary that a sifting enquiry should be made to find out the truth. It may possibly be that some of these allegations would prove false on such enquiry.

The next question to deal with is the *extent of the disaster* in respect of (i) loss of human life, (ii) economic damage, (iii) incidence of diseases or effects on the health of the population, and (iv) disruption of family and increasing dependence of the people on the State.

In the last famine the mortality figures were placed at an incredibly low level. Non-official enquiry should be directed to this end to ascertain the exact figure. This can be done in the course of investigation of cases of destitution and ill-health in each family for preventing death and giving some chance of success to the rehabilitation scheme of the Government. Non-official enquiry so far undertaken unmistakably reveals that death rate during 1943 in different parts of Bengal was throughout well over 12 per cent of the population. The sample survey carried on by the Anthropology Department of the Calcutta University places it at "ten per cent, during six months". Assuming that figures for the other six months when famine was not present was just one-fourth of this figure, it is nothing less than 12½ per cent of the whole population. A house-to-house census in Union No. 14, P.S. Magrabat, 24-Perga, comprising 18 villages, and 1,889 family units with a total population of 10,745 show a mortality of 1,266, i.e., 11.78 per cent. A similar investigation in Union No. II, P.S. Mathurapur, 24-Perga, discloses 1,018 dead and 112 missing or 1,130 in a population of 7,312 or 15.4 per cent. The case of Union III in the same Police Station gives a figure of 856 dead and 30 missing in a population of 7,612 or 11.5 per cent. The figures for the cyclone-affected area of Midnapore are nowhere less than 17 per cent, and mortality varied between 11.8 and 15.3 per cent in each of the five villages in five widely separated different unions in the Faridpur district where such census was undertaken by Prof. K. Mukherji, an ardent student of economics. I believe that Munshiganj and Manikganj in the Dacca district will present much higher percentages of death. On the basis of such careful investigation it can be safely said "

nearly 63 lakhs of people died in Bengal in 1943. The average number of deaths per year in Bengal is nearly 12 lakhs. The rest; that is, the excess over the average, must be attributed to the abnormal causes prevailing in Bengal during 1943.

In a similar manner the effects of the famine on other spheres of the society may be ascertained in the course of taking up rehabilitation work in hand. To prevent further death from starvation or prolonged undernourishment the Government should know the number of persons and/or families who require help for a certain period or throughout the twelve months of the year. Unless food is ready at hand, people will migrate to other areas for food and other necessities of life. The distributing agencies should comprise persons who will not have assembled for grain but in a spirit of service to protect co-villagers, and indirectly themselves and their families. The countryside, barring the holdings of those agriculturists who are fortunate in having their own stock of grains, is silently suffering for want of food and other necessities of life due to the unusually high price demanded for them, and .in spite of what the Government spokesman says and reiterates at convenient intervals, deaths are not scarce due directly to starvation or the consequences of it. Here is a typical case which appeared in the *Hindusthan Standard* (October 3, 1944) :

"A news from village Andharmanik within the Sitakunda P.S. is reported of a tragic death of the 8-year-old girl of a destitute woman Satyabhama by name. Satyabhama was a labourer and from sometime past she was out of employment with the consequence that the girl passed eleven days without food and died of starvation."

Reports of deaths of sick destitutes are published in the papers everyday. The district towns in Bengal have their own tales to tell. It is necessary that the newspapers should be allowed to print all cases of destitutes so that the searchlight of publicity may disclose the plague-spots of declining supply of food in Bengal.

The non-official organisations, which are manfully fighting disease, in one voice complain about shortage of drugs and particularly of quinine. The Government version that malaria and other diseases are on the wane is not accepted by the people. The present condition is not such as the Government want us to believe. In the district of Jessor, there were 16,606 births between January and June, 1944, and 29,517 deaths, that is there were 11,911 more deaths than births. The Government is busy counting the number of tablets that are expected to check malaria, but they are not as much successful in making arrangements for their proper distribution. Here again the necessity of an organisation enjoying the confidence of the people comes in.

After all, what is quinine to a man who is deprived of not only the requisite diet but even the normal meal? What effects medicine can produce when the patient has to live under canopy of the sky due to complete dilapidation of his hut? He has not sufficient cover and other things, to mitigate the rigours of malarial paroxysm, which might assuage his distress and put him on the way to recovery.

Other remedial measures that are immediately necessary for lessening the sufferings of the people are the proper treatment of the sick, restoration of land, cattle and agricultural implements, reconstruction of huts, reconditioning of industrial tools and implements and restoration of old trade or calling. There are so many things wanting that it would be useless to try to exhaust the list and it is wise to pursue the prudent policy of His Excellency the Governor of Bengal

adopted in his last broadcast and not to speak anything about them. What is the situation regarding education in the province. Next to life and health, education has suffered the most due to causes that were *humany* possible to prevent. There is dearth of paper, of books, writing materials, illuminating oil, etc. The young students languish from want of proper food; they have to tend the sick. Their fees are in arrears and a considerable number of them have given up their studies for pecuniary stringency in the family. The high prices of vegetables, fish, milk, oil, sugar, clotheings, salt and other necessities of life affect prosecution of studies by students of the middle class families in the first instance. Over and above such handicaps, their services are requisitioned for procurement of foodstuffs and other articles that are not available near at hand but which are indispensable for keeping body and soul together. What steps have been taken to put education on the footing it deserves? Who knows how many of the students had to give up studies due to famine conditions and what number of them are to be restored to their former position? And about the teachers, what shall I say?

Behind this programme of bringing immediate succour to the people, there must be a well-laid plan for ensuring convalescence and a speedy recovery of Bengal now lying prostrate and low. The state's duty for feeding the population in times of distress should be unequivocally declared. Effective measures for improvement in the yield of land, in methods of production and distribution are the crying need of the hour. There has been a mere tinkering with the prob'ems so long. Bengal has already spent over one crore of rupees in the "Grow More Food" Campaign, but with what result? There should be renovation of the departments of Agriculture, Health, Irrigation and Industries if anything tangible is to be achieved. The nine-hundred-and-fifty-lakh-gamble in the shape of the Bengal Rehabilitation Scheme is before the government and a large portion of it must have been spent by this time. But the progress so far effected is not at all satisfactory. The Bengal Rural Reconstruction Department ushered into existence with great fanfare has gone into oblivion. What are this department's attainments? Foreign experts are pouring in more profusely than the floods of the Damodar. Special departments are sprouting up more quickly than weeds and what is the position of Bengal today regarding food, health, education and rural industries?

The province is being burdened with enormous expenditure and the finances show marks of extreme exhaustion. The Hon'ble the Finance Minister performs a prying the way for the state of Bengal to be transferred to the care of a Court of Wards. At such a juncture taxes and more taxes are necessary to meet the growing demands of administration. What Government could think of doubling the Siles Tax when prices of articles of every day use had risen by 500 per cent to 600 per cent. The agricultural income tax bill is on the legislative anvil and one does not know what further taxation measures are bothering the head of the Hon'ble the Finance Minister.

While Government is going merrily on with the help of foreigners, the estrangement between the people and the Government is getting wider everyday. If some sort of rapprochement can not be effected the province will gradually lose all vitality for recuperation. Let a competent body be set up immediately to advise the Government on the rehabilitation scheme and look into the interests of the millions who have lost all strength not only of resistance but of giving adequate expression to their feeling of suffering and despair.



THE LETTERS OF YEATS

By AMALENDU BOSE, M.A.

It is pleasant to watch Homer nod sometimes. In the letters of W. B. Yeats to Dorothy Wellesley (Oxon. U.P., 1940), one does enjoy meeting misspellings that would horrify a schoolmaster. The distortions of names like Elliot (T.S.) and Lenin one might overlook; but what about "sugger" (sugar), "pessimism" "dellusion", "precision", "rhythmes", "physically", "mantlepeice", "intraguers", "negociation", "bare" (bear), "endeed" (indeed), "poleice", "alledged"? Thus "characteristic spelling"—to use Dorothy Wellesley's apologetic euphemism, adds to the value of the letters by establishing a rapport between the poet and his reader. A poet's familiar correspondence is too often inclined to be obtrusively self-conscious and oracular; sometimes it is indistinguishable from any common sequence of letters, being merely a lumber of personal details of domestic life or travels. Between Yeats and Lady Gerald Wellesley whom he met during the last years of his life, a beautiful friendship sprang up quickly despite a difference in social position, a friendship to which we owe these letters full of strong human interest. To the admirer of Yeats, these letters are priceless literary documents inasmuch as they lift 's curtain on the creative processes of a great poet" with the same degree of authenticity as wherewith they offer revealing discussions of recent poetry and events. Reading through the letters one agrees fully with Dorothy Wellesley's remark in the foreword: "Here may be seen, month by month, often week by week, the spontaneous flow of his extraordinary intellectual vitality during the last four years of his life; those years when he showed not only that his creative power was as vigorous as ever, but also that he was still reaching forward into new forms of expression."

That the earlier letters refer constantly to contemporary poets and poetry is no more than what we expect since at this period Yeats was preparing his anthology of modern verse. His dislike of Wilfrid Owen's poetry is well-known; not so known is this reaction to Ezra Pound: "I am tired, I have spent the day reading Ezra Pound for the Anthology—a single strained attitude instead of passion, the sexless American professor for all his violence". Compared to Yeats's official evaluation of Pound in the Introduction to the Oxford Book of Modern Verse, this intimate opinion is a home-truth that tells. Generally speaking, Yeats admires modern poetry and his appreciation is a worthy counterpart of the homage which younger English poets pay him "Now that I have had all my Anthology in galley proof I am astonished at the greatness of much of the poetry, and at its sadness". To Lady Dorothy he writes: "I have found most excitement in your work, in that of Elinor Wyke, in that of Richard Hughes". He is "excited by certain philosophical poems" of W. J. Turner's one of who-e poems, he says, "rends my heart". He praises Laura Riding and "a young poet called George Barker, a lovely subtle mind and a rhythmical invention comparable to Gerard Hopkins". Evidently Yeats's literary likes and dislikes are coloured by his predispositions towards philosophy. "I want especially the names of any books that are philosophies as *Barren Leaves* is"—a personal preference that is enlivened by the shrewd judgement that behind Huxley's satire is a satire which has for theme the whole of life. He hates *The Education* of Miss Sickville-West because the "hero is passive and the assumption throughout is that everybody is passive". This denunciation of the passive attitude to life in literature cannot fail to remind the reader of Yeats's now-famous rejection of passivity-inspired War-poetry, a rejection of which the dialectic appears in this extract:

"I find", he writes, "this dialogue in the *Upanishad*: 'I want to think.' 'You cannot think without faith.' 'How can I get faith?' 'You cannot get faith without action'."

It is a lack of this fundamental faith and faith-sustained action that rebukes some poetry of the Great War, and one feels that Yeats's exclusion of the Owen group from his Anthology cannot lightly be quashed. Much less sound, however, seems to be his joyous observation of what he calls "the sudden return of philosophy into English literature round about 1925". No doubt some individual modern poets have been inclined the way of philosophical writing, Dorothy Wellesley, W. J. Turner (later works), Edwin Muir (not admitted in Yeats's galaxy), Lascelles Abercrombie and some others, yet it would be too sweeping a generalization to suggest that the movement of modern English poetry as a whole is in the direction of philosophy. The movement seems rather to be in the direction of sometimes a sardonic, sometimes a pugnacious social awareness.

Of the propagandist clamour of 'proletariat writers' Yeats had knowledge enough. A believer in the aristocracy of the intellect and the aristocracy of character, Yeats was naturally out of sympathy with the overzealous claims of communism, and more than once in these letters minced no part of his disdain for the demands made by the communists upon literature. Of a certain reviewer he writes, "Men of his kind when they take to proletarian politics copy the worst manners of the mob". Further down in the same letter he says: "When I take a woman in my arms I do not want to change her. If I saw her in rags I would get her better clothes that I might resume my contemplation. But these communists put their heads in the rags and smother." A Marxist would hardly relish Yeats's rhetorical query, "What was Karl Marx but Macaulay with his heels in the air?" (*On the Boilier*, p. 17). Amid the turbid political passions of our times, partisan critics have rushed to dub Yeats a Fascist; the truth is, to use Cecil Day Lewis's sympathetic description, Yeats belonged to the aristocratic tradition which he had inherited from Irish history and which inspired him to a sense of responsibility towards his country that was only excelled by his sense of responsibility towards his art. No doctrinaire in political opinions, Yeats thus writes in *On the Boilier*, a book which he calls in the letters his *Fors Clavigera* ("For the first time in my life I am saying what are my political beliefs"):

"I was six years in the Irish Senate. I am not ignorant of politics elsewhere, and on other grounds I have some right to speak. I say to those that shall rule here: If ever Ireland again seems molten wax, reverse the process of revolution. Do not try to pour Ireland into any political system. Think first how many able men with public minds the country has, how many it can hope to have in the near future, and mould your system upon these men. It does not matter how you get them. Republic, Kingdoms, Soviets, Corporate States, Parliaments, are trash, as Hugo said of something else 'not worth one b'aide of grass that God gives for the nest of the lanner'. These men, whether six or six thousand, are, the core of Ireland, are Ireland itself."

Such a political ideology, essentially nationalist in outlook and individualist in character, is certain to incur the hostility of the Marxist with whom the individual is merely a cog in the super-wheel of the proletarian state, and yet however, the philosophy of individualism has not been proved a fallacy, neither a political error nor a moral obliquity. Yeats's Indian readers, at any rate, ought to feel that a country which is rich with centuries-long tradition, which has the living memory of a pre-

historic or early historical age of heroic glory and beauty to inspire the people in the farm-house and the work-house alike, must naturally respect the integrity of the individual above the sensationalism of political experiments.

Time and again, Yeats pleads for the heroic ideal of life. In one letter he speaks of "watching romance and nobility disappear". Elsewhere he says, "It is we, not the east, that must raise the heroic cry". He thinks that "the true poetic movement of our time is towards some heroic discipline," and, "at last, I shall, I think, sing the heroic song I have longed for—perhaps my swan-song". In that swan-song, a poem which he sent to Dorothy Wellesley under the title *His Convictions* (afterwards altered as *Under Ben Bulben*), Yeats exhorts Irish poets to an adherence to tradition and heroic nobility of character.

Irish poets, learn your trade,
Sing whatever is well made,
Scorn the sort now growing up
All out of shape from toe to top,
Their unremembering hearts and heads,
Born-born products of base beds.
Sing the peasantry, and then
Hard-riding country gentlemen,
The holiness of monks, and after
Porter-drinkers' randy laughter;
Sing the lords and ladies gay
That were beaten into the clay
Through seven heroic centuries;
Cast your mind on other days
That we in coming days may be
Still the indomitable Irishry.

(*Last Poems and Plays*, p. 91)

Of this stubborn ideal of a heroic life which he offered younger Irishmen and himself pursued through all the harrowing decrepitude of old age and a weak constitution, illuminating offshoots are evidenced in these letters. As we read how he confronted the country priests who came to denounce "the Abbey for blasphemy, calling on the government to withdraw our subsidy and institute a censorship of the stage", all for the offence of producing O'Casey's *Silver Tasse*, we have a glimpse of the indomitable spirit that burned within the aged frame. In 1935, when Dr Valera, out of loyalty to the League of Nations, "ranged Ireland on the side of England and against the country of the Pope", Yeats apprehended the eclipse of his much-cherished heroic ideal through political expediency: "I dread crushing taxation, fewer and fewer people with enough financial independence for intellectual courage". With a passionate outburst he justifies his two vitriolic, Swifian bullards on the Roger Casement episode:

"I am fighting in those ballads for what I have been fighting all my life, it is our Irish fight though it has nothing to do with this or that country. Bernard Shaw fights with the same object. When somebody talks of justice, who knows that justice is accompanied by secret forgery, when an archbishop wants a man to go to the communion table, when that man says he is not spiritually fit, then we remember our age-old quarrel against gold-brayed and ermine and that our ancestor Swift has gone where 'fierce indignation can lacerate his heart no more', and we go stark, staring mad."

The passion with which Yeats confronted the changing political and social manners about him was only the offshoots of a ceaseless inner growth and an insistent search after new, adequate, poetic forms. "I have a longing to escape into a new theme—I am tired of my little personal poetry".* He speaks of a ferment having come upon his imagination and assures Dorothy Wellesley that if he writes more poetry it will be unlike anything that he has done. The posthumous volume, *Last Poems*, does indeed show that till the very end,

the great poet was reaching out equally to new forms and new thoughts. The dominant idea of this never-state artist during the closing years of his life was to come by "the common speech of the people", not "the speech of the common people". We find him unsatisfied even with that incomparable penultimate style of his—hard, austere, sharp and agile—which appeared now to be not direct enough, not fully natural. Writing to Dorothy Wellesley, he comments on the road to poetry followed by Mallarme and several of his own contemporaries:

'It is not your road or mine, and ours is the main road, the road of naturalness and swiftness and we have thirty centuries upon our ride. We alone can 'think like a wise man, yet express ourselves like the common people.' These new men are goldsmiths working with a glass screwed into one eye, whereas we stride ahead of the crowd, its swordsmen, its jugglers, looking to right and left. To right and left' by which I mean that we need like Milton, Shakespeare, Shelley, vast sentiments, generalizations supported by tradition."

An American writer who calls his style 'public' pleases him; it is this publicness of style that he would develop now, a style to suit his mature judgments on men and things, attaining to supple directness with equal ease in a serious poem like *The Municipal Gallery Revisited* and the magnificent nonsense verses of the *Crazy Jane* series. Some of the poems in this last volume occur also in the letters, and even a cursory study of the changes effected in the final text convinces the reader of the poet's unfailingly careful art. Besides, they prove that in the final phase, Yeats was constantly seeking to overleap the diotional and syntactical barriers between prose and verse. One might find in Yeats's latest practice a convincing vindication of Wordsworth's much-debated dictum about the essential sameness of prose and poetry. In the following passage, syntax and diction ring the same as those of good prose, and yet the glorious spirit of great poetry presides benignly upon the lines.

Infirm and aged I might stay
In some good company,
I who have always hated work,
Smiling at the sea,
Or demonstrate in my own life
What Robert Browning meant
By an old hunter talking with God;
But I am not content.

(*"Are You Content?"—Last Poems*)

And these lines open up, what one is confident as the most splendid and reiterative feature of the personal life of Yeats's last days—his utter fearlessness of old age and death. "I thought", he says, "my problem was to face death with gaiety, now I have learnt that it is to face life". Writing of a doctor who attended on him in Spain in 1936, he says: "He is an amusing man; I could always tell by his face when he thought I was going to die I have no sense of age, no desire for rest, but then perhaps the French saying is true 'It is not a tragedy to grow old, the tragedy is not to grow old'." This is the utterance of a great spirit, one whose irresistible intellectual zest confers upon old age the joy and nobility of a heroic adventure :

A most astonishing thing—
Seventy years have I lived;

(Hurrah for the flowers of Spring,
For Spring is here again.)

Seventy years have I lived
No ragged beggar-man,
Seventy years have I lived,
Seventy years man and boy,
And never have I danced for joy.

(*"Imitation from the Japanese"—Last Poems*)

* Italics are mine.

When Calcutta Sleeps
By Diprosad Roy Chowdhury





The Burma Road winds through Chin hills.



Women are now playing a vital part in Britain's transport system by manning the canal barges

AT UNCLE JAKE'S GRAVESIDE

BY ST. NIHĀL SINGH

I

UNCLE Jake was my wife's uncle. He was my father-in-law's only brother—two or three years younger than he.

Jake, he was called lovingly. It was short for Jacob. That name was given him by his parents when he was a baby. It was his "first," or "Christian" name, and was placed before the "family" name—Kinsey.

These American Kinseys were descendants of an Englishman of adventurous disposition. He had "crossed the pond" in the eighteenth century, from Suffolk, in the southern part of England. There his people had dwelt for centuries. They were yeoman farmers. His father's and kinsfolk's homes were situated not far from London. Had he been alive to-day, he could have motored from his little village, to the capital of the British Empire in an hour or so.

Outside the family circle this uncle-in-law of mine, was called "Doc. Kinsey." Some who knew him better addressed him as "Doc. Jake." Few Americans say "Doctor". It is too much trouble—and too formal. They almost invariably shorten it into "Doc."

Uncle Jake was a medical man. His elder brother—my father-in-law—went to a pharmaceutical college and became qualified as a pharmacist. Being younger, Jake was more ambitious—wished to do better than that. So he joined a medical college. There he applied himself assiduously to books and lectures. He followed his professors to the bedside of the patients, made a careful note of symptoms, listened to complaints, watched the treatment that was prescribed. He was equally attentive in the operation theatre when one or another surgeon-teacher sewed up a rupture, cut away a limb, or removed a noxious growth from the body. That was before surgery was divested of agony by means of anaesthesia. He passed the final examination with honours and was awarded the Doctorate in Medicine.

Uncle Jake had been dead many years when I first appeared in the small town where he had lived and worked, as did many of his kin—do so still—in Cambridge, Henry County, Illinois. He was not forgotten, however. People spoke of him with respect and affection. He had been a great healer. He had seemed to them to be actually a miracle-man. The prescriptions he had written were treasured by many of his patients, some of whom, thanks to his ministrations, were still alive. Some had been passed on to their progeny as a precious heritage. When any one developed complaints akin to those he had cured, the prescription was

taken to the chemist—often to his brother, my father-in-law—and again filled.

II

It was about this time of the year when I first set eyes on Uncle Jake's tomb. Summer was waning, just as it is now. I suppose the sight of the balsams and zinnias withering in the garden in front of my study, as I write this, has served to carry my mind back to that pilgrimage. Uncle Jake was buried in the Kinsey family burial "lot" (plot, in English) in the community graveyard, a couple of miles or so from the small town where that family resided. As we neared the grassy oblong I took off my hat in token of respect to the departed folk. Just then my eye fell upon a grave that looked different from the others round it. Tiny American flags were stuck in the earth that covered it. There was a bit of bunting fluttering over it.

"Uncle Jake's," whispered my wife's sister. "I wish you could have come a few weeks earlier," she went on. "You would have seen it in its glory. We had brought flowers by the armful and blanketed the grave with them. It did look pretty and gay."

She was young and full of life. I was moved by her enthusiasm to pay homage to an uncle who had served the community with professional skill and neighbourly solicitude.

The desire to know why this one particular grave should have been picked out for decoration—and not others in the "lot"—took possession of my heart. So I asked her:

"Was it some special occasion? Was it Uncle Jake's death anniversary?"

"As to his death anniversary," replied my sister-in-law, "I cannot say. Uncle Jake died long before I was born. We can read the date carved on the tomb-stone.

"But it was a special occasion, all right. See, over there. And there . . . , and there."

I looked, in the direction in which she had pointed her finger. I saw that other graves had been decorated in a similar manner. Small American flags were stuck in the grass growing over them. There were little bits of bunting blowing in the breeze.

"This was done," she informed me, "on Decoration Day! This falls on May 30th every year. It is a national holiday—a holiday throughout the country. On that day we decorate the graves of the men who fought and bled for the nation. They are thus decorated every year. EVERY YEAR!"

She wished me to grasp that American idea. I was still a "green-horn" there.

therefore, took pains lest I forget that it was, with my wife's people, an institution. I remember it, even though some 10,000 miles now part that sweet girl from me.

III

So Uncle Jake had been a hero! He had fought and bled for his nation!! How glorious!!! I said all this and more.

"Yes," said my wife, a little older and wiser than her sister, "yes, Uncle Jake heeded the nation's call."

"A war was being fought. It was a cruel war. The United States was not prepared for it. The soldiers it had put into the field were, in consequence, being butchered like sheep led to the slaughter.

"Some one had to go to those poor people—go out to them—care for them. Who better than some one with medical knowledge and surgical skill and experience?

"The soldiers' bleeding wounds had to be staunched. The shattered limbs had to be bound up, the fever cured, diarrhoea, dysentery and other plagues that were raging conquered and eradicated. The nation stood in dire need of men who had knowledge of medicine and surgery and experience in saving life, and the will to use that knowledge and experience to assuage pain, to save limb and life. Uncle Jake had all these qualifications.

"So he went. Uncle Jake went of his own accord—of his own free will. He was not 'drafted in' (the American way of saying conscribed, or as the word is now being twisted, conscripted). Eager to serve his fellow-men, he became an army surgeon.

"He served right up to the end of the Civil War. Often he had to work in advanced positions. An enemy's bullet might any moment have lodged in his person. He might have been killed, or maimed for ever. But Providence protected him. He came back home alive—sound in life and limb, without so much as a scratch. The fortunes of war are unfathomable, aren't they?"

IV

A hundred miles or so, as space is measured in this air-age, to the south of Uncle Jake's grave, there is a tomb. It is in the same state of the American Union—Illinois. It is in the capital of that state—Springfield by name.

It is a tomb—not a grave. Not only is it the last resting place upon earth of the bones buried there: but it is also a monument to the man who left behind those bones. Built of marble-white, carefully selected, painstakingly matched marble—it, by its size and fineness, is designed to recreate before the spectator's eyes a vision of greatness that not so very long ago

was alive—dynamically, tirelessly, high-souledly active in man's service.

This memorial is to the man whose voice travelled, 83 years ago, from the capital of the United States of America to the small village in which Uncle Jake then lived and laboured. There was something in it that made "Doc." Kinsey pause in his pains and pleasures—something that drew him away from kin and crony. He resolutely left hearth and home to answer that call; and exchanged his "civies" for the army surgeon's uniform.

That call from the nation's seat of government was ringing—insistent. In it were the caller's heart throbs. In it was his great love for his people. In it was also his anguish.

The anguish was more than the echo of the agony of the men already bleeding upon the field of battle or groaning in the hospitals. It was anguish at the folly of the men who had started the fighting. Shots had been fired without parley by men perverse through fanaticism rather than criminality. They had ranged brother against brother—father was rending son. What folly could be more insen-sate—more criminal?

Before I tell of it I must say something of the man who sent out the call that drew Uncle Jake to the colours. And not only Uncle Jake. Hundreds of other doctors and thousands of attendants. Tens of thousands of others needed to fight down the madness let loose by the fanatics. Scores of women, too. For the first time in the history of the United States "home bodies" rushed to the military hospitals to "help (to) heal" the broken heroes.

V

That man's name was Abraham Lincoln. He was tall and gaunt of body. His face was rugged. The kindly soul within it made it attractive despite the irregularity of the features.

He was bred and born far away from the place in which his earthly remains repose. Some 400 miles, as the busy bee wings its way from the flower that yields her nectar to the hive, to the south-east of Springfield, his tiny, helpless lips first closed upon his mother's breast.

She lay upon a wretched pallet in a cabin dark as a dungeon and draughtier than a prison cell. It had been built at the edge of primeval woods by her husband.

He himself was spiritless, and easy-going. There somehow was in his seed both ambition and striving. Or was the milk-stream from his mother's breast charged with these essentials to individual success and social service?

With hardly a start towards literacy and without means to buy books or even to purchase a lamp and wick and oil for it, to read

by, this son of Nancy Hanks Lincoln—Abraham Lincoln—became one of the best informed men in his Motherland. He studied law, but its practice sickened him.

Sympathy for his fellows and speech instinct with that sympathy and in flow and rhythm comparable to the brook's naturalness, won him the suffrages of the citizens. They sent him to the legislature of Illinois, to which state he had drifted. A little later he was chosen to speak for that state in the national Congress at Washington, D.C. A new party that had scored no success worth chortling about put him up as candidate for the Presidency. His personality and eloquence, reinforced by his striving in vindication of man's inalienable right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" carried him to the pinnacle of political glory.

On March 4, 1861, he was sworn in as the sixteenth President of the United States. In virtue of that office, he became the Commander-in-Chief of all the national armed forces on land as well as on water.

VI

Barely a month had Lincoln been installed in the White House when shots rang out in the vicinity. In the harbour at Charleston, South Carolina, stood Fort Sumter. Almost without warning it was attacked by the rebels. Without fight the garrison surrendered. The national flag—the "star-spangled banner"—was ignobly hauled down. The "stars and bars"—the rebel emblem—was run up instead.

Yes. It was a rebellion against the joint authority. The attack had come from within—not from without—the country. The aggressors were Americans—not hostile aliens.

The figure round which insurgents gathered—Robert E. Lee—was a general who had the prestige of distinguished leadership in the recent war with Mexico. Appointed commander-in-chief by the "Confederacy" formed by states that proclaimed their secession from the American Union with its headquarters at Washington, D.C., he began functioning in rebel interests almost under Lincoln's nose. The troops under him were seasoned soldiers. Behind them were reserves of men filled with fanatical zeal for the insurgent cause.

And that cause? As it was preached, it was armed protest against the alleged usurpation by the central government of rights considered to be inherent in the various state governments—against the unwarranted, unceasing, unbearable interference by the "North" with the affairs of the "South". These geographic expressions need explanation.

A line had originally been drawn purely for purposes of boundary delimitation. Known

after the surveyors as "Mason and Dixon's Line", it formed the southern border of Pennsylvania. It was extended, from time to time, till it cleft the country in twain. The states to the north of it were known collectively as the "North"; those south of it constituted the "South". These words became embedded for ever in the United States terminology.

Slavery was the distinguishing symbol of this cleavage. It was more than a symbol. It was a storm—a tornado—or, to change the figure of speech, a Vesuvius in eruption.

In the "South" men, women and children of African or mixed Afro-American descent were still (1861) held in bondage. They were openly bought and sold. They slaved upon the plantations and in the homes. Conditions of their life and work were wholly regulated according to the will or whim of their owners. Be "Mássá" (the master) ever so brutal, there was no salvation for the poor sufferers so long as breath remained in their bodies.

In the "North," slavery had been abolished. Numerous men and women there were filled with abhorrence of the system. Through individual and collective work they sought to free the "South" of this curse. Some of them afforded asylum to the run-away slaves and resisted effort to restore them to bondage. In so doing they ran grave risks—rendered themselves liable to heavy penalties.

VII

With Lincoln's election in November, 1860 and particularly after his investiture on March 4, 1861, excitement reached the climatic. Himself a son of the "South" by birth and breeding, he was a son of the "North" by inclination and choice. If any one could drive away the demon of disruption, drown the demand for "disunion"—silence the slogan-shouters of "secession,"—it was he. No one would put brain and brawn into the effort more blithely—more resolutely—than he.

He was not vouchsafed the opportunity peacefully to engage in that effort. The shots fired on Fort Sumter took away the opportunity for pacific action.

His attitude in respect of slavery he had made crystal clear. He would have no truck with it:

"A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall, but I expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other."

So he had thundered from a public platform in Illinois when pitted in debate with Stephen A. Douglas. Though the echoes did not resound from any legislative

in them potency that shook the entire nation. A little later he contested the right with this very debater to be in supreme command at that fateful hour in the nation's life, and was sent to the White House. Even before the outgoing President had yielded him the place of power, he had indicated, with clarity, that he intended slavery to be

" . . . put where the people would be satisfied that it was in course of ultimate settlement."

With such a man at the helm, human bondage, upon which the plutocrats of the "South" had built their prosperity, was in jeopardy. So they feared. Through dread they rushed matters. They would force him, they thought, to his knees before he could muster strength to resist them.

Was Lincoln the man to submit to armed rebellion—to confirm and consolidate the schism. If not, what was he to do?

Yet Lincoln must have realized that the United States had been caught wholly unprepared. Wherefrom was he to get the soldiers and the money to finance operations to stem the fratricidal blood-letting? What was to happen while he gathered volunteers under the national flag and they received training? Would not Lee, with his seasoned troops, capture and hold the national capital?

It is now abundantly clear that he never wobbled—never for an instant was he irresolute on the question of union. His mind was made up. He would not tolerate disruption—particularly disruption at the point of the gun.

The attitude of the people as displayed by the "firing on the flag at Charleston" must have heartened him in that resolution. As an eyewitness—the Poet of Democracy, Walt Whitman—wrote at the time :

"Down in the abysses of New world humanity there had formed and hardened a primal hard-pen of national Union will determin'd and in the majority, refusing to be tamper'd with or argued against, confronting all emergencies, and capable at any time of bursting all surface bonds, and breaking out like an earthquake. It is, indeed, the best lesson of the century, or of America, and it is a mighty privilege to have been part of it."*

The promptitude with which Lincoln met this attack on nationhood will for ever remain a landmark in man's executive annals. So will the inflexibility with which he prosecuted the struggle, in pursuance of his resolve to stop the split from spreading—to end disunion—to keep all national elements together—cost what it may.

VIII

It was thought in the first days of '61 that the rebellion was only one

State's (South Carolina's) madness. Whitman wrote :

" . . . It was not thought it would be join'd in by Virginia, North Carolina, or Georgia. A great and cautious national official predicted that it would blow over 'in sixty days,' and folks generally believ'd the prediction. I remember talking about it on a Fulton ferry-boat with the Brooklyn mayor, who said he only hoped the Southern fire-eaters would commit some overt act of resistance, as they would then be at once effectually squelch'd, we would never hear of secession again—but he was afraid they never would have the pluck to really do anything." I remember, too, that a couple of companies of the thirteenth Brooklyn, who rendezvou'd at the city armoury, and started thence thirty days' men, were all provided with pieces of rope, conspicuously tied to their musket-barrels, with which to bring back each man a prisoner from the audacious South, to be led in a noose, on our men's early and triumphant return."†

Events were to prove disastrous. "The national forces," Whitman admits, "fled from the field." He adds :

" . . . The defeated troops commenced pouring into Washington over the Long Bridge at daylight on Monday, 22nd (July, 1861)—day drizzling all through with rain. The Saturday and Sunday of the battle (of Bull Run) (20th and 21st), had been parch'd and hot to an extreme—the dust the grime, and smoke, in layers sweated in, follow'd by other layers again sweated in, absorbed by those excited souls—their clothes all saturated with the clay-powder filling the air—stirr'd up everywhere on the dry roads and trodden fields by the regiments, swarming wagons, artillery, etc.—all the men with this coating of muck and sweat and rain, now recoiling back pouring over the Long Bridge—a horrible march of twenty miles, returning to Washington baffled, humiliated, panic-struck. Where are the vaunts and the proud boasts with which you went forth? Where are your banners and your bands of music, and your ropes to bring back your prisoners? Well, there isn't a band playing—and there isn't a flag but clings ashamed and lank to its staff."‡

Again he writes :

"There you are, shoulder-straps!—but where are your companies? Where are your men? Incompetents, never tell me of chances of battle, of getting stay'd, and the like; I think this is your work, this retreat, after all. Sneak, blow, put on airs there in Willard's sumptuous parlours and b'r-rooms, or anywhere—no explanation shall save you. Bull Run is your work; had you been half or one-tenth worthy your men, this would never have happen'd."*

IX

What a vivid picture he paints of the men in authority in a *desceast* attitude :

"Meantime in Washington, among the great persons and their entourage, a mixture of awful consternation, uncertainty, rage, shame, helplessness, and stupefying disappointment. The word is not only imminent, but already here. In a few hours—perhaps before the next meal—the seeth (secessionist) generals, with their victorious hordes, will be upon us. The dream of humanity, the vaunted Union we thought so strong so impregnable—to it seems already smashed like a china plate. One bitter, bitter hour—

* *Specimen Days in America*, by Walt Whitman (The World's

classic edition, No. 361, Oxford University Press), p. 24.

† *Ibid.*, p. 25.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

* *Ibid.*, p. 27.

perhaps proud America will never again know such an hour. She must pack and fly—no time to spare. Those white palaces—the dome-crown'd capitol there on the hill, so stately over the trees—shall they be left—or destroyed first? For it was certain that the talk among certain magnates and officers and clerks and officials everywhere, for twenty-four hours in and around Washington after Bull Run, was loud and undisguised for yielding out and out, and substituting the southern rule and Lincoln promptly abdicating and departing."†

Whitman left behind the opinion that:

" . . . If the secesh officers and forces had immediately follow'd and by a bold Nappleonic movement had enter'd Washington the first day (or even the second), they could have had things their own way, and a powerful faction north to back them. One of our returning colonels expressed in public that night, amid a swarm of officers and gentlemen in a crowded room, the opinion that it was useless to fight, that the southerners had made their title clear, and that the best course for the national government to pursue was to desist from any further attempt at stopping them, and admit them agnè to the lead, on the best terms they were willing to grant. Not a voice was raised against this judgment amid that large crowd of officers and gentlemen. The fact is, the hour was one of the three or four of those crises we had then and afterward, during the fluctuations of four years when human eyes appear'd at least just likely to see the last breath of the Union as to see it continue."

Steadfastness to the cause of the Union required at that time an iron nerve Lincoln staggered under the blow, but

" . . . recovering himself, began that very night sternly, rapidly sets about the task of reorganizing his forces, and placing himself in positions for future and surer work. If there were nothing else of Abraham Lincoln for history to stamp him with it is enough to send him with his wreath to the memory for all future time, that he endured that hour, that day bitterer than gull—indeed a crucifixion day—that it did not conquer him—that he unflinchingly stemm'd it, and resolved to lift himself and the Union out of it."‡

X

When Uncle Jake began his army surgeon's work, conditions were awful. The office buildings and residences turned into hospitals were already overcrowded. Tents set up to receive the overflow could not cope with the casualties coming in from the field in a steady stream. On the battle plain lay the wounded, groaning, sometimes for two days and more unattended.

Whitman tells of a soldier whom he "found among the crowded cots in the Patent Office." He had been "badly hit in his leg and side at Fredericksburgh" on 13th December.

" . . . He lay the succeeding two days and nights helpless on the field, between the city and those rim terraces of batteries; his company and regiment had been compell'd to leave him to his fate. To make matters worse, it happen'd he lay with his head slightly down hill, and could not help himself. At the end of some fifty hours he was brought off, with other wounded, under a flag of truce."

Uncle Jake and his brother-surgeons had to do the best they could with these casualties. Considering everything, they did marvellously well.

What a tower of strength were the women who had left their hearths and homes for the military hospitals! No praise for these "female" war-nurses—the first of their kind in the United States—could be overgenerous.

XI

My mother-in-law had stowed away in the drawer in which she kept the possessions most cherished by her a pair of epaulettes. The gold was tarnished. Not, however, the memory of her brother-in-law.

With these epaulettes sewed to the shoulders of his army surgeon's tunic, Uncle Jake had come back home. The bloody business had been done with. The attack on the Union had been broken. The secessionists had submitted. The Union had been saved. The country had not been hacked into pieces. The broken hearts would, in time, become whole again.

That early autumn day 37 years ago when that good lady and I were staying with one of her daughters-in-law and she brought out these epaulettes for my inspection, the "North" and the "South" were only expressions descriptive of American physiognomy—not symbols of fratricidal fanaticism. The mud of the country over which the fight had raged showed no vestige of the Civil War's blood. The bitterness had very nearly gone out of men's and even women's hearts. The survivors—and their descendants—were pulling together to make the United States of America "one and indivisible"—the grandest land in the world—"God's own country."

All this and more had come to pass primarily because of the will and work of just one man—the man placed by the people's suffrages at the helm of the ship of state—who, in the hour of mortal combat, would not bend his knee to the demon of disunion—the satan of secession. That tomb in Springfield—also that grave in my wife's natal town—and many another resting place for bones that once were moved by muscles themselves impelled by overwrought nerves, are symbols of a struggle that should never, never have taken place.

I am proud of my wife's Uncle Jake—proud of his kindly, efficient ministrations to the torn and tortured bodies of men mauled and maimed through the madness of their fellow-men run amok. He never bled upon the field of action. He did not receive even a scratch. He, nevertheless, was a hero—as true a hero he was as any general or private who, gored, suffered agonies. But for work such as he and his fellows did, in obedience to Lincoln's call, the United

† *Ibid.*, p. 29.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

States of America might to-day be two, ten, or two hundred lands. Who knows?

Once a split is permitted to begin, one never knows where the process will end. One only knows that wreckers find encouragement as it spreads. Their ranks swell. Their heads become turned. They are obsessed with madness to divide and to subdivide.

My wife's Uncle Jake was among the legions that, at Lincoln's call, put an end to that process of rending. The UNION was, in consequence, preserved. It went on gaining strength. What nation to-day is so diverse, in respect of its elements, as this and yet, nationally, so solid—and this in a world wildly torn by disruption?

THE METTUR DAM

By L. N. GUBIL

The Mettum Dam constructed across the river Cauvery in South India is one of the largest dams in the world. No wonder therefore that visitors to India do not fail to include

to prevent the formation of cracks in the cement structure, and at the same time to keep the dam thoroughly water-tight whether in summer or in winter. The dam can be inspected from the



The Mettum Dam



The road leading to the bridge at Mettum

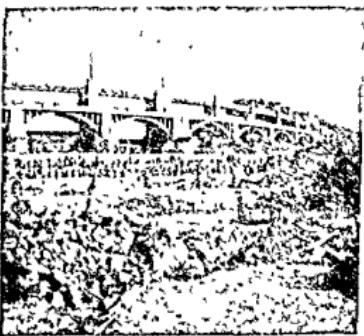
this in their itinerary. The broad expanse of the waters locked up by the dam is indeed a feast to the eyes of any visitor; but the imposing concrete structure is a special attraction to the engineer.

entrances to the hollow interior at the bottom of the dam itself. Throughout this length, vertical shafts 15 feet from one another provide for the ejection of sewage water. Thus this in-



A view of the Mettum Dam from the topmost hill

The dam carries a roadway (16 feet broad between parapets) nearly a mile long. The dam is erected to a height of a little over 200 feet and is in sections of 126 feet each, jointed to each other by copper plates, the object being



A view of the escape of surplus waters at Mettum
ner vault serves the double purpose of an observation chamber and a drainage gallery.

The water impounded by the dam might on occasions be nearly a million lacs of cubic feet, and might be spread over an area of about

MADAME TUSSAUD'S EXHIBITION

sixty square miles. It is, however, noteworthy of the flood waters at the Mettur Dam that both in regard to the time taken for the vides effectively for the diversion of the surplus construction of these huge works and the cost waters, per unit of storage, the Mettur Dam has set up the lowest record—it costs on the whole five crores of rupees.



Another view of surplus escape

Before the construction of this dam, the irrigation of the Cauvery delta in the Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts was dependent on the capricious mercy of the north-east monsoon. But now the copious supply from the south-west monsoon has been harnessed not only to steady and regulate the supply throughout the irrigation period, but also to increase the area under cultivation in the delta. In fact, a new canal—the Grand Anicut canal—starts from the Grand Anicut (10 miles lower down Trichinopoly), which has brought under the plough no less than a quarter million acres of land previously uncultivated.

The periodical havoc by floods that used to occur in the Cauvery basin has now been definitely taken the edge off the reduced if not completely eliminated. Regulation high summer temperature.

The whole of South India has therefore reasons to be grateful to the initiators of the scheme from Colonel Ellis downwards, who initiated the outline of the scheme in 1910. Another advantage of equal importance has been obtained, and that is the utilisation of the energy of the pent-up waters through four turbines operating under a maximum head of 150 feet of water to generate electricity. The Mettur electric supply scheme is both complementary and supplementary to the bigger Pykara Hydro-Electric scheme.

One of the direct benefits of the dam has been the effect on the Mettur climate. The vicinity of a large lake formed in the natural gorge between some hills and the waist-line of



The Dam and the Power-house

MADAME TUSSAUD'S EXHIBITION

Story of Famous Waxworks Show

By ERIC LYNN

"Where Hitler and Stalin live together in peace," says a witty poster advertising that strange, world-famous museum of wax figures, Madame Tussaud's Exhibition. Madame Tussaud's has not lost its charm and the bomb which destroyed part of the large building during a raid has only stimulated public interest.

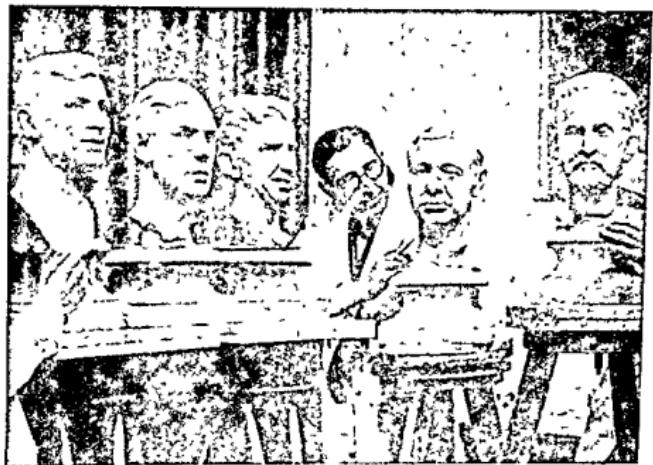
Scarcely any similar institution in the world can compete with Madame Tussaud's for the dramatic history of its origins. Its founder was Marie Grosholtz. Born in 1760 in Switzerland, on the death of her parents she was adopted by her uncle, the doctor Christo-

phe Curtius. Hearing of his gift for making wax models of his friends, the Prince de Conti invited him to come to Paris. There the Swiss doctor was so successful that modelling in wax became a fashionable craze, and his place was often visited by men like Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, Mirabeau, and later the American Ambassador, Benjamin Franklin.

His niece Marie proved an extremely gifted pupil and was soon even more proficient than her uncle. She was invited to Versailles as tutor to the king's sister, and here she modelled Marie Antoinette's face from life.

When the storm clouds of revolution were

gathering, Curtius recalled his niece from the Court to the safety of his house. But on July 12, 1789, an angry crowd approached the studio, asking Curtius to make effigies of the people's heroes for a procession. Two days later the Bastille was stormed. Curtius was sent out of Paris, leaving the young Marie in charge of the studios and exhibition.



Madam Tussaud's Exhibition is now in the hands of Bernard Tussaud, great-great grandson of the foundress. Here he is seen at work on new heads

Heads began to fall fast. The Convention called for death masks to show the people of Paris. Marie was summoned, and more or less forced to fulfil a dreadful task; one by one the mutilated heads of those whom she had known at Versailles and Paris passed "through her hands—from Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette to the revolutionaries who eventually became the victims of their revolution, Marat and his murderer Charlotte Corday, Robespierre, Carrier . . .

Marie herself did not escape the threat of death but was thrown into prison.

When she was freed at last she learned that her uncle had died mysteriously. She was alone in the world, her sole possession a large number of wax models. She married a French soldier, Francois Tussaud, but after some years they separated. In 1802 Marie took ad-

vantage of the Treaty of Amiens and sought refuge in England, taking her two children and all her models.

She came to London and opened an exhibition in the Strand, at the old Lyceum, and then toured the British Isles for 33 years. At last in 1835 the exhibition found a home in Baker Street, where it stayed until 1884, when it was moved to the present site in Marylebone Road.

Madame Tussaud, ceaselessly enlarging her collection, lived to the age of ninety. Almost every important personality of her time was her model as well as her visitor, and "Madame Tussaud's" became one of the sights of London.

In 1925, Madame Tussaud's exhibition experienced its first great tragedy. Fire broke out, and in an hour little was left but a heap of ruins. Fortunately the invaluable moulds of the wax portraits escaped, and curiously enough the "Chamber of Horrors" sustained the least damage. People used to say at the time, "The Devil looks after his own!"

Three years later, how-



This photograph shows a portion of the historical section, with King Henry VIII and a few of his wives and courtiers ever, Madame Tussaud's reopened in a new building. A thousand years of English and world history are represented in this exhibition, and

Marie Tussaud's rule of adding the portraits of eminent personalities as soon as they became "news" is still observed. The present manage-



In the basement of Madame Tussaud's Exhibition is the Chamber of Horrors, where are models of most of the notorious criminals of the world

ment of Madame Tussaud's, however, must use some prophetic sense as to whether people who have come into the news are likely to stay there for some time. Wax models—the heads, are now being made by Bernard Tussaud, Marie's great-grandson—are very difficult and expensive to make, and there is only a limited space for the exhibition of contemporary personalities. For this reason, the management has to study political events, and carefully pick the people who are important enough to be exhibited.

All the British Cabinet Ministers are there. A recent portrait of Mr. Churchill was made at his country house, where he gladly sat as a model for the sculptor. Many Members of Parliament, the Opposition leaders, and other men of political importance find their wax effigies at the exhibition.

Difficulties over accuracy of detail arise when a foreign statesman has to be included in the collection. When, for instance, Hitler became Chancellor of the Reich in 1933, the management asked the German Embassy in London for information about the shade of his portrait of every renowned criminal to her hair and the colour of his eyes; but the Embassy collection, giving each a suitable background,

still occupied by diplomats of the "old regime", refused to make propaganda for their new chief by facilitating the modelling of his portrait! Thus the modellers had to guess, and when, later on, a leading Nazi official visited the exhibition, he protested vigorously at what had been made—mainly from photographs—of his beloved Führer. Then he went back to Berlin, interviewed Hitler, and sent Madame Tussaud's the correct information.

Mussolini had to get a new head in 1939; apart from his increasing baldness he had taken to a new cap after his visit to Berlin. Stalin, unfortunately, had to be modelled entirely from photographs, but General Franco seemed to be pleased to become a member of the illustrious crowd at Madame Tussaud's: he sent the Duke of Alba to see to the details of his portrait. When King Carol of Rumania and President Kemal of Turkey were modelled, their respective ambassadors paid several visits to the exhibition, and saw that every detail of the uniforms and decorations was correct.

The most famous section of the exhibition is the "Chamber of Horrors". Its nucleus was Dr Curtius' "Caverne des Grands Volcurs", on the Boulevard du Temple in Paris. Marie



Here, in an exactly reproduced setting of those days, is a model of Queen Victoria

Tussaud continued the tradition of adding the

Here we meet Jack the Ripper; Landru, the death masks, made by Marie Tussaud, of Louis French Bluebeard; several hangmen and their instruments; the guillotine, with the original knife of 1789-93; the Iron Cage; the Electric Chair; and all the intricate instruments of almost every grown-up person still enjoys ancient torture. And here, too, are the actual Madame Tussaud's dolls.

THE MALABAR MATRIARCHY

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Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan
II

B. As to the genesis of social amalgamation there are differences of opinion: some think that matriarchy was the first unifying social force, others hold that the patriarchal family was the first nucleus of social order, while there are still others according to whom matriarchy and patriarchy flourished in primitive communities side by side. Since the time of Bachhofen a class of sociologists have "been tempted to see" in the matriarchal family system the original nucleus of human social order. "From promiscuity through matriarchy to patriarchy was the scheme proposed" and I am inclined to cling to this view in spite of all that is being said to refute it. It appears extremely probable that Matriarchy (including its two sides i. Matrilinea, i.e. the rule and dominance of mother and ii. Matriliney i.e. the custom of reckoning kinship, descent, succession, and inheritance in the female line) was the earliest form of social organisation. The argument forwarded to refute this view is that anthropological researches show that in "all parts of the world we find maternal kinship side by side with institutions of paternal authority" and from this the hasty conclusion is drawn that "the family is always a bilateral unit though succession and inheritance are determined unilaterally." In other words, the argument is reduced to this: that because in many primitive societies we find traces of Patrilinea combined with Matriliney, therefore Matriarchy could not have been the first form of family order. Indeed that is exactly as it should be if we start with a matriarchal system of family building. The dangers and difficulties of promiscuity having been felt and realised by our ancestresses they founded in their cave-homes families which, of necessity, were matriarchal in form and spirit. This matriarchy in its earliest stages must have included both its features.—Matrilinea and Matriliney. With the growth in man of a sense of responsibility and inclination for settled life (both of which must have been slowly infused in his nature through his companionship with woman) the idea of sticking to one female or to one residence or settlement (founded by one female) began to find more and more favour with man but when he came to live in a family naturally he came with the authority of a lord (potesta) though the other rules relating to the family remained unchanged, which explains for the traces of matriliney in patrilineal families. Such traces, according to my views, far from refuting the theory of the matriarchal origin of human family and social order afford justification for holding the view that the first family and social order founded by our ancient but farsighted ancestresses, in course of time, came under the sway of our naturally more aggressive ancestors when through centuries of female companionship they came to realise the futility of a nomadic life. Patrilinea, where it evolved, was of a later origin and did not therefore serve as a sure indication of the patriarchal

origin of social order. Those who think that possession of authority in an organisation serves as a sure clue to its real founder overlook two things while applying that formula in this particular case, namely, i. that authority may be snatched away from the hands of the original founder by a more aggressive late-comer and ii. that the rivalry in this case (for the authority in the family) was not between two rival sovereigns (one of whom exists only to the exclusion of the other) but between members of two complementary sexes each of whom was, more or less, anxious to secure the co-operation and company of the other. In such a perspective it is not difficult to see that having founded and maintained the family (in the first stages of its growth) our ancient ancestresses (in most cases) yielded to a policy of transferring authority to their male mates, as a price of their co-operation (in the constructive work of building up a social order whose significance was, if at all, understood very vaguely) which (transfer of authority) satisfied their masculinity will to power and aggressiveness. It is indeed this happy blending of masculine vigour and dash and feminine submission and sacrifice that made the evolution of the family life possible.

This submission (of woman) was not a sign really of defeat but rather an index of woman's moral victory over man which lay in being able to harness the turbulent energy of man to the discipline of domestic life. It was the coronation of her king in the kingdom founded by woman's own hands and nurtured by her own sacrifice and effort. Such surrender may be unnatural as between two rival claimants to an earthly kingdom but here the kingdom was of the heart (i.e. family) and the founder of this kingdom (woman) was anxious to replace rivalry by co-operation. This is the explanation of the presence of patrilinea in matrilineal societies (as also, I think, of the gradual transference of the duties of family-management in Nayar families from the eldest female to the eldest male).

Gradually with the evolution, in most cases, tending towards a full-fledged patriarchy, patriarchy also came to be incorporated in the family system. This way of looking at the phenomenon of social origin enables us to explain why there are societies i. where patriarchy (i.e. patrilinea and patriliney) prevail, others ii. where patrilinea prevails with matriliney and still others, iii. where matriarchy (i.e. matrilinea and matriliney) prevails. In (i) all traces of maternal spadework have vanished, in (ii) traces of maternal origin of the family are visible but such traces are being obliterated gradually by the introduction of patrilinea, and in (iii) the maternal origin and authority are still prevalent and visible.

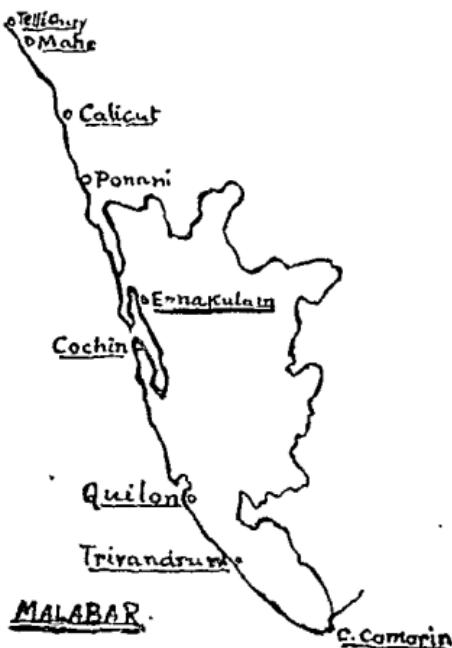
Till recently Malabar society (more strictly the Nayar society) has been a society of this last type,—one of the few in which traces of its earliest origins have been retained. This is readily admitted, but what

cannot be accepted is the hasty conclusion that because it has not thrown away its original traces of matriarchy and fallen in line with most others which have either accepted full-fledged patriarchy or at least matrilineal, it is a primitive society in which cultivation of higher pursuits and realisation of nobler ideals of life are not possible unless matriarchy is replaced by some sort of readymade or improvised patriarchy. Two false ideas are responsible for this erroneous impression, one absolutely imaginary and the other with a thin substratum of fact. Firstly, "tales are still told of villages (always outside the ken of the narrator) where only women dwell, whose population is maintained by the admission annually of one male who is put to death when his procreative task is done," so that under the influence of such ghastly informations the very idea of female authority appears to us to be as something horrible, undesirable and repulsive—a thing which can be tolerated only among primitive barbarians. This obviously belongs to the domain of fiction and no serious effort is needed to reveal its hollowness.

Secondly, the races which have still retained traces of matriarchy of any type (either matrilineal or matriarchal or both) are mostly in a primitive state of civilisation. Such, for instance, are the old tribes of Australia, Sumatra, Micronesia, Melanesia and Formosa, the Garos and Khasis of Assam, the African tribes about Lake Nyassa, the Ila-speaking peoples of northern Rhodesia, the tribes of Ashanti and on the Gold and Ivory Coasts and the Iroquois of North America. When along with these primitive peoples are also mentioned the Nayars, as having the matriarchal (or matrilineal) family system it is presumed by the ill-informed (at least it is felt by the Nayars that it is being so presumed by the whole world) that the Nayars (and the Malabarians in general) are also a primitive and backward people, a presumption which the latter want to remove by rejecting the matriarchal system which is responsible for classing them among the backward primitives. But the question is : Have the Malabarians really been such a backward and primitive people as the other matriarchal tribes ? Let us peep into their history for a while.

Malabar is a district of British India (5792 sq. miles in area) in the Presidency of Madras with its headquarters at Calicut. Sometimes the entire western coast of peninsular India is vaguely described as Malabar, but strictly speaking, the area in which Malayalam is spoken should be called Malabar and "it would thus be co-extensive with the old kingdom of Chera, including the modern states of Travancore, Cochin and part of Kanara." Calicut, Cannanore, Tellichery and Cochin are the important seaports through which considerable amount of coffee, coconut products and pepper is exported. Indeed the sea-borne trade of Malabar (especially pepper) attracted (since the earliest times) to Malabar the Moor traders who, according to some authorities, are responsible for giving the region its present name, Malabar, (written in Arabic either as Al-Mahbar or as Al-Manbar) meaning "passage or ferry" and "may have referred either to communication with Ceylon, or, as is more probable, to its being in that age the coast most frequented by travellers from Arabia and the Gulf."¹² Barbosa in his descriptions *inter alia* remarks : "And after the Moors of Mecca discovered India, and began to navigate near it, which was six hundred and ten years ago ; they used to touch at this country of Malabar on account of the pepper which is found there."¹³ The Periplus (of the Erythraean Sea) mentions among local articles of commerce the pepper of Kottanam.¹⁴ Other writers have successfully shown that there was cultural and commercial contact between

Malabar and other civilised peoples of the ancient world, like the Phoenicians and the Babylonians. Simcox finds the resemblances between Berber and Malabar usages so strong that it appears obvious to him that the



Phoenicians "when trading from the Persian Gulf to India, should have established a commercial colony on the Malabar coast, which has been a thriving centre of Eastern and Western Trade" Referring to the Malabar practice of dividing the day into 60 portions (Naligas) of 24 minutes and of dividing the Naligas into 60 Vinaligas of 24 seconds each and again subdividing these Vinaligas into 60 "long letter utterance times equal to 2/5ths of second each," the same author opines that the sexagesimal system of ancient Babylon is absolutely so unique that it must have been learnt by Malabarians from the Babylonians with whom therefore, they must have come in intimate contact.¹⁵ Such intercourse with the civilised and progressive nations of the ancient world could not have failed to heighten the standard of cultural and intellectual attainments of a people whose native land also was considered no less advanced and progressive in those days.

Fortunately for us some foreign travellers (who had also been clever writers and shrewd observers of social habits and customs) have left records of their observations which enable us to get a glimpse into the social life of the people of Malabar. A critical examination of the records left by travellers like the Portuguese Barbosa and the Venetian Marco Polo shows that far from being a backward primitive people the Malabarians (especially the Nayars) had, even in the early epochs of history, evolved a highly efficient social system and a civilisation of which courtesy, honour, chivalry, the promotion of higher virtues and the cultivation of arts were the conspicuous elements, and that in spite of the

12. Notes by Sir Henry Yule in his translation of the Book of See Marco Polo, Vol. II, pp. 332 and 390.

13. Barbosa : *Ibid.*, p. 102.

14. See, E. J. Simcox's *Primitire Civilisations*, Vol. I, p. 546.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 243.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 247.

prevalence of matriarchy (or was it perhaps because of it?). The following narrative culled from the records of Barboea (referred above) I believe, will be of interest to students of social life and history:-

The king and the royal family (pp 105, 106, 111, 112):—The kings do not marry (nor have a marriage law) but each one has a mistress who is a lady of "great lineage and family" which is called Nayre. These ladies are said to be very beautiful and graceful. The children born from these ladies do not inherit the kingdom ("nor any thing else of the king"); they only inherit the property of their mother. The kings' heirs are their brothers and nephews (sisters' sons). The kings' sisters do not marry, nor have husbands, and are very free and at liberty to do what they like with themselves. The kings' sisters and nieces are held in great honour, guarded and served and they possess revenues for their maintenance. The coming of age of the kings' sister or niece is celebrated (when she is 13 or 11 years of age) when a young man of noble family is summoned, who on his arrival is received with great honour and entertained. He is then required to "tie a gold jewel to the neck of the damsel", which she wears all her life as a mark of her having performed these ceremonies. After this she is at liberty to choose with whomsoever to live. The princesses mostly prefer to live with Brahmins who belong to the priestly class. Then follows a description of the one thousand women attendants of the king and their nocturnal temple procession of light escorted by the nobles and other men-folk. The courtesy and chivalry of the men the beauty and grace of the women, and the neat tastefulness of the whole festival succeed to breathe through the interval of these long centuries a fragrance of delicacy, a perfume of poetry and a rhythm of refinement which must be rare even among people who have been known as the most refined in history. I cannot therefore check the temptation of quoting the passage in a foot-note.¹⁸

The Brahmins (pp. 121, 123): The gentle Brahmins are priests, who "do not eat flesh or fish" and are much respected by the people. They are not punished for any offence (under the law) but their chief "who is like a bishop" chastises them in moderation. They marry only once. The eldest brothers only are married who keep their wives "well-guarded and in great esteem". Widows are not married. If the wife commits adultery her husband "kills her with poison." The younger brothers do not marry "nor can marry". They sleep with women belonging to the nobility who "hold it a great honour because they are Brahmins and no woman refuses them."

When it becomes known to him that the wife of a Brahman is in the family way he gives up all carnal

relations with her and luxuries and remains so till the wife gives birth to her child. The Brahmins alone can be the king's cooks. They are also the king's messengers and they can pass from one part of the country to another unmolested even if the kings through whose territories they pass may be at war. The Brahmins are well-versed in many arts, well-read in law and possess many books and as such the kings honour them.

The Nairs (pp. 124, 126-31, 133): "In this kingdom of Malabar there is another sect of people called Nairs, who are the gentry, and have no other duty than to carry on war and they continually carry their arms with them, which are swords, bows, arrows, bucklers and lances." They are of good lineage, smart and very proud of their nobility. They do not associate with peasants and do not eat or drink in any house save that of the Nairs. They are not married and they are inherited by their sisters' sons. The Nair women are "all accustomed to do with themselves what they please with Brahmins and Nairs but not with other people of lower class under pain of death."

When a Nair girl attains majority (puberty) respectable young men are sought for by the girl's mother. Beautiful girls get several such suitors, each one of whom "has his appointed day from mid-day till next day at the same hour" and "so she passes her life without any one thinking ill of it." Both the parties (the girl and any one of the suitors) are at liberty to cut off connection when he or she likes. The children of the unions remain with the mother and are brought up by the mother's brothers. Even if any man knows that a child is his, he is not recognised as such by him or by the society, for "it is said that the king made this law in order that the Nairs should not be covetous and should not abandon the king's service."

The Nair boy is sent to school at the age of seven where he first learns "feats of agility and dancing" which make his limbs supple from childhood. Then he learns gymnastic and then the use of weapons. A group of very skilful men, known as Panics (captains) teach them these arts. When the Nairs enter into the service of a king they promise to die for him. When the Nairs go to war they are paid 4 Tavas per head per day as long as the war lasts and during the war they may touch peasants and eat and drink with them. The king is obliged to maintain the mothers and other family members of Nairs who may die in war. Wounded Nairs get free treatment at the king's cost until they are cured.

The Nairs live outside the towns separate from the people, "on their own estates which are fenced in." It is a sort of self-sufficient citadel. They do not drink and command princely respect from the people. Even a poor Nair will expect from the richest peasant the respect due to a king. They have great privileges in this matter and the Nair women even greater with peasants. "If a peasant were by misfortune to touch a Nair lady, her relations would immediately kill her and likewise the man that touched her and all his relations." This is done to avoid "all opportunities of mixing their blood with that of the peasants." There is another restriction on the freedom of Nair women, namely, "no Nair woman ever enters the towns under pain of death" except once a year . . . On this night more than twenty thousand Nair women enter Calicut (recommended by their male relations) to see the town, which is full of lamps in all the streets which the inhabitants set there to do honour to the Nairs, and all

18. "The King has a thousand waiting women, to whom he gives regular pay, and they are always at the court, to sweep the palaces and houses of the king : and this he does for state, because fifty would be enough to sweep. These women are of good family . . . And these women give a great feast to the king when he newly comes to the throne, after he has finished his year of mourning and abstinence . . . These thousand women have each got a brass dish full of lighted wicks, and between the chandeliers are many flowers. And at nightfall they set out from the temple with their idol for the king's palace, where they have to place it; and all come in procession before the idol which is set upon the elephant, in bands of light, with the aforementioned salvers, and many men accompany them with oil, with which they replenish the lamps. And the nobles, their admirers, go along with them, talking to them with much courtesy; and they remove the perspiration from the ladies' faces and from time to time put into their mouths the betel, which both men and women are constantly eating ; and they fan them with fans, because their hands are fully occupied with the salvers. And all the instruments are sounding, and there is a great firing of rockets, and they carry some burning shrubs, so that it is a very pretty sight."

Barboea : *Ibid.* pp. 111, 112 and 113.

19. This shows that the Nairs guarded very jealously not only their aristocracy but also their matriarchy, for, the only possible explanation for not allowing Nair women to go to towns and visit their mates' homes and relations is the apprehension that they may, in moments of emotional weakness, feel inclined to linger on and gradually become permanent members of their mates' families and thus bring about the ruin of Nair matriarchy.

the streets are hung with clothes." On this occasion the Nair women come to see the houses of their mates where they are received amidst entertainments with great affection and courtesy and are invited to chew betel and "it is held to be a great politeness to receive it from friends."

Much respect is shown by Nairs to their mothers and elder sisters who are treated like mothers. Nair women do not mix with any one during three days every month when a woman has to prepare her own food in "separate pots and pans." After three days of their confinement they are washed in hot water and afterwards they bathe many times each day from head to foot. "They are very clean and well-dressed women, and they hold it in great honour to know how to please men."

Fashion of justice (pp. 116, 118, 120) In Calicut there is a person appointed by the king, known as the Talaxe who administers justice in the city and submits a report to the king. Justice is administered according to the qualities of the persons because "there are diverse sects and laws amongst them". The nobles enjoy exemption and privilege and they "cannot be taken and put in iron" for any offence. But if it is established on the admission of the guilty noble himself that he has killed any one or a cow or committed adultery with a low caste or a Brahman woman or spoken ill of the king, then the king calls four respectable men in whom he has confidence and empowers them by a written warrant to kill the guilty noble wherever he is found without fear of punishment. There is another judicial officer in Calicut who, with the aid of his subordinates in villages, administers justice in the country districts in all matters excepting where capital punishment is awarded. No woman in Malabar dies by sentence of law. If however, a Nair woman who has committed adultery falls in to the hands of the king's officers (before being killed by her relations) the king commands her to be taken and sold out of the kingdom to Moors or Christians (a crude form of royal mercy). Commenting on the state of security which prevailed in Calicut, Abdur Razzaq in his "Matla 'u-s Sa'dain"

mentioned that such security and justice reigned in that city that rich merchants brought to it from maritime countries large cargoes of merchandise, which they deposited in the streets and market places, and left them with no further guards than the customs officers, who took a 2½ per cent duty if anything was sold, otherwise offered no kind of interference.²⁰

Administration:—Nor was the country ruled according to the whims of an absolute despot. Competent authorities mention of the "working of the quasi-parliamentary or constitutional checks upon the arbitrary power of the Rajahs." Mention is also made of General Assemblies which were summoned by the Rajah and in which propositions were discussed and measures were "rejected or adopted by unanimous silence or clamour". The predominating position of the Nairs was discernible also in the administrative system of the country. "These Nayars being heads of the Calicut people, resemble the parliament and do not obey the king's dictates in all things, but chastise his ministers when they do unwarrantable acts."²¹

What has been stated above is, I believe, enough to show that in the hey-day of her matrarchy Malabar has not only not been backward country inhabited by a primitive people but (making allowances for the peculiarities of olden times) by a people whose social progress and cultural attainments were of an order which made learned authorities acknowledge their parity with such progressive peoples (of the old world) as the Spartans the Lycians and the Egyptians. If today the Nairs have lost their virtues of courage, honour and leadership and have become effeminate and superstitious (as some authorities think) the reason for this general degradation of Nair character has to be sought for elsewhere than in their matriarchal system.

(To be continued)

20. Vide H. Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. IV. pp. 98-99. Abdur Razzaq was sent by Sultan Shah Rukh as his ambassador to the Bijapur Court (1422).

21. Simeon *Sapra* p. 548.

such admirable results in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Another idea in the minds of British statesmen was that the British Commonwealth which was the bastion of the world defence to-day might well become the basis of greater world unity to-morrow. The burden of Commonwealth defence rested entirely on the United Kingdom. The Dominions, though they claimed and got equality of status with the United Kingdom in virtue of the Balfour Declaration were content to remain under the shelter of United Kingdom in matters of defence measures, for obvious reasons. But the official and universally accepted doctrine that the Balfour Declaration and the Statute of Westminster have, in fact, as well as in law, given Dominion Governments, Legislatures and Electorates, control of the issues of peace and war was a dangerous illusion. The Dominions were primarily concerned with their own domestic affairs, leaving matters of defence mainly to the United Kingdom. The task of maintaining peace, not merely for its own people but for those of all the Dominions continued to rest on the Government of the United Kingdom. The burden was too great and the Commonwealth was unable to prevent the two Great World Wars.

The burden of prevention of war depended on British statesmen, and it was felt in 1941 that European Reconstruction will be Great Britain's task. The fallacy lay in the assumption that problems of European Reconstruction are confined to Europe.

The fundamental idea among all Commonwealth politicians was, as stated above, that Great Britain and a fragment of Ireland were to sustain the cost of armaments, both sea and air, to give that sense of security which she was able to give to the three communities from Waterloo to the close of the 19th century. The desire to find a way by which men and nations can live together in peace was becoming more and more insistent, and it was felt that the doctrine that war must be for ever a part of man's destiny was unacceptable. After the League had fallen in ruins, it was thought that the voluntary co-operation among the members of the Commonwealth might prevent further war; but this co-operation of free and equal nations did not prevent war from breaking out in 1914 and in 1939. 'Co-operation' therefore was not enough. 'Collective security' was not enough. That the idea of preservation of peace based on voluntary co-operation among equals was a delusion and a snare, was proved by the outbreak of two Great World Wars. Such outbreak showed that it was essential to have an element of compulsion to force the states to keep the peace. Politicians talked of co-operation and influence; but as Washington said "Influence Is Not Government". International difficulties cannot be solved by voluntary co-operation only; in the background, there must be an element of force to be used in the last resort by a Central Government of the United Nations.

Lord Lothian, in his famous Burge Memorial Lecture in 1935, said:-

"There is only one way of ending wars and of establishing peace and that is, by introducing into the international sphere the principle of the State, that is, by creating a federation of nations with a Government which can wield the taxing, executive, legislative and judicial powers, and command the allegiance of the individual in super-national sphere". The theme of Lord Lothian's lecture was—"Pacifism is not enough, nor Patriotism either."

So the only feasible plan for carrying out the idea what was acceptable by all the democracies of the world is that outlined by Lord Lothian and Lionel Curtis. As Lord Lothian says, the real cause of our troubles is that nations are living in a state of anarchy towards each other. The covenant of the League of Nations disguises but does not end anarchy, because it aves intact the root of anarchy—National Sovereignty.

National Sovereignty has been the hidden hand which wrecked the League ideas; for it implies that every nation sets its own interest first. Thus the National Government limits the supreme devotion of its members to itself. As Curtis points out, this defect can not be finally cured until the whole human society have been organised in one International Commonwealth. There must be a transition from National Sovereignty to an International Sovereignty based upon the choice of the members of the National Governments and charged with special rights and duties.

Certain "Federal Union" proposals of Streit, Dr. Jennings, Mr. Mackay and Sir William Beveridge have advocated union on all points, but as Curtis points out this is not practicable and the scheme he advocates is one for union of the Democratic States limited to the problems of defence and security. These eminent thinkers believe that the day of national states is over and so there should be an international union of all the states on all matters. But, as Curtis points out, national states must continue to discharge permanent and necessary functions in human affairs. It is impossible to think of a human society, in which all the racial elements have been mixed up into one mass, following one common way of life. The supreme unity which human society should attain is one in which its component nations are highly differentiated in composition as well as in structure. But a chief impediment is the insecurity caused by the state of anarchy between the various nations; for human society is now fragmented into about 60 sovereign states, and between these 60 sovereignties, a state of anarchy exists, resulting in world wars. Further, an important point against such wholesale union as advocated by Streit and others is that no such International Government could have either the detailed knowledge or time to control conditions determining national compositions and structures. On the other hand, the cabinet of each nation at present is dangerously overburdened by having to deal with questions of security (including foreign policy) and also domestic questions. So Curtis advocates a *via media*. State Governments are to be kept, but the functions at present discharged by them must be divided into two parts. Control of social affairs in their widest aspect should be left to National Governments. An International Government formed by them must confine itself to questions of security and all matters which are inseparable therefrom. This International Government should have power to make security a first charge on all the resources of the component nations. So Curtis advocates that the independent democratic countries should unite with Great Britain for purposes of security and defence. They should form an International Government with the above duties. There should be a joint foreign policy, a joint defence policy and a common budget for defence purposes, contributed by the component states in such proportions as may be determined. There should also be a joint legislative body to decide on defence questions only, which would discuss the foreign situation, the danger of war, the necessary measures of defence and the proportion of individual state revenues to be devoted to joint defence. There should also be a joint executive body for defence questions only responsible for framing the common budget for defence purposes to be laid before the legislative body. These joint legislative and executive bodies of the International Union should be given by their National States sufficient authority to make defence and security a first charge on the individual state's revenue, the National Governments distributing their respective burden amongst individual tax-payers. This International Legislative Body is to be elected from time to time in all the states thus united. It is suggested that this International Union might include the members of the Commonwealth of Nations and also European Democracies like Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark and Norway. Representation in this Inter-

national Legislative Body might be based on taxable capacity, the smaller nations being granted certain weightage in voting power.

Under the scheme thus outlined all domestic questions including the incidence of taxation would rest with each National Legislature, the Union Legislature is only to decide what total sum is to be spent in order to ensure the union as a whole against dangers of future wars, and thus to give to the constituent nations that sense of security without which they can not manage their domestic affairs in security. Each nation might elect their members to the Union Legislature by some system of proportional representation.

In recent times, the approaching end of this war has drawn particular attention of all thinkers to the vital problem of post-war security and there has been a conference at Dumbarton Oaks in which representatives of Great Britain, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and China attended, and a certain tentative scheme which may be called the Dumbarton Oaks Plan (or briefly, the Plan) has been formulated. Roughly, there is to be a Security Council of a new League called 'United Nations', of eleven members consisting of the above four states and later on France and six other states elected for two-year periods. This Council will have full powers to put down aggression by every means, including air, naval and land actions, without reference to the views of the "United Nations" (the new League). Certain measures are suggested as to how the disputes are to be settled. Then there is to be a General Assembly consisting of all the members of the League. It is to have their right to consider general principles of co-operation in keeping the peace including those governing disarmaments and the regulation of armaments. The General Assembly is to elect non-permanent members of the Security Council. Members of this General Assembly will take the action recommended to them by the Security Council for carrying out certain non-violent methods for settling quarrels amongst nations, e.g., diplomatic and economic pressure and severance of diplomatic and economic relations. Then there should be a third body set up—an International Court of Justice to which the Security Council might refer justiciable disputes amongst states. Finally, there is to be a fourth body—the Secretaries of the "United Nations" run by a Secretary-General, the Chief Administrative Officer, who has the right to bring to the notice of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten international peace.

Such are the rough outlines of the Dumbarton Oaks Plan, the details of which have not yet been settled. On the questions left open Great Britain, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and China will prepare complete proposals which will serve as a basis of discussion at the full United Nations' Conference.

It will be noticed that the Plan conspicuously diverges from the covenant of the League of Nations and that there is a resolute attempt, as the *Time* says, to isolate security from other aspects of international co-operation and to provide a more realistic machinery for dealing with it. In this respect, the Plan agrees with Curtis's scheme. The most obvious improvement is in the proposals enforcing the will of the United Nations by collective action against the aggressors. The Plan, as the *Manchester Guardian* points out, is not a very ambitious one: it is not a super state but an instrument of co-operation between nations more limited, more practical, but less aspiring than the League.

It will thus be seen that the Plan is a practical one agreeing with Curtis's proposals that there should be an International Government charged exclusively with questions of security and defence. The Plan is not an ambitious one or one embracing a total union of all the functions of Government as proposed by Streit and others.

Certain suggestions are put forward regarding the Plan.

(1) From the newspaper reports it appears that Britain is to be one of the permanent members of the Security Council. It is not clear if this means only Great Britain or as it ought to mean, the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. This must be insisted upon because the Dominions including India must have a seat along with Great Britain in his Council.

(2) Perhaps it might be better to start on a small scale—Union at first comprising of all the members of the Commonwealth of Nations including India, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., China and the smaller democratic states in Europe like Holland, Belgium and Norway. The list of members of the new League might be revised after every 5 or 10 years.

(3) It is essential that at the outset none of the members of the axis including Bulgaria, Finland and other states which have actively helped the axis powers should be included in the new League. This might be revised by the members of the General Assembly every 10 years. This is very necessary as the axis powers and their satellites are imbued with anti-democratic Hitlerian principles and, it is apprehended, it will take very many years before this autocratic state of mind is radically eradicated from their minds.

(4) An objection may be raised to the Plan on the ground that it is very much an affair of the big powers. This in its very nature, must be so; because the main burden of ensuring peace of the whole world must inevitably fall on them. Further, the big powers represented in the Security Council are all thoroughly imbued with the principles of Democracy; and under the stress of the present war they have been moulded into a common form and their idiosyncrasies and angularities rounded off. So the further point as to how a charge of aggression against a permanent member of the Security Council is to be dealt with will, it is apprehended hardly arise; because each of these big states, who have fought together and have come to close contact with each other, are very unlikely to act in an oppressive manner. It can not be that the British Commonwealth of Nations, made up of so many peace-loving and thoroughly democratic states, should ever cast covetous eyes on any other states. Similarly, one can not realise Russia's or China's doing the same.

(5) So it would appear that the principle of the Security Council is really Lothian's and Curtis's idea of an International Government over the various component nations, charged with the duties of security and defence. The real question that does not appear to have been decided at the Conference is how is the financial burden taken up by the Security Council, to be discharged. We are to frame the budget and who will enforce payment. The logical thing would be as advocated above by Curtis, i.e., the Security Council should have the power to frame the budget for security and defence purposes and to be entitled to get money from the component states.

(6) As to how the members representing each of the components of the Security Council are to be chosen does not seem to be clear. The suggestion of Curtis is that there should be general elections to be held from time to time in all the component states. There are many reasons why the Dominions should have a more generous representation than they would have on a strict basis of population.

(7) It may be remarked that the Security Council, as in Plan, combines the Executive Body and the Legislative Body proposed by Curtis.

(8) The weak point in the Plan as reported, is that the members of the General Assembly are to undertake to make available to the Security Council, on requisition and according to the special agreements among themselves, armed forces and facilities and help necessary to keep the peace. So these armed forces will be under their own National Governments and so under

their control. This will not be conducive to harmony or to speedy action, as there will be divided control. Further, this will mean that each of the component states will have to keep in full their armed forces and so bear the heavy cost of armaments. The better scheme will, as suggested by Curtis, be that the component states should contribute their quota for the defence budget prepared by the International Government; that Government should directly control the armed forces that may be necessary in the opinion of that Government. This scheme will make it unnecessary for the National Governments to keep any armed forces beyond those essential for internal security; further, the absence of a large armed national force will certainly mean less chance of clash with rival forces of other nations. The fact that the national states will be relieved of keeping armed forces would be likely to lead to the spread of specific ideas amongst each nation. After all, what is wanted is the spread amongst the peoples of the world of ideas of peace and love. The adoption of Curtis's scheme will mean that each of the United Nations will be, to a large extent, relieved from the heavy and expensive task of maintaining armed forces. Thus will be fulfilled the object underlying the Clause VIII of the Atlantic Charter that there should be general disarmament and peace-loving peoples will be relieved from the crushing burden of armaments.

(9) Finally, it is to be noted that the General Assembly of the United Nations is to act on the

principle that the organisation is based on the principle of equality of all peace-loving States. But just as all men are by nature unequal, so are the States. It would be a mistake to confuse status with stature. Equality of status is necessary, as among the Dominions under the Statute of Westminster; but equality of stature is very different. Is it expected that the U.S.S.R. will have the same weight as States like Panama or Peru? No constitution can possibly prevent the overwhelming influence of the Big Four.

Any way, the Dumbarton Oaks Conference is a striking attempt to carry out the idea of a world state empowered to prevent future wars. It is a noble attempt to make the world safe for the peace-loving peoples of the world so that they may be assured of living out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

India must be represented as permanent member of the Security Council. By her services to the cause of freedom during the last and the present Great Wars, by her enormous resources and potential wealth, by her civilisation, and by her moral and spiritual outlook on life, India is eminently fitted to serve the cause of humanity.

The object of this article is to call upon the people of India whole-heartedly to take up the idea embodied in the Dumbarton Oaks Plan; for they must force the hands of national politicians who, in blinders, only see what is supposed to be the good of the country, who cannot rise above narrow provincial outlook, and would depry the idea of a Federation of States.

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

LITERATURE AND AUTHORSHIP IN INDIA : By K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, M.A., D.Litt., Professor of English, Lingaraj College, Belgaum, University of Bombay. With an Introduction by E. H. Foster, George Allen and Unwin, 1943. Pp. 46.

The book under review is a short critical survey of the intellectual and literary life of the Indian people since 1800. The learned author has given us a fine analysis of all those forces and factors which have contributed to the growth and development of modern Indian literature. The dissertation will be of particular use and interest to foreign readers who will find in it an admirable introduction to the study of modern Indian vernaculars.

Dr. Iyengar's account of the Bengali Renaissance and his estimate of the Western influence on Indian literatures are exceedingly suggestive. His observations on English education in our country show a breadth of outlook and commendable critical acumen. While he has pointed out the evil effects of "Macaulayan education", he has at the same time recognised the value of its immense contribution to "Indian political and cultural renaissance". The book is at once informative and suggestive.

INDO-ANGLIAN LITERATURE : By K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar. Published for the P. E. N. All-India centre, Arjavangal, Malabar Hill, Bombay; The International Book House, Ltd., Ash Lane, Fort, Bombay, 1943. Pp. 70. Price Re. 1/8.

The book contains a critical estimate of the Indian writers of English verse and prose. The author has taken

into consideration the nature of the education which fostered the growth of Indo-Anglian literature and has brought to bear upon his study materials that are not much handled today. His observations on the works of Toru Dutt, Mummooh Ghosh, Aurobindo Ghosh, Sarojini Naidu and Rabindranath Tagore speak of a fine discriminating taste and sound literary judgment. The bibliography has been prepared with care and will be of great use to the students of this rather fascinating subject.

H. C. MOOKERJEE
SOVIET RUSSIA : By K. Gibberd. Published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1942. Pages 76. Price 1 shilling net.

SOVIET STUDIES . By Ela Sen and Alex M. Reid. Thacker Spink & Co. Ltd., Calcutta, 1943. Pages 88. Price Rs. 2-8.

SOVIET ASIA : By Violet Conolly. Oxford Pamphlet on World Affairs No. 62. London, 1943. Pages 52. Price 4 d. net.

This handbook, published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs shortly after Russia was drawn into the present war on the side of Allies, offers a very concise, illuminating and, at the same time, critical estimate of the conditions existing in the Soviet Union after 25 years of the Communist regime. This book was primarily intended for men and women of the Armed Forces in Britain who wanted to know something of the conditions of a country that had remained, in spite of large-scale propaganda abroad, a closed book to most foreign observers and that had by the force of circumstances become a powerful ally. The author's presentation of

facts and figures regarding the various aspects of contemporary Soviet life and culture is objective, free from any ideological bias either in favour or against the political philosophy or social organization of the Soviet State. Mr. Gibberd has not indulged in any facile generalization or drawn upon any political predilection in presenting the achievements of the Soviet regime or in pointing out the defects and paradoxes that are perhaps inseparable from such a vast experiment in social revolution which the Communists had undertaken in Russia. A typical observation of the author is about the Russian Communist whom he describes as follows:

"Well-trained in Communist doctrines, his mind packed with statistics, blandly ignorant and rather contemptuous of conditions in other countries, the Party man or woman is ready at any hour of the day or night to instruct compatriot or foreigner alike. He is never non-plussed and rarely ruffled. His convictions are like granite, his outlook materialistic. Religion he despises, psychology he does not understand, except in so far as he has learned some technique in propaganda; his whole being is merged in the creation of a new social order. It is not difficult for the easy-going citizen from another kind of society to see his limitations. On the other hand, it is he who has made the new Russia, and it is because of his limitations that he has succeeded. He is the product of a revolution which felt the world to be in arms against it. A more peaceable world and a prosperous and secure Russia might have produced a new kind of Communism." (Page 39). The author has thrown interesting sidelight on certain aspects of life in the Soviet Union today which generally seem lost in the swelling tide of new literature on Russia inspired by Russian victories on the battlefield. His observations on the family life and marriage, on religious worship and observances, on the material conditions of the peasant, on the education of children and status of women and similar topics are shrewd and critical instead of enthusiastic or platitudinous. Mr. Gibberd's comment on the pattern of Soviet culture which is being forged through regimented and standardized channels leading towards a dull uniformity and which, he fears may ultimately stultify the rich diversity of the traditional cultures of each national group within the U.S.S.R. deserves to be carefully studied by all those who are interested in the future trends of Soviet culture. The author concludes with a note of warning: "Although there are no aristocratic or wealthy classes in Russia there is a concentration of power and privilege of the Communist Party, and this seems likely to produce a tendency to conform to Moscow appearances and Moscow culture, similar to the desire shown by all provincial and colonial people to imitate the metropolis. This, however, is hazarding a speculation for the future, and since the future is always liable to produce unforeseen factors that upset previous calculations, it can have no more validity than all other conjectures that people are constantly tempted to make about the next stage in the progress of modern Russia."

Mr. and Mrs. Reid have produced a readable book on Soviet Russia. Mr. Reid has travelled widely in the Soviet Union just before the war broke out in Europe and had an opportunity to study the mood and manners of the Soviet people on the eve of a great trial they had to undergo both in the national as well as international spheres. Mrs. Reid has made an intimate study of Russia, and is an ardent exponent of leftist thinking in this country. The pen pictures of Soviet life in the great cities as well as in the villages that have been so neatly and warmly drawn by Mr. Reid in his travelling reminiscences are real and vivid, while Mrs. Reid has given several lively and interesting chapters on the Soviet child, the new women of Russia, etc. The joint authors have attempted in this monograph to lift up to the reader only such facets of Soviet life in peace and war which might lead to a deeper understanding of

the spirit of the Russian peoples, and have done well to avoid the pedantic dialectical jargon and those endless statistical details depicting economic and social progress achieved in the Soviet Union during the last quarter of a century. It is this quality of human approach which makes this book at once lively and convincing, although the reader will come across here and there certain provoking statements regarding Soviet foreign policy and Russia's role in the post-War world which at best may be characterised as out of tune with the general appeal of the book.

Miss Violet Conolly, the distinguished authoress of *Soviet Tempo* and an expert on Soviet economic policy, has written this highly informative pamphlet on Soviet Asia. Russian expansion into Asia, which bears some striking resemblances to the development of the North American continent, began nearly 300 years ago, and was completed in the latter half of the 19th century by the acquisition of the eastern Pacific seaboard and the conquest of Turkestan (Central Asia) to the east of the Caspian. But it is during the last twenty years, under the energetic direction of the Soviets, that the organization and development of the hitherto almost untapped resources of Soviet Asia has taken place. It is partly owing to this organisation and development that the Russian armies have been enabled to maintain their powerful resistance to the German invaders, even after the loss of large industrial areas in European Russia. Miss Conolly who has widely travelled in these obscure regions has presented in this pamphlet an intimate and interesting account of the economic and social transformations that have been achieved there in recent times.

MONTENDRAMOHAN MOULIK

WAR-TIME RESTRICTIONS—SUPPLEMENT NO I · By K M. Desai

Mr. Desai has done well in bringing this supplement to his War-Time Restrictions. Government, both Central and Provincial, is legislating with such speed that it is impossible even for a lawyer to keep himself abreast of the tide of legislature. Mr. Desai's supplement will lessen his labour in this respect.

THE INDIA CHARTER : By J. F. Kotewal, Pp. 453 Karachi Price Rs. 10-8.

The book claims to be a description of the vicious circle—small and great, constituting the Indian political deadlock, including an exposition on the Hindu-Muhammadan communal problem and its corollary, Pakistan, with suggestions as to how platforms of communal unity can be evolved, the circles snapped, the problem and the deadlock solved.

The main features of the solution of the Indian problem offered in the book under review are the acceptance of Pakistan in principle, namely, the grant of freedom to Muhammadan majority provinces to remain in or keep out of the Federation of United India, the concession of the same freedom of choice to Indian States and equal representation of Hindus and Muhammadans on all legislative and public bodies and in the public services. The inter-communal relations are to be governed by a treaty renewable every 25 years. The argument is pro-Muhammadan. It contains some good suggestions with much that is trash. Its chief merit lies in the extracts and quotations—which would help a busy public man in getting them easily. It is nicely printed with a useful index.

J. M. DATTA

THE YOGA OF THE SAINTS : By V. H. Date, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road, Bombay—7. Cloth bound. Pp. 207. Price Rs. 6 only.

We have read this book with mixed feelings. It has won a Doctorate for the author from the University of Bombay and has been blessed by well-known names

in philosophy and literature. Naturally such a book should compel our admiration. But when one reads a chapter like the sixth on *Types of Devotion*, one feels that the author does not go far enough and deep enough in philosophy. We are sorry to have to say this. But surely, "Pada-sevana, that is resorting to the feet", or "Namaskara, that is bowing down or prostrating before God or Godlike persons, without any thought or hesitation," is not philosophy fit for University consumption.

The author must have read a lot of Sanskrit. But in using Sanskrit words, he does not follow the generally accepted mode of transliteration. And the use of the word 'sakhyatva' (P. 114) to mean friendship is definitely a defiance of grammar.

We are constrained to say that there is a touch of medievalism in the author's presentation of his thesis. And in going through the book, the mind is oppressed with a sense of inadequacy and sometimes even of crudeness.

By the way, do our dealers in Indian Philosophy who speak so much of other-worldliness and God-realisation, really accept them as guiding principles of life? If they did, could they seek worldly fame and academic honour? Is not there an inherent contradiction in a Vedantist expecting some economic profit or social value or telling the world of ignorant men that the world we see is not real? We mean no disrespect to, or reflection on, any one in particular. But the superior truth that the world we live in is an illusion is so often paraded before us, that the question becomes pertinent.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

THE WOMAN UNDER THE HINDU LAW OF MARRIAGE & SUCCESSION: By Hansa Mehta. Pralibha Publication, Peoples' Building, Bombay. Price not mentioned.

This little pamphlet contains two lectures delivered by the learned author on the two Bills relating to the Hindu Law of Marriage and Succession at Vanasthali Vidyapith. A glance at the proceedings of the Imperial Legislative Council will convince the reader that in every session, an attempt is made to bring some sort of bill to make changes in the provisions of the present Hindu Law. The rules of Hindu Law as observed by the Privy Council in the case of Sri Balusu Rama Lakshana (1899) reported in 21 All. 460, are an admixture of morality, religion and law and it is not often easy to determine where religion ends and morality or law begins. These changes may displease the orthodox section of the Hindu community, but on the other hand it is contended by some learned scholars that the Hindu Law as found in the Smriti text-books "was never meant to be applicable to all the Hindus living over the length and breadth of this ancient land". They therefore suggest that the only cure for this state of things lies in the enactment of uniform and simple codified law. The present Hindu Law, as administered by the Indian Courts, has been slowly built up in the course of ages on a solid foundation of accepted rules and established usages and customs interpreted by commentators and Judges and altered here and there by modern legislation.

The views advocated by the learned author in the book under review deserve careful consideration.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

THE NIGHT IS HEAVY: By Krishan Shungoo. Published by Free India Publications, Lahore. Price Rs. 5.

There are 29 poems, most of which have been written, as the author says in his note, while a student at Oxford. To quote him, "These poems are essentially subjective. They tell of my struggle with life and its ugly realities."

In many a way Mr. Shungoo discards conventions associated with the particular vehicle that he has chosen for expression of his thoughts. He uses no capital letter; he frees himself from restrictions of punctuation, he aims more at delineation of scenes, actions and thoughts with exactness than with fairness and justice. There is undoubtedly no good poetry in the expressions like "love measured in big galvanic doses", "the golden embrace of sex-scented limbs", "women bare their breasts for silver pieces", but there are life, vitality and vigour in Mr. Shungoo's poems, which will surely entrap any reader's attention. Mr. Shungoo is altogether more a poet of power than a poet of beauty.

DARK TESTAMENT: By Peter Abrahams. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. Price 7s. Od.

First published in 1912, *Dark Testament* contains 14 sketches from life as the author saw and felt, and five stories. This is among a few of the works that the British publishers have in the recent years put on the market—they are all by the colonial writers of the day, or they are at least of some colonial interest. These publications, besides opening up new vistas for colonial reciprocity and imperial consolidation, have unearthed the ways of life and feelings among the people of the unrecognized countries like India, Australia or the Dark Continent.

Born in 1919 and brought up in the slum suburb of Johannesburg Peter Abrahams, the author of the book under notice, worked in a tin-smithy when only nine years old. "At this stage somebody told him the stories from Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*; these fired his childish imagination, and he presented himself at the coloured Government Aided School, so as to learn to write stories like Lamb's *Tales*." His school career, and then his wandering about South Africa "taking part in the political struggle against racial oppression"—have formed the central theme of the sketches, which he captions, "I Remember . . ."

Anybody who will read the stories of Peter Abrahams must like them not only for the strange atmosphere they present, but also for the people who have been dressed up as characters in the stories with their own problems, their own ways of life. Deep in pathos, still shining with humanitarian love and sympathy—characterization by Peter Abrahams is quite a lively art in his hands, both sweet and simple. His themes are collected mostly out of dejection and despair, out of shame and disgrace done to the dark by the white people, out of illiteracy, poverty, slum life.

SANTOSH CHATTERJEE

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ADYAR LIBRARY: By Pandit V. Krishnamacharya under the supervision of Prof. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon). The Adyar Library. Crown 8 vols. Pp. viii + 210. Price Rs. 10.

This contains two alphabetical lists: one of the titles and the other of the authors of Sanskrit works, manuscripts of which are possessed by the Adyar Library of Madras. The titles are followed by an indication of the names of the authors and their genealogy where available. The special branch of Sanskrit literature under which a particular work falls is indicated by abbreviation, a list of which (with the exception of ए standing for एः) is appended. References as to important manuscript libraries of South India are made in cases where other MSS. of the works described here are known to exist in those libraries. Titles not met with in the Catalogus Catalogorum are marked with asterisks. There may be minor inaccuracies here and there specially owing to defective



On Festive Occasions—ADD FILTERED SUNSHINE

To Natural Beauty.

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|---------------------------|---|
| For luxuriant hairs | CASTOROL, BHRINGOL, KOKONOL, TEELOL. |
| For soft & silken tresses | SILTRES SHAMPOO |
| For strong white teeth | NEEM TOOTH PASTE, MARGOPRICE—‘DENTAL POWDER’. |
| For tender & lovely skin | MARGO SOAP, MALAYA (SANDAL SOAP). |
| For blooming beauty | LABONNY SNOW, TUHINA (BEAUTY MILK). |
| For fair faces | RENUKA (TOILET POWDER). |
| For lingering fragrance | KANTA (PERFUME), EAU-DE-COLOGNE, LAVENDER. |



CALCUTTA CHEMICAL
CALCUTTA

and imperfect titles occasionally met with in MSS. It is true the work only serves to rouse curiosity of the readers which it cannot satisfy for the lack of any detailed information. But still it will be very useful to all those who have to work with manuscripts, placing, as it does, at their disposal a bird's-eye view of the valuable contents of the library. How one would wish to have such lists for other big manuscript collections all over the country! Unfortunately, however, up till now very few manuscript libraries have brought out such lists, not to speak of complete catalogues.

CHINTAHRAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

DEVENDRA NATH TAGORE : By Jyotish Chandra Bagal. Published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, 243/1 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Pp. 112. Price 12 annas only.

This book is No. 45 of the series entitled "The character-sketches of Bengali literary men" published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, the premier literary association of Bengal. The writer has made a name for himself as a wide-awake student of affairs, and a researcher into certain phases of 19th century Bengal life. In the present booklet he has tried to draw up for us a short sketch of the life and work of Devendra Nath Tagore, better known as the *Maharshi*, who has gained a historic significance more as one of the creators of an atmosphere in which flowered men and women with newer sensitiveness to national self-respect and richer human values. Limitations of space must have been responsible for failure to build a fuller background of the developments that have been re-making India since the days of Raja Ram Mohun Roy. Devendra Nath was fully conscious of this mission as the quotation made from his auto-biography in p. 55 of this book goes to show. Herein we find the fountain-head of the inspiration that has made the Brahmo Kumar the progressive force that it has been in the life of our people.

But as a sketch of "the Maharshi" as a literary man, of literature made into an instrument for releasing forces of change and awakening over the country, the book is a success. The chapter—pp. 84-107—gives us clues to the many books written by him that will enable readers to follow up their studies with a view to understand the life and times of Devendra Nath Tagore, of those activities that are the seed-plots of modern India.

SURESH CHANDRA DAS

VICHITRA MANIPUR : By Nalin Kumar Bhadra, Indian Associated Publishing Company Ltd., Calcutta, 1944. Pages 88. Price Re. 1-8.

The author who knows Manipur and Manipurees intimately has produced a timely and interesting book on this picturesque land on the borders of Assam and Burma which has recently come into prominence as a crucial battlefield in the war against Japan. The author reminds us that the historic and cultural ties of Bengal with Manipur are varied and rich. This book is not one of those records of subjective impressions, half imaginary and half fantastic, gained while travelling in a foreign country but reveals the true spirit of a people through a painstaking analysis of their racial, cultural and spiritual characteristics. This has been possible because of the author's deep-rooted sympathy for and understanding of the inherent simplicity and goodness and the artistic and chivalrous temperament of the Manipuri people. The author's style is picturesque and fascinating. The book contains a chapter on "The Limp" based on Colonel Chapman's book of the same name which describes the construction of the new

Silchar-Bishenpore Road; Dr. Kalidas Nag has contributed a delightful preface to the volume.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

EUROPE—(ENGLAND AND GERMANY) : By Kashit Chandra Banerjee. Published by the author from Garia, 24-Parganas. Pages 171. Price Rs. 2-8 only.

The author of this book, with Rs. 11 and a cycle, started for his world tour in 1933. The present book is the second part of his travels in Bengal, the first part being confined to Italy and France. He has also written several books in English which have been well received by the public. Unlike ordinary tourists he mixed freely with the masses in the cities and country folks and thus he is in a position to give the benefit of the first-hand knowledge of men and things as he has seen in foreign lands. Nothing good or bad escaped his keen eyes but he is never unsympathetic towards foreigners. As a matter of fact he was very well received by the ordinary people both in England and Germany. As he finished his travels before the present war broke out, we have a very clear picture of the German life and temperament of the time.

We have no doubt that the readers' labour in the perusal of this book will be amply paid for in pleasure they will derive by going through the narrations. The book is nicely bound and well printed and it is written in an attractive style.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

BUDDHA-CHARIT (PART II) : By Suryanarayana Chowdhury, M.A. Published by Sanskrit Bhawan, Kathotia, P.O. Kajha (Purnea). Pp. 164. Price Re. 1.

We had occasion to review the first part of the translation of Lord Buddha's life by Asvaghosha in these columns last year. Now has come the second part, which, also, has been based on the English translation of Dr. Johnston. The translation has been quite good and in simple Hindi, which makes reading both easy and interesting.

M. SI SENGAR

TELUGU

KADHA LAHARI : Edited and compiled by Sri Siva Sankara Sastr. Published by Andhra Pracharan Limited, Rajahmundry. Copyright reserved. Pp. 207. Price Re. 1 only.

This is a good collection of short stories. Almost all the writers included in this book are well-known in the literary field. The stories are of varied character and are extremely entertaining. The most enjoyable piece is "Baki"—a short story full of humorous situations.

There is sanity and restraint in most of the sketches and from the literary standpoint some of them are remarkable.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

GUJARATI

APNUN VADODARA (Our Baroda) : By Ramesh Ranganath Gautam, Published by the Publicity Department, Baroda, 1943. Paper cover. Illustrated. Pp. 68.

The fifteenth session of the Gujarati Literary Conference was held at Baroda during the Christmas holidays of the current year (1943). A large concourse of persons who were interested in Gujarati Literature had gathered together and the distribution of this brochure, which sets out the beauty and utility spots of the capital city of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad was a welcome step and the reader will be interested to find very useful information conveyed therein. It should be preserved as a memento.

K. M. J.

Why We Take Milk And Egg?

- * MILK is Nature's finest example of an emulsion food
- * EGG is another food of great importance and the yolk of which is again the most edible emulsifying agent:

BOTH OF THEM SHOW THAT EMULSIONS ARE OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE TO HUMAN BIOLOGY IN HEALTH AND IN DISEASE.

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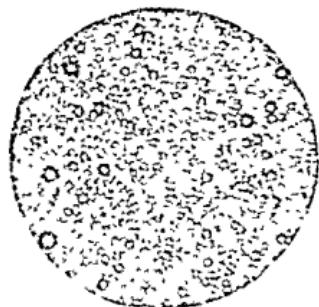
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bamboo pulp was about 2,000 tons, grass pulp about 10,000 tons, imported wood pulp 17,000 tons. By 1939, the production of bamboo pulp had risen to about 33,000 tons; sabai grass pulp amounted to 22,000 tons, while the imported wood pulp had fallen to approximately 13,000 tons.

There were in 1939 some twelve paper mills operating in India, producing 73,000 tons of paper, as compared with 27,000 tons in 1925.

Recently it has been shown that "kraft" pulp can be made from bamboo, and production on a commercial scale has commenced.

Attention has been given to materials for mechanical pulp. Projects for the establishment of newsprint mills in Kashmir and Tehri-Garhwal States, employing local fir and spruce, are under consideration. India imported prior to the war about 35,000 tons of newsprint, some 25,000 tons of paper board, and about 40,000 tons of other kinds of paper.

The Future of Civil Aviation

In an article under the above caption in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* (July, 1944), Sir A. H. Roy Fedden regrets that the average Britisher lacks the spirit and interest in being sufficiently air-minded as compared with the ordinary man in the street in the United States:

The adventurous spirit and gallantry of our youth in the air, so finely brought out in the present war, and the innate engineering sense and ability of our technicians to improvise and develop a particular line of thought to a logical conclusion, are outstanding qualities of the British character, which will contribute in no small way to our future success in civil aviation. It may, however, be worth while looking at one or two of the unsatisfactory trends in our make-up which we must guard against, because undoubtedly we have certain characteristics which might be inclined to hold us back in civil aviation, just as we have others which will tend to spur us forward.

Firstly, I would note the general apathy of the average Britisher towards civil aviation, as compared with, for instance, the ordinary man in the street in the United States. We are all justly proud of the magnificent work of the Royal Air Force and of the success and supremacy of British made military aircraft, but even so, the average civilian does not visualise that he is going to fly very much after the war; he does not look upon it as his inheritance in the same way that his forefathers looked upon the sea. I do not think that he can be entirely blamed for this, for he has not been properly educated on the subject, and moreover, British

civil aviation at the outbreak of war was not in a state to thrill him very much.

For the future it is imperative that we build up a good national air morale, and that we lay down a well considered policy on air base operation, giving a strong and virile lead which can be understood and approved by the man in the street, both at home and in the Dominions. There is every hope that the apathy towards aviation will change when our Air Force personnel come back into civil life.

Surgeons Hail New Metal in Saving Lives

James C. Loary writes:

Tantalum, a rare metal costing about Rs. 210 a pound, is the newest addition to the resources of medical men in caring for the casualties of war.

Tantalum, which is element No. 73 in the table of 82 out of which everything in the world is made, is apparently the long-sought answer to the search for a "perfect surgical metal," according to a number of U. S. Army and Navy surgeons.

It is a bluish-white metal, strong, tough and malleable, more than twice as heavy as iron, and named by a Swedish scientist who tried to isolate it nearly 150 years ago but failed. Some was made about 35 years ago, but it was not until 1922 that modern metallurgical methods made it possible to produce it on a commercial basis. The only producer in the world at present is the Fansleel Metallurgical Corporation, in the U. S. A. German chemical firm formerly produced some of it, but British bombers are believed to have eliminated that plant. Two factors give tantalum its value in surgery—its high resistance to corrosion and its easy workability. (USOWD).

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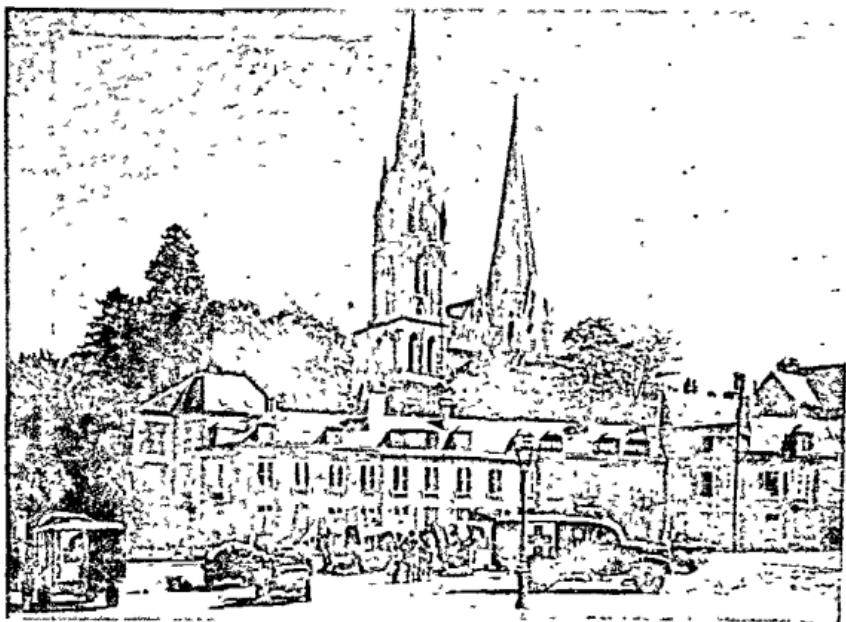
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U. S. Army Medical Corps units are shown in Chartres, France. The beautiful 12th Century Cathedral, with its twin steeples, can be seen looming in the background.



Chinese and American forces take Myitkyina. Pictured in the background a Burmese temple may be seen on the banks of the Irrawaddy river

Courtesy : USOWJ



Prakriti Press, Patna

A VILLAGE SCENE
By Mumuksha Bhushan Gupta

THE MODERN REVIEW

DECEMBER



1944

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WHOLE-No. 456

NOTES

C. R. Throws New Light on Communal Problem

Out of evil cometh good. In his address to the Nagpur University Convocation Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar has given a masterly analysis of the Muslim League's attitude towards Pakistan and the Congress view-point on it. This restatement of the communal case would, we believe, be of the utmost help in stemming the drift which is pushing the peoples of India to the sure abyss of destruction. Two significant passages from his speech are quoted below. Analysing the League attitude C. R. says :

By all means let us prefer to let things remain unsolved rather than agree to anything dishonourable or tyrannical, but it is not dishonour or submission to tyranny to allow the majorities in any area to be in more than subordinate charge of the affairs of those areas, which is the offer that we made to Mr. Jinnah and with which he is not satisfied.

Muslim leadership has, in my humble opinion, shown an incapacity for courageously following up its own declared policy. It is ever the case, that we show more courage when demanding something which the other party will not give, than when it arrives and claims our acceptance and responsibility. The dangers and troubles of a sovereign separate State become more obvious when it is offered than when it was demanded and refused. The Muslim League obviously prefers controversy to the responsibilities of government. It finds a sense of success in functioning as a well-disciplined party in opposition to any advance towards democratic rule in India, which is easier than the undertaking of a separate state in the present world. It is not the champions of unitary Government, nor the Akhand Hindustan leadership, but the Muslim League itself that has dealt a severe blow and caused a set-back to the Pakistan claim. If the League's contention is that Pakistan cannot maintain itself without the inclusion of non-Muslim areas within its boundaries, it is a fatal admission against the case for separation and makes the argument for united India unanswerable.

Then he states the Congress case very ably in these words :

If we wish to advance in our programme we must seize such opportunities and such power as and when

they come, and use them to heal the diseases that have developed in the body politic.

We should use them to build up the habit of a common purpose cutting across class, creeds, and communities and to establish social and economic conditions that will help us to become strong as a united people and sustain the responsibilities of freedom. The cry will be raised that this is defeatist mentality and that I advocate surrender. Of such clap-trap we have had more than enough. To give up an illusion is not surrender but wisdom, specially when that illusion leads us to leave the field free to Imperialism and those that thrive on it, to corruption and the full play of all anti-national forces. The confidence that if we seize opportunities and take up power and responsibility we can build up is not defeatism but the contrary of it. Subjection has developed diseases of all kinds and I firmly believe that they cannot be healed by merely remaining in the wilderness and allowing reaction to do full mischief. By all means, let us keep our arm and our inherent right to a revolution intact. Let us not be committed to a course that takes us away from the goal and the path leading to it. But let us not discard precious opportunities for building up.

We may not agree with many of the tactical methods of Rajaji, but we are in full agreement with the views he has expressed herein and we believe that with his masterly vision and control over expression he has thrown a flood of new light on this vexed problem. New vistas for those who desire to bring about an end of the communal scourge has at last been provided.

What Denial Policy Cost the People

There is no true opinion that the Bengal Government's Denial policy had been one of the primary causes of the last terrible famine and the pestilence that followed in its wake. The magnitude of the muddle and its cost in human life and suffering was already known, the cost in money has now been revealed in the report of the Public Accounts Committee of the Central Legislature on the Accounts of 1942-43. The Report has been signed by Messrs C. E.

Jones, Raza Ali, Md. Azhar Ali, Ismail Ali Khan, A. M. A. Ghani, F. H. Paricha, T. Chapman-Mortimer, Habibur Rahaman, L. K. Maitra, H. M. Abdullah and Sir Ratanji Dalal. No accounts in respect of a sum of Rs. 1,22,00,000 purported to have been spent on account of the enforcement of Denial policy could be obtained from the Bengal Government. The Committee makes the following comment :

It is, however, the expenditure in Bengal on the Denial policy and other similar measures which has caused us the greatest misgiving. We understand that there has been great difficulty in getting any kind of accounts at all for this expenditure and such as have been produced do not satisfy the standards of Audit. We realise that the conditions under which this work was done were of the utmost urgency and abnormality. We also recognise that some confusion was only to be expected in the circumstances and we are willing to make all allowances for it. But we do not see any excuse whatever for such neglect of elementary financial precautions as we are told prevailed in this matter in Bengal and which is one of the causes for it now being difficult for any adequate accounts to be produced. All that we desire at present is that the Auditor General should investigate fully into the facts of the situation and which is now held in suspense. At the same time, however, we feel it our duty to place on record our view that if this further investigation reveals that the control of the Bengal Government was, through negligence, so lax as to give rise to serious doubts as to whether the money was actually spent on the purposes for which it was meant, we shall hold ourselves at liberty to recommend that the Central Government should not accept debits which do not satisfy the reasonable demands of Audit.

A few significant remarks of Sir Cameron Badenoch, made in the course of his evidence before the Public Accounts Committee, are still more significant. He said :

Sir Cameron Badenoch: That is not the total expenditure. Possibly from the nature of the expenditure it has been almost impossible to exercise any audit. These denial measures were carried out through the Bengal Government and I asked the Bengal Government to carry out investigation by a special officer. It was done in the case of one district. The whole thing has been done most unsatisfactorily. There is a good deal of more money than this under the Suspense Head. Eventually I got accounts of rice. They were not satisfactory accounts. There were discrepancies naturally because of the removal, but in connection with these means of transport—boats and cycles—it is a dreadful business.

Chairman: Against this figure of Rs. 1,22,00,000 have you any idea how much is kept in Suspense?

Sir Cameron Badenoch: I could not tell you how much. There is a terrific confusion between this and compensation for land required for air fields and so on. The total Suspense outstanding against Bengal was at one time over 3 crores, and I have had the greatest difficulty in getting accounts for . . . The trouble is we are in the hands of the Provincial Government and it is very difficult to repudiate what they did. Of course one has got to take into account the circumstances existing at that time. But the Public Accounts Committee laid down two or three years ago that no circumstances really justify the neglect of elementary financial precautions,—getting proper receipts for money and paying money only to authorised people. There are certain fundamental things that should never be neglected and these elementary precautions were not taken.

Chairman: I think strong comment is certainly called for by the Public Accounts Committee and we will ask the Auditor General to report for next year on the extent to which he had been able to straighten this out with reference to the Suspense heads relating to Denial policy in its various aspects.

The manner in which this huge amount was spent may better be told in the words of the Auditor-General himself. He said, "The trouble was that the Provincial Government issued an order to Treasury Officers under one of the Treasury Rules which allows them to disburse money from treasuries without any authorisation from the Accountant General and anybody who went to the Treasury was given some money." The Accountant General came and did his best to get some order but he failed. He has no control over the treasuries. Sir Cameron emphatically told the Committee : "I can say that lakhs and lakhs were issued from the Treasury to all sorts of people and now we are trying to get accounts for that and we are finding it exceedingly difficult."

The Problem of Asia

Roy's Weekly quotes an article by John Gunther on the problem of Asia. The author states that there can be no decent peace in the world, no global peace, unless Asia is considered. Problem of Asia splits into three, each a problem of vast and complex dimensions : Japan, China and India. Declaring that Japan, like Germany, must be beaten, disarmed and made incapable of waging further wars, Gunther puts the following question :

America and Great Britain are pledged to cut Japanese territory down to the home islands. This presumably means that we shall return Japanese-held territory to its original owners, with the Dutch, British and ourselves taking the Japanese-held Pacific islands.

But what of Japan's "Allies"—Indo-China, once held by France; Thailand, once an independent nation? There is no hint as yet as to the future disposition of these territories.

Gunther wants to be brutally frank about China. In his opinion, China at present is not a nation; "it is a vast sprawling amalgam that aspires to nationhood. Control is divided between the Central Government of Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Communists, who have set up their own quasi-republic in the great Chinese north-west." Explaining American interest in China, he states :

China is the great land mass behind Japan. Victorious China will control the Asian mainland fronting on the Pacific. It will most emphatically be to our own selfish national interest that China shall be united, progressive, strong and stable. After all, the root cause of American entrance into the war was China. So it doubly behoves us to aid her to achieve a stake in keeping the future safe.

Gunther's statement about India is also equally frank. He says :

The great bulk of nationalist Indians want complete independence after the war; most British statesmen think the most that should be given to India is dominion status. If no compromise can be whittled out, India may explode into revolution, even though most Indians are unarmed, ill-equipped, poor and hungry.

More and more Americans are becoming perplexed and worried over the Indian problem. They ask themselves:

"If this is indeed a war for freedom, and if the majority of Indians do indisputably want freedom, is it fair to keep freedom from the Indian nation?"

Thousands upon thousands of American officers and troops are getting to know India. It is to be hoped that their opinion will lend its weight toward a fair settlement of what is beyond doubt one of the most difficult and dangerous problems of the world.

(Italics ours—Ed. M. R. I)

Linlithgow Now a "Crusader for Freedom"

Lord Linlithgow has at last entered the arena of home politics. Appearing in the role of a "crusader for freedom" the ex-Viceroy revealed himself as a determined foe of the "dreary ordinance and oppressive governmental restrictions." In the course of a letter to the *Daily Telegraph*, after hinting that the Party truce has not been observed by Liberals and Labourites as religiously as by the Conservatives, Linlithgow writes:

"Controls, coupons, queues, forms-filling and endless irritations of bureaucratic meddling, the virtual disappearance of private liberty and personal initiative—these constitute the principal and inescapable attributes of Socialism. I shall be surprised if any considerable proportion of the electorate, which for five years has had to endure such a punishing sample of these dreary ordinances and inhibitions, is found ready to receive with enthusiasm the invitation to bind the whole clammy mass of them round our necks for ever."

Four hundred million people of India, who groaned under Linlithgow's long term of Vice-royalty smarting under controls, unable to secure coupons, standing for days together in queues for a handful of rice or a quarter pound of sugar, suffering the endless irritations of a bureaucratic meddling, with a complete disappearance of private liberty and personal initiative, dying of hunger in millions and suffering from pestilence in hundreds of thousands, may well ask in the words of Cobbet: "To what shall we impute your remarks? To drivelling or to hypocrisy?"

Replying to Linlithgow in an article to the *Daily Herald*, Michael Foot cites the case of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in support of this judgment. He writes:

Among the thousands of political prisoners now in Indian jails is an old friend of freedom and a long-standing enemy of Fascism called Jawaharlal Nehru. British Labour movement knows him well. In the intervals between imprisonments during the past 25 years he has visited this country and we have learnt to respect and honour him.

If Nehru is a traitor then Treachery like Liberty is a word which has lost its meaning. Not all the

Viceroy's ordinances, not all his lugubrious sophistries and plausible pretences, not all the answers in the House of Commons can convince us that Nehru is an enemy of Free India. Why then is he behind bars?

Because he wishes to help govern his own country and because his ideas for gaining that end do not precisely accord with the immaculate legal maxims of the Scottish Laird; he is there because he doesn't like foreign rule even when tempered by Linlithgow's quality of mercy; he is there because he has a brave heart, and an independent spirit. These are not crimes in our catalogue. But we suspect that Linlithgow, who has made justice retrospective, has a taste for applying the same principles to other matters besides.

Michael Foot's brief but trenchant review of Linlithgow's Viceroyalty covers such topics as the postponement of elections, extension of bureaucracy, ordinances, etc. He writes: "For seven long years he was at it, but if censorship between Britain and India is less severe than that which he instituted between India and Britain and his words in praise of liberty ever reach Indian ears they are likely to strike a somewhat jarring note." Foot then reminds the British public of Lincoln's famous words: "We all declare for liberty but in using the same word we don't all mean the same thing... The wolf and the sheep aren't agreed on the definition, especially where the sheep is a black one," and concludes: "It was unfortunate that we sent to India not a Lincoln but a Linlithgow. Happily the episode is over, but at least until Nehru is free, we might be spared his lordly wolfish homilies on liberty."

A Nagpur Judgment

Delivering judgment in the contempt of court case filed by B. N. Saoji against Syed Masumali, Superintendent, Nagpur Central Jail, for failure to forward his application to the High Court while he was detained in the Nagpur Central Jail, Mr. Justice Sen and Mr. Justice Bose made severe comments on the actions of the Jail Superintendent. In the same application for contempt of court proceedings the High Court had already censured Lt.-Col. N. S. Jatar, Inspector-General of Prisons. The learned Judges observed:

"We have been treated with scant courtesy and statements offensive in tone and temper and reckless in its disregard for truth have been put in after careful deliberation and thought. It is impossible for us to overlook this persistent aggravation of the contempt. It is all the more impossible because of the tendency we have marked of late in more cases than one of attempts to ignore the authority of this Court to trifle with it. It is necessary to make an example. Leniency has been misunderstood in the past and will therefore be misplaced. Forbearance and patience only evoke worse and worse recklessness. We accordingly sentence the Jail Superintendent to a fine of Rs. 250 or in default 14 days' S. I."

We refrain from taking a more severe action and from imposing a sentence of imprisonment because, it is evident that the man in the Superintendent's position would hardly have adopted this wholly wrong attitude

had not been encouraged in it tacitly or otherwise by those in authority. We trust that this will serve as a warning and an example."

It should be remembered that this flouting of justice happened in a province where no Indian sepoys function for the present. The province is now under the dictatorial administration of a British Civilian Governor.

Import of Consumer Goods

Replying to a series of questions put by Mr. K. C. Neogy in the Central Legislative Assembly, about the import of consumer goods the Commerce Member said that

Certain trade organisations representing Indian manufacturers had represented that the import of consumer good was likely to have an adverse effect on Indian industries especially those which had been created since the war to make good the shortages in imported consumer goods, owing to the higher cost of the Indian made articles. The suggestion had been that Indian industries were hampered in meeting such competition owing to the difficulty of obtaining raw materials. Government, however, imported consumer goods only when it was established on the basis of information received from trade sources and the Government departments concerned that even after the grant of all possible assistance adequate supplies could not be indigenously manufactured to meet the immediate need.

Neither Government nor the trade associations concerned nor any other body possessed complete statistics of the production of indigenous industries, the Commerce Member added. Government made full use of all information available with trade associations and other bodies regarding the desirability of Indian industry which was assisted in every way open to the Government of India having regard to the difficulties of transport fuel and similar shortages and the overriding priority accorded to defence projects. Factories established in India by non-Indian manufacturers received the same degree of assistance as other industries. Requests for export of their goods were dealt with on the same lines as requests from other industries.

In reply to a supplementary the Commerce Member declared that there was no chance in present conditions of a dumping of consumer goods in this country or a disturbance of the price structure of the consumer goods manufactured here. Government of India's step-motherly attitude to Indian industries together with their eagerness to import consumer goods from abroad at a time when shipping space for the import of food is not easily available, supports an apprehension that although dumping may not be started in the present conditions, its appearance in the near future may not be unlikely.

Another fact deserves special mention in this connection. *Commerce*, Bombay, reports that President Roosevelt and his advisers are discussing with the British delegation, headed by Lord Keynes, a supplemental second phase Lend-Lease proposal made by Premier Churchill to the President at the Quebec Conference, which, if agreed to, will permit the United Kingdom to acquire at least \$2,500 million shelved and plans for an economic exploitation

worth of non-military supplies for re-sale in its export trade.

Plan to Divide the World Between U. S. A. and U. K.

Sir Chunilal Mehta, Chairman of the Indian group of businessmen attending the International Business Conference at Rye, U. S. A., challenged the British-American proposal to peg world currencies to the British-American standard after the ratio had been determined between these two. Sir Chunilal said :

"We will be leaving each individual nation to the mercy of either the United States or the United Kingdom and that would amount to dividing the world between two great nations." He said that British manipulation of currency during the war had cost Indians dearly. The accumulation of sterling balance by India had been through the sweat, blood, toil and tears of the Indian people. The purchases in India by the Government of India for war purposes and on behalf of the British Government and the United Nations for war effort had been made at very low prices compared with the prices at which the supplies were available to the civilian population in India. Had the Government of India paid for the material and goods purchased for the war effort on the basis of the cost of living in India, the accumulation of sterling by India would have been about three milliard instead one milliard pounds as at present. It was a known fact that millions died of starvation in Bengal last year and no more proof was necessary to indicate the privations the sacrificing Indian people had undergone during the war period.

Sir Chunilal protested against any attempt to maintain the rupee at the high gold ratio and said that the liquidation of India's blocked sterling balances must be considered by the conference.

Sir Chunilal's statement followed statements made by Mr. G. L. Mehta and Mr. A. R. Siddiqui who emphatically declared that any attempt to stifle Indian industries by the formation of international cartels would be resisted. As regards raw materials and foodstuff, the Indian delegation has put forward the view that no international arrangements for equal access to raw materials would be acceptable to India which would preclude India's own industrial development and would involve un-economic prices for its agricultural products.

Mr. Eric A. Johnston, President of the United States Chamber of Commerce presiding over the opening session of the conference had said : "The world of to-morrow must not be restricted to a world of high walls, high suspicions and high animosities. We tried that system and it does not work. It will be a world of competition to be sure but this competition must be constructive, not destructive. The world will never prosper if its commerce is dominated by a few great nations." These are good words indeed, but subsequent reports about the conference indicate that this well-meaning presidential address has been duly recorded and

of the quality of foodstuff supplied through ration shops and its results on public health. In September last, on behalf of the Calcutta Relief Committee, its President Dr. Bidhan Chandra Ray appealed to practising medical men to supply him with facts gleaned from his field of practice for the preparation of collected scientific data to ascertain the mischief done to public health through the consumption of bad quality ration supply. Replies were received from practising medical men, including some of the foremost physicians of the city, from the following wards: Wards 1-6, 8, 10-14, 16, 18-23, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, i.e., from 24 out of the 32 wards. Seven questions were put, the results of which are summarised against each question put. All the replies were in the affirmative, not a single reply in favour of the ration supply was received. The following are the summary of replies from all the wards:

Q. 1. Have you observed any particular deterioration in the health of the people in your locality or among your clientele since the introduction of rationing in the city? Please state specially the nature of such deterioration and to what extent it could be traced to the type of food that is being distributed.

Reply: Yes. Deterioration of digestive capacity, loss of weight, susceptibility to infection, diarrhoea, gastritis, indigestion, mucous colitis, dysentery and other intestinal troubles, difficulty in eradicating protozoal infection, incapacity of a progressive nature.

Q. 2. Making due allowance for seasonal aggravation of intestinal troubles have you any reason to believe that there has been any unusual increase in the number of cases complaining of stomach and intestinal troubles?

Reply: Yes.

Q. 3. Have you heard your patients to attribute such troubles to the bad quality supply of rice or atta? Does your diagnosis of the cases confirm the contention of the patients?

Reply: Yes.

4. Do you really believe that, there has been an unusual increase in the incidence of diarrhoea, dyspepsia, dysentery and various other kinds of bowel complaints in recent months which could be definitely attributed to bad supply of rice and atta?

Reply: Yes.

Q. 5. Have you any other points to mention regarding the health of the community in Calcutta since the introduction of rationing in Calcutta?

Reply: General look sallow, unusual hyper-acidity, increase in infant and maternal mortality, causing dysphagia, general deterioration, malnutrition and anaemia, epidemic dropsy and jaundice, natural resistance losing.

Q. 6. Do you believe that 90 per cent families in the city are suffering from chronic malnutrition and under-fed condition owing to abnormal rise in the price of vegetable, fish, egg, meat, milk, ghee; salt and oil?

Reply: Yes, according to some percentage higher.

Q. 7. Owing to universal sabotage of the health-soul of the province—do you apprehend a greater incidence of sickness among your clientele? Do you think any epidemic as the influenza of 1918 may visit us?

Reply: Yes.

Some of the remarks made in conclusion of their replies are given below:

An eminent physician from Ward 11 writes:

(1) Sometime back I received from the Government Rationing Store of my area a supply of *atta*, which seemed to be decomposed and contained worms. I sent a sample to the Calcutta Corporation Health Officer who declared it "unsuitable for human consumption." I forwarded a copy of that letter to the Rationing authorities, when they asked me to write to the Technical Adviser of the Department. On enquiry I learnt that the so-called Technical Adviser was not a scientific man but a loaned employee of the Bata Shoe Co. Ltd., who has been employed for advising on distribution. Some months ago, the Sanitary Board, Government of Bengal, drew the attention of the Civil Supplies Department to the necessity of chemical and bacteriological examination of foodstuffs before they were issued to the consumers. On the above occasion, I drew the attention of the Secretary, Public Health and Local Self-Government Department, Government of Bengal, but I have not had any information whether the advice has been put into practice.

(2) It is well-known that there is no technical background in the storage methods of the Government. The present supplies of *atta* are often bitter to the taste and frequently causes griping in the individuals consuming it. Supplies of rice have slightly improved in quality, but pulses are still of inferior quality. Adulteration is being widely practised but there is no agency to examine and check it. There is no doubt of a quantitative shortage of food but of a great qualitative deficiency also. This is bound to react unfavourably on public health. If you study the present mortality figures in Calcutta, you will notice an enormous increase in deaths from preventable diseases, particularly in the poorer groups and in the earlier age periods. Their adverse influence is bound to undermine the health of the population. If no effective and prompt steps are taken, I am afraid the situation is likely to go from bad to worse. To my mind, the Government organisation is technically incompetent to manage a situation, unless and until the whole organisation is overhauled and science is brought to the aid of man.

Sangli State Peoples' Conference

Mr. Madhavrao K. Bagal, Chairman of the Kolhapur States People's Conference, presiding over the eighteenth session of the Sangli States Peoples' Conference, observed :

"We cannot separate the States from united and indivisible India, and India from the world. We cannot, therefore, remain aloof from the great organisation in British India, i.e., the Indian National Congress. Efforts on the part of the States' subjects to attain freedom by depending only on the organisations in the States are bound to suffer defeat. By co-operating with the Congress alone we would be able to liberate our Nation. As a beginning in this direction the Deccan States must organise both for constructive and political programme."

Concluding Mr. Bagal said: "The Praja Parishad must not become a parliament of a few chosen persons. It must go deep into the hearts of the masses, awaken them and be ready as a fighting body for the poor. It must level all distinctions."

Political movements in the native states is a matter of very recent origin. Barring a few progressive ones, most of the states are still in

their semi-primitive feudal condition. Greatly lamentable lack of foresight. With the same care had so long been taken both by these states and by the representatives of the paramount power to prevent any percolation of modern political ideas within their borders. The continual increase in the number of State Peoples' Conferences unmistakably show that all attempts to cordon the states off from any invasion of modern ideas have been unsuccessful. The sooner these organisations link up with the premier political body of India, the better for the country.

Indo-Soviet Trade Plans

A *Globe* agency message from London states that preliminary negotiations are proceeding for the establishment of closer economic relations between India and Soviet Russia.

Following developments since the war began, there is now passing a steady flow of all kinds of materials from India to Russia and it is being urged that the foundations thus laid should make for permanent interchange of goods and raw materials.

Extension of rail and road facilities, specially via Persia, and the possibilities of the development of an air transport in the not distant future, have overcome communications difficulties which impeded Indo-Soviet trade exchanges before this war.

Road Development in India

New Delhi, Nov. 11 : The proposed creation of a Central Road Board was among the questions discussed by the Standing Committee for Roads which met in New Delhi under the Chairmanship of Sir Edward Bentham today. A conference of the Chief Engineers of Provinces and States held in Nagpur in December last had recommended the setting up of a Central Road Board with adequate authority and powers, guided by an Advisory Council, to deal with the detailed policy and day-to-day administration of road planning and programme, and to serve impartially the interests of the Central Provincial and State Governments. The consensus of opinion in the Standing Committee was in favour of the general idea but the Committee desired that more progress should be made in consultation with the Provincial Governments concerning the scope and nature of the organisation before they pronounced an opinion. The matter, it is understood, will also be considered by the Policy Committee for post-war transport.

The Standing Committee approved a number of schemes of road development to be financed from Provincial allocations in the Central Road Fund.

Before this war, road development in India had been completely neglected. Little construction was taken in hand while large sums accumulated in the Central Road Fund. Instead of launching a road development plan, which, if scientifically done, would have opened up the hinterland by providing feeder roads to railways, the central authorities were busy stifling the interest of the railways. Provincial governments also betrayed an equal-

Indian Scientists Address M.P.s.

The London correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* cables that the Indian scientists addressed the members of the House of Commons when they visited the House. The attendance was however not very good. All of them addressed the gathering which was much impressed by Dr. Meghnad Saha who gave the latest information about India.

All of them stated that India was a very poor country but they asserted that she was rich in mineral resources which can and must be exploited. They had no doubt that if that was done, India would become, to a very large extent, a self-supporting country. They were convinced that to do that it was necessary for India to have complete political and economic freedom, and national freedom, therefore, had become the most vital and urgent problem for India.

Grow More Food Campaign

Mr. J. D. Tyson, Secretary, Education, Health and Lands, gave figures in the Central Legislative Assembly "to refute the criticism that the grow more food campaign had been a complete failure." He said :

The average area under rice in India in the three pre-war years was 73·8 million acres. After one year of the grow more food campaign the area increased to 75 million and last year it was practically 80 million acres. At the present moment the indications were that this area would be fully maintained if not increased. The pre-war average of the area under all foodgrains was 193 million acres; after one year of the grow more food campaign it was 204·5 million acres and last year it was 206·3 million acres.

Proceeding to give figures of production of Foodgrains, Mr. Tyson said that under rice the three-year pre-war average was 26·5 million tons. In the first year of the grow more food campaign it was 24·8 million tons, in spite of the increase in the area, a decrease in production had occurred because of natural causes. Last year the production was 30·6 million tons. This meant an increase of 4 million tons representing twice the quantity that we used to import from Burma. The production of all foodgrains increased from the pre-war average of 55·5 million tons to 57·5 million tons one year after the grow more food campaign and 61 million tons last year.

Mr. Tyson explained the help that the Centre had given to the provinces in the distribution of seeds, extension of irrigation excavating tanks, digging wells, and so on. As regards the epidemic situation in Bengal, he said there had been improvement since the last session. The cholera mortality in January was 3000 a week had declined to 700 in April and 232 in October.

Mr. Tyson was clever enough to talk of huge figures in millions of tons but did not give the percentages. From his data it appears that the road traffic in the interest of the railways, after one year of campaign area under rice increased barely by 2 per cent with the produc-

tion was less than the previous year. For the present year, he claimed some 6 per cent increase in area with barely 10 per cent increase in production.

The grow more food campaigns in England and Ireland may be profitably compared with the Government of India's campaign. The data have been supplied by the League of Nations' study on *Food Rationing and Supply in 1943-44*. The following is a summary made by the Indian Finance :

Before the war it is well-known that two-thirds of the British food supply was imported. By 1943 over two-thirds of the national requirements was grown at home and the League report further says "the national diet has become less varied but had been but little reduced in terms of calories per head, and from a nutritional standpoint, had been improved." Great Britain could increase the total area devoted to food-grains from 4 million acres in 1939 to 7.6 million acres in 1943. 4½ million acres have been improved under Britain's draining programme. Figures for 1943 reveal that the area under wheat alone was raised by 35.6 per cent to nearly 70 per cent over the pre-war level. With the labour force remaining more or less the same as before the war, production was nearly doubled owing to planned intensive farming and by increased mechanisation.

Ireland, a country with a small reserve, tackled her food problem with equal efficiency. Irish farmers were obliged to keep a minimum proportion under the plough and this was raised from 12½ per cent to 20 per cent in 1942, 25 per cent in 1943 and 37½ per cent in 1944.

Irrigation in India

Addressing the Institution of Engineers, India, at New Delhi, Sir William Stampe, Irrigation Adviser to the Government of India, outlined a post-war plan of irrigation and hydro-electric development which he considered 'vital to the relief of India's scarcity.' Sir William said :

By means of new irrigation (aided by artificial fertilizers) and improved methods of agriculture, India had to grow seven million tons of additional foodgrains to nourish the five million who were born every year and to raise the standard of nutrition. He fixed the irrigation target as five million tons of foodgrains yearly and estimated that to achieve this 20 million acres should be brought under irrigation.

Discussing the various methods of expanding irrigation, Sir William Stampe said that storage reservoirs might be constructed in the river catchments to conserve the surplus monsoon water which could be released at suitable times. This would 'stabilise' the canals fed by the rivers concerned and the canal power stations could be operated at full capacity throughout the year. Not only would this cheap power directly increase prosperity through irrigation but it could foster the development of village industries thus raising the rural standard of living and providing employment.

Sir William Stampe emphasised the need for adequate training facilities in India, especially in regard to the advanced design of modern hydro-electric works and transmission systems. Whilst he welcomed the suggestion to establish a large college in Southern India, he recommended that a number of federal colleges should be founded where civil and electrical engineers, who would have to execute these hydro-electric works, could be trained together.

But the problems of irrigation are not the same for all the provinces. A scheme suitable for the Panjab or Sind may be completely useless for Bengal. The irrigational needs of Bengal were clearly stated by Sir William Williams in his *Lectures on Irrigation* delivered at the Calcutta University in 1930. He said :

That the "overflow irrigation" of the ancient Bengal rulers is the only one adapted to Bengal is amply borne out by what has happened in the last 70 years. The Irrigation Department has tried its hand at every kind of project it could imagine except "overflow irrigation." The resulting poverty of soil, congestion of rivers, and malaria, have stalked the canals and banks, and the country is strewn today with the wrecks of useless and harmful works. This has been aggravated by the fact that such works should have been executed by engineers, agriculturists and public health authorities working in accord, and there has been no attempt at working in accord. Overflow irrigation with the muddy waters of the river floods is the only kind of irrigation on which engineers, agriculturists, and public health authorities can be in absolute accord, for it enriches the soil, combats malaria and relieves the congestion of the rivers in flood. We may be quite sure that the ancient irrigators of Bengal did not hit upon it at once, but adopted it after trials and experiments lasting over many years. And we may rest assured, after seeing the results of seventy years of abandonments of it, that there is nothing before the country but to return to it.

The overflow irrigation of Central and Western Bengal, which at one time poured health and wealth over an area of 7,000,000 to 10,000,000 acres of land, is represented in the last published Report of the Bengal Irrigation Department, viz., that of 1927, by an area of under 2,000,000 acres.

Gag on Indian Journalists

Hannen Swaffer writes in the *Daily Herald*, about the censorship in India under the caption *Gagged Men*:

"Gag on news in India has now spread even to gag on private conversation about censorship by Indian journalists in London."

"Not only is it true unless printing of this sentence suddenly alters this rule—that words written in this column, vital as is their interest to that dependency, will never reach India. It is also true that if reprinting of these paragraphs when cabled is stopped in India, Indian newspapermen who send them must not even discuss the fact when they meet, say, in the Ministry of Information, nor can they tell any British journalist about it."

Swaffer then puts the question: "How if such Hitler-like suppression goes on can Britain and India ever understand each other?" Authorities in London and New Delhi do not seem to be warm about the prospect of a development of genuine understanding between the two countries.

Communalism in Education

The *Sylhet Chronicle* quotes an extract from an article, under caption *Educational Re-organisation of Assam*, by Mr. G. A. Small, ex-

D.P.I. of Assam, in which Mr. Small makes and broadening the base of India's social economic and the following observation regarding communalisation of education in that province:

"What Pakistan means to a Hindu minority has been clearly shown by successive Saddulla Government. The teachers in our college—Lecturers or Professors—should be the best men available; but since 1941, when I retired as a protest against the policy of Government, out of 20 appointments in the Assam Educational Service, 9 have been given to Moslems with only 2nd class M.A. degrees, and they included appointments in History, Mathematics, Economics and Civics, in all of which subjects, numbers of first class men are available.

"The damage done to Education in Assam by the appointment of inferior men throughout the department from the highest posts to the lowest will take generations to repair."

Corruption of education by permitting recruitment of men on communal considerations with much less educational qualifications continues uninterrupted as part of a well-planned policy of denial of education.

Unity Amidst Diversity—the Goal of Indian Culture.

Presiding over the Punjab Hindu Conference held at Ludhiana, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee struck at the fundamental note of our culture when he reminded his audience that the achievement of unity amidst diversity is the goal of Indian civilisation. Whenever Tagore had occasion to speak or write on the history of India, it was this note which he brought out in bold relief. History of India has never been a chronology of the dynasties and the dynastic wars alone; it is the history of the masses and the common man of a social system which ensured him a life of sufficiency. The veil round the history of India wrapped by British writers has now been torn down by the Indian schools and our own civilisation stands unfurled to us to-day against its proper mass sitting. Dr. Mookerjee said:

"I do not ignore that Hindu-Muslim differences are a reality. I do not forget that though no doubt foreign rule has helped to accentuate them, they have not appeared on the Indian scene for the first time since the advent of the British. India according to her tradition and history has remained the home of followers of diverse religions, faiths and creeds all ultimately being assimilated in the mighty stream of Indian culture and civilisation. This unity amidst diversity has been the keynote of Indian civilisation. Indian history gives us many examples of unique achievements in art, literature, religion, social and political advance when unity was the dominant note of Indian life."

"Today the communal problem in India can be solved only if the representative of each community genuinely agree to extend an equal right of citizenship to one and all irrespective of any religious or other consideration. The constitution of the country must guarantee full protection to the religious and cultural rights of the minorities. If any particular minority is backward, there must be ample provision for the educational and economic advancement of the people concerned. This advancement is necessary not only for the sake of the affected people but also for strengthening

Discussing present-day realities, Dr. Mookerjee said:

"Today India's first and foremost claim is for her political independence. We want nothing more or nothing less than that we should live in our own country breathing the air of freedom just as Englishmen claim to do in their own native land. Neither education of the right type nor her economic and industrial expansion consistent with the welfare of the masses is possible unless real political power vests in the people themselves. At every step we witness an irreconcilable clash of interest between India and her rulers, who know well the art of forging fresh fetters for continuing our economic exploitation.

A Victim of a Catch Phrase

In a meeting arranged for him by the British Association in London, Prof. Meghnad Saha made a statement that Indian leaders had so far concentrated on political freedom and neglected the problem of the living of India's millions. Economic problems have occupied almost as much attention as what may be called exclusively political questions since the beginning of the last century when Raja Rammohun Roy explained to the British people and the world, the causes of poverty of the Indian ryot and suggested remedies. Since then, the Bharat Sabha and the Hindu Mela movements had their economic problem as one of the main planks on their platform. From the birth of the Indian National Congress, economic problems have always been kept on the forefront. But the leaders of these movements fully realised that without freedom, a real and lasting solution of economic problems is impossible. In a dependent country, economic advancement can never be made without having complete control over the currency, exchange rates, transport and the industrial policy with the right to discriminate between foreigners both outside and inside this country. The welfare of the common man fully depends on how and in whose interest such controls are exercised. The Congress leaders realised these fundamental difficulties in the way of our economic improvement. That concentration on political movement did not mean a forgetfulness of economic difficulties has been amply demonstrated by the Congress which set up a National Planning Committee as soon as some semblance of political power came into their hands. Even the interim reports of some sub-committees were being given effect to by the Congress Ministries. The work of the A.I.V.I.A. and the A.I.S.A. should not be neglected.

Phillips' Letter

Drew Pearson has published Ambassador Phillips' Letter to President Roosevelt from

India in the spring of 1943. In it, Mr. Phillips no doubt gives an able summary of the Indian political situation but his conclusions will not be accepted to many in this country. He has rightly imagined that "the Viceroy and Mr. Churchill are well satisfied to let the deadlock remain as long as possible," but from his following words it seems that he has not yet gone to the root of British policy in India. He writes :

The problem, therefore, is : Can anything be done to break this deadlock through our help ? It seems to me that all we can do is to try to induce the Indian political leaders to meet together and discuss the form of Government which they regard as applicable to India and thus show to the world that they have sufficient intelligence to tackle the problem.

Even if the Indian leaders met together and evolved an agreed constitution, a Jinnah or an Ambedkar would soon be found to sound his master's voice and disagree from the general formula. The British Government and their branch here would at once be loud to proclaim that "powerful elements in India's national life" have not agreed on the common formula and for the sake of justice to these minorities Britain must stay in India. The Lucknow All-Parties Conference and the Round Table Conferences are past history no doubt but they have not been forgotten.

Mr. Phillips' suggested solution therefore stands on false grounds. His formula is :

"We cannot suppose the British Government can or will transfer power to India by the scratch of the pen at the conclusion of the peace conference unless there is an Indian Government fit to receive it. The question remains, therefore, how to induce the leaders to begin now to prepare for their future responsibilities. There is perhaps a way out of the deadlock which I suggest to you not because I am sure of its success but because I think it is worthy of your consideration. With the approval and blessing of the British Government an invitation could be addressed to top leaders of all the Indian political groups on behalf of the President of the United States to meet together to discuss plans for the future. The assembly could be presided over by an American who could exercise his influence in harmonizing the divisions of caste, religion, race and political views. The conference might well be under the patronage of the King Emperor, and the President of the United States, the President of the Soviet Union and Marshal Chiang Kai-shek in order to bring pressure to bear on the Indian politicians. Upon the issuance of invitations the King Emperor could give a fresh assurance of the British Government to transfer power to India, upon certain date as well as his desire to grant a provisional setup for the duration. The conference could be held in any city in India except Delhi."

"American chairmanship would have the advantage not only of expressing interest of America in the future independence of India, but would also be a guarantee to Indians of British offer of independence. This is an important point because as I have already said in my previous letters that British promises in this regard are no longer believed."

When America secured her independence by fighting with the British, there was no be universally regretted in India.

Government there "fit to receive it." Similarly, Canada obtained virtual independence in the form of Dominion Status when that country was ridden with internal dissensions and there was no Government there "fit to receive" political power. In Ireland, representatives of the British Government signed the Treaty together with the leaders of the revolution instead of any Government "fit to receive" power. The Indian National Congress has made it abundantly clear that the future constitution would be drawn by a constituent Assembly elected by adult suffrage and consisting of all the elements of Indian national life and complete arrangements for the safeguard of minority rights would be made. The Congress went so far as to declare that International arbitration would be sought if no agreement could be reached to solve the minority problem. Congress never said that the future constitution would be drafted by the majority, they always wanted an *agreed* document. Mr. Phillips wants the four Powers to bring pressure for the solution of the Indian constitutional problem, but has made a fundamental mistake as to the direction of this pressure when he says that it should be brought upon the Indian politicians. If pressure is sought to be applied, it should be on the British, and not on the Indian politicians. The suggestion for an American chairman to preside over the constituent Assembly is also equally fallacious. India has so far had little cause to be encouraged about any active sympathy of America for her independence.

India knows that independence does not come through donature, it has to be earned at the cost of sacrifices.

Anti-Indian Propaganda Among British School Boys

The *New Leader* of London reveals the nefarious methods pursued by imperialists to poison the minds of impressionable British boys against India. The journal says that lectures are being delivered to British boys of 14 and 15 in secondary schools in many parts of Britain urging the boys to consider the Army as a career, especially in India, where "but for the presence of the British Army in peace time the clash of numerous religions would lead to instability and suffering for the native masses." The boys are thus taught that Indians are uncivilised people, who would be at one another's throats, if British soldiers were not there to keep them in order. There is nothing astonishing in this latest activity of the Imperialist, but this downfall of a country which produced a Wilberforce, a Howard and a Gladstone will

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE tempo of the Allied assault on the German defences in the West has mounted to a crescendo within the last fortnight of November. Gigantic masses of armour are being hurled against selected points after some of the biggest concentrations of artillery in history have battered the ground defences with an avalanche of steel and high explosive. In the approaches to German territory from Holland and the Low-countries, there has been some of the severest hand-to-hand fighting in this war. Aerial bombardment and strafing has also reached a new height in this period. Substantial gains have been achieved in the south, but in the centre and the north the progress has been slow. Inclement weather, difficult terrain, formidable ground defences and extremely fierce opposition from the defenders all have militated against the attack. But despite all the assault still proceeds with all the violence of an assault-en-masse on the Continental scale. Losses must have been severe on both sides in this slow moving but tremendously intense assault but as yet neither side shows any sign of flagging energy. The main German defence line of the West-wall has yet to be contacted anywhere, and in the central and southern sectors the reversed defences of the Maginot Line have not as yet been breached right through at any point, though contact and penetration has been effected at several points in the south.

On the East-European front the momentum of the Russian assault has slackened in the North in the East-Prussian sector and in Poland. There is a new flare-up in Czechoslovak-Hungarian border and on the Carpathian flanks. There also the grip of winter is slowing down the pace of the assault. In Hungary itself the position is somewhat complex, the Russian drive being seemingly held up in the approaches to Budapest. Advance units of the Soviet forces were reported to have reached points within 10 miles of Budapest on November 16. The fall of the capital of Hungary was regarded as imminent then but evidently German and Hungarian counter-attacks and other defensive tactics were successful in holding up the Russian advance. Broadly speaking the German defences have held in East-Prussia and Poland, given ground in the Gulf of Riga region and on the Czechoslovak and Hungarian border-lands and substantially driven back in Hungary. But the line that would come as a matter-of-

is still intact and no substantial gaps have been torn out of it anywhere. The war in the Balkans is now more or less of a minor nature though contact seems to have been maintained with the slowly retreating German forces and occasional thrusts into their lines are also reported from time to time.

In Italy the Allied progress is slow now, though there has not been any slackening of the pressure. Throughout the campaign in Italy the Germans have made very skilful use of difficult terrain, which has proved to be a very severe handicap on the attackers. The recent gains by the Allies near Faenza hold out hopes of the termination of this difficulty as the plains are near, which would permit the use of mechanized units on a bigger scale. The opposition has not slackened its efforts though and some time may possibly elapse before a large-scale retreat takes place. Here also, as elsewhere, wintry conditions are adding to the difficulties of the campaign and may add to the delay in the progress of the attackers.

The year is thus coming to a close with the war in Europe gradually taking the shape of a static war of attrition. Mr. Churchill's latest declaration seems to indicate that he does not expect any drastic changes in this positional warfare tactics before spring or even early summer. Difficulties of supply and transport, and of refitting as well, have held up this massed assault on all points until winter had come, and as a result Germany has had some relative respite during the most critical period. It is useless to conjecture as to what would have happened if this synchronized assault had taken place before winter's fog and rain, in sleet and snow had put limitations to the use of mechanized and aerial forces. But there can be no doubt that Germany has managed to upset the time schedule of the Allied campaign to some considerable extent by holding on to the French ports and by their extremely stubborn defensive tactics in Holland and the Low-countries. The optimistic declarations of Allied spokesmen were based on plans which have had to be altered in view of later events. Just what Germany stands to gain by these delaying tactics is not clearly perceptible just now. The story of new secret weapons that would substantially alter the course of the war or might not be true, and the line that would come as a matter-of-

entry into the field of the newest classes of trained conscripts, could not be so very substantial either. Forty to fifty new divisions at most could be added that way, which would not be sufficient to meet the wastage of even four months of intensive warfare.

But judging from the extreme violence of the assault now being delivered on the Western defences, and that despite all adverse circumstances, the Allied Supreme Command is evidently reluctant to allow Germany any respite. This means that time is of the essence and that for reasons undisclosed as yet. No new factor is likely to enter into the calculations of either side, beyond what may happen in the Far East, and Far-Eastern considerations do not seem to have bothered the Supreme Command of the Allied forces, at least not until very recently. Therefore, the only conclusion we can arrive at is that the Allied Supreme Command considers that a break-through to the heart of Germany must be attempted right now at all costs or else the Axis might gain some advantage. On the chances of an early break-through, the Allied Chiefs are extremely reluctant to make any declaration, as evidenced by Mr. Churchill's speech. This reserve is natural since the optimistic forecasts made early in this year have all been proved to be wrong. In the absence of any data we cannot judge as to what went wrong with the early calculations. We can only say that the Wehrmacht seems to have staved off defeat and collapse for the time being and gained a few months of most valuable time. What will come of all this in the long run or how this temporary achievement will be of any avail to the Nazi High Command it is very difficult to foresee, as neither in men nor in material can the Germans regain the supremacy that now rests with the Allies, unless a major blunder is committed by Allied command themselves. All that seems possible now, in the light of available facts, is a prolongation of the war in Europe up to the end of the summer of 1945 or at the most till next autumn.

In the Far-Eastern zone the war in the Philippines is proceeding just in the fashion as might have been foreseen in consideration of Japanese methods of offence and defence. Suicide tactics are a speciality of the Nipponese and as the war proceeds nearer their homeland the more ruthless and ferocious will be the struggle. All the same the naval defeat does not seem to have altogether the same effect as one was led to conclude at the beginning. Japanese reinforcements have been landed in fair strength on Leyte island and even on Morotai. Their land-based planes have kept up the attack despite heavy losses inflicted on them

and the ground forces are still fighting with extreme ferocity. Taken over all the campaign in the Phillipines promises to be the severest so far in the East. The Allied Commander in this area, General MacArthur, knows every inch of the soil which would be undoubtedly of the greatest advantage. Further the U.S. forces here have room for action on a large scale as an island like Leyte of nearly 2,500 sq. miles in extent would provide ample scope for large masses of artillery and armour. The Japanese navy is estimated to have lost about 10 per cent of its effective strength up to November and a larger percentage has been put out of action for two to three months at least. But ground-based planes from Luzon and motor barges and speed-boats will prove to be serious difficulties in the hands of a determined foe like the Japanese. In any case the battle for Phillipines seems to be likely to increase in fury as time goes on for some little time to come.

On the Continent of Asia the Japanese are on the defensive on the Indo-Burmese and Sino-Burmese frontiers. No signs have as yet been apparent of any renewed activity on the part of the Japanese in these sectors. The Chinese have made further progress in the clearing up of the Burma road, though a good deal still remains to be done. On the Indo-Burmese front progress has been slow due to the Japanese making a stubborn stand near the Chindwin, beyond Tiddim and near Kalewa.

On Continental China Japan seems to have gained all her main objectives and is now attempting to consolidate her gains. If she succeeds in that attempt, then the Allies will have to face continental warfare in that area on disadvantageous terms, unless Burma and Malaya are regained and the land communications with China freed from all danger. There is every danger of such an eventuality if the war in Europe much prolonged. No doubt the Japanese would need at least a year to repair and refit the main North to South railways and other land communications in China that they have seized now, and no doubt that there is every possibility of Japan's sea-route to South-Eastern Asia and the Dutch East Indies being seriously constricted—if not totally cut—before then. But even at that, given that year's time, much of the work done by the Allied forces at such cost, will be undone for the time being, which will mean in its turn a long war in the East after a long war in the West. China has already shown what happens in a long war under adverse circumstances. India has already suffered grievous losses through man-made famine and pestilence, and a long war will not improve Allied chances unless drastic action be taken in these two countries.

THE NEGOTIATIONS AND AFTER

The Lahore Resolution of 1940 and Mr. Jinnah

By D. N. BANERJEE,

Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Dacca

I

In a sense, it is a matter of deep and genuine satisfaction to every true nationalist in India that the negotiations between Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah have broken down. The reason is that these negotiations were, as it has since transpired, proceeding on the basis of some form of division of India, which no true nationalist can view with equanimity. In a later article in this series I shall deal with the position taken by Gandhiji during the negotiations and afterwards. In this article I should like to examine with equanimity the position taken by Mr. Jinnah during those negotiations and also afterwards.

II

At its Session held at Lahore on 26th March, 1940, the All-India Muslim League resolved, among other things, that

"No constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign," and that

"Adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights, and interests in consultation with them."

The resolution also contemplated exactly identical safeguards for Muslim and other minorities in the "parts of India where the Musalmans are in a minority."

Further, the Muslim League authorized its Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communication, customs and such other matters as may be necessary."

It may be noted here that the first part of the resolution as quoted above, is not free from ambiguity. What do the expressions "Independent States" and "the Constituent Units" really mean? And, secondly, if "the Constituent Units" are to be "autonomous" and "sovereign", how can they be in the "Independent State"? Thirdly, what is the significance of the word "autonomous" here? If any political entity is "sovereign", it is *ipso facto* autonomous, unless the term "sovereign" is used in less than its technical sense. Did the authors of the resolu-

tion use the term "sovereign" in the same sense in which the Indian States are said to be "sovereign"? They might have. But in that case there would be some conflict with the concluding part of the resolution as shown above. Again, what does the word "finally" in the concluding part mean? Does it keep the door partly open for some negotiation with other communities or parties in India? Probably, it does. Otherwise, it has no meaning here.

Another point worthy of note in connexion with the resolution is that the plural terms "regions", "areas", "zones", "Independent States", and "respective regions" in it unmistakably point to one thing, namely, that the authors of the resolution intended the creation of certainly more than one "Muslim" State in the North-West and the North-East of India.

Now I shall refer to the interpretation which Mr. Jinnah put upon the resolution both during his negotiations with Gandhiji and afterwards. Among other things, he has stated:

"According to the Lahore Resolution, as I have already explained to you (i.e., Gandhiji), all these matters (i.e., foreign affairs, defence, etc.), which are the life-blood of any State, cannot be delegated to any central authority or Government. The matter of security of the two States and the natural and mutual obligations that may arise out of physical contiguity will be for the constitution-making body of Pakistan and that of Hindustan, or the party concerned, to deal with on the footing of their being two independent States."

Again¹:

"The Lahore resolution . . . stated that the division should be on the basis of the present boundaries of the six provinces, namely, the N.W.F.P., the Punjab, Sind, Bengal, Assam and Baluchistan subject to territorial adjustments that might be necessary."²

Further³:

"If the principle of division was accepted then it followed that both Hindustan and Pakistan would have to choose their own constitution-making bodies. These bodies as representing two sovereign States would deal with questions of mutual and natural relations, and obligations by virtue of the physical contiguity and they would then as two independent sovereign states—two nations—would come to an agreement on various matters. Take the case of America.⁴ There are 23 indepen-

1. See Mr. Jinnah's letter to Gandhiji, dated 25th September, 1944.

2. From Mr. Jinnah's views as set forth at the Press Conference, held at Bombay on 4th October, 1944.

3. Mr. Jinnah "emphasized the words 'subject to' and explained that territorial adjustments did not apply to one side only but on both sides—Hindustan and Pakistan."—See *ibid.*

4. See *ibid.*

5. By "America" here Mr. Jinnah obviously meant the whole of North and South America, and not the United States of America, as some people have mis-understood him to do.

dent sovereign States in America. They have their treaties and agreements with regard to their mutual interests. Even so the States in Europe have their own agreements with each other for inter-trade and commerce and even alliances. These are things that can be adjusted. Agreements and treaties are entered into even between two countries that have no physical contiguity. Here the two nations are neighbours and have physical contiguity."

Lastly⁶:

"There is only one practical, realistic way of solving Muslim-Hindu differences. This is to divide India into two sovereign parts of Pakistan and Hindustan by the recognition of the whole of the North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Sind, the Punjab, Bengal and Assam as sovereign Muslim Territories as they now stand, and for each of us to trust the other to give equitable treatment to Hindu minorities in Pakistan and Muslim minorities in Hindustan. We are prepared to trust 25 million Muslims to them if they will trust us." (sic).

One thing may be noticed here. As I have shown before, the Lahore resolution definitely envisaged more than one Muslim sovereign State on the North-West and the North-East of India. Mr. Jinnah has now, perhaps, realized its many practical difficulties, and has therefore, in anticipation of the sanction of the Muslim League, been arguing on the basis of one independent and sovereign, Muslim State, "composed of two zones, north-west and north-east, comprising six provinces, namely, Sind, Baluchistan, the N.W.F.P., the Punjab, Bengal, and Assam."

This is very significant. His next move—rather demand—would be that there should—"should" at first, but "must" later on—be a corridor through the State of Hindusthan to link up the north-western and north-eastern zones, for the proper functioning of the State of Pakistan. Then some of his followers would begin to echo his voice and urge, "The Hindus should make this little 'brotherly' gesture". Thereupon, some Congressmen or ex-Congressmen would come forward and say, "Yes, this is only fair". This is not an imaginary picture. Things have been happening in this way during the last few years. However, this is only by the way.

It is evident from the interpretation which Mr. Jinnah has put upon the Lahore resolution that, according to it, the future relationship between the North-West⁷ and the North-East⁸ of India and the rest of India is to be of the same character as subsists, or may subsist, as a result of treaties, agreements or alliance, as between, say, England and France or Spain, France and Russia, Germany and Italy or

Turkey, or Turkey and England, in Europe, or as between the United States and Mexico, or the United States and Brazil or Argentina, for instance, in America. That is to say, this relationship is to be based upon mere treaties, agreements, or the principles of an alliance, as between two or more absolutely independent and sovereign States. The view embodied in the resolution thus interpreted, appears to be so puerile, but, at the same time, so preposterous and dangerous, that I cannot yet persuade myself to believe, without seriously questioning their patriotism and without insulting their intelligence and political acumen, that the authors of the resolution, being children of this soil, did really mean what they have been represented by their leader to have meant. Has communalism really so much warped our judgment that some of our best men cannot see things in their true and natural perspective? Has it altogether destroyed their political foresight? Ours is really a very unfortunate country!

May I, in this connexion, ask the authors of the resolution, and, particularly, its interpreter who is said to be a lawyer of eminence, what will be the sanction of the treaties and agreements which the latter has in view? And we must bear in mind that these treaties and agreements are to govern matters of such vital concern to the whole of India as foreign affairs, defence, customs, currency, etc. Treaties and agreements between two or more sovereign States do not create a common political authority superior to the contracting parties. What will happen in case of nonconformity, on the part of one of the contracting parties to a treaty in India, to the terms of the treaty? And who will adjudicate in a dispute arising from such a treaty? Further, what will be the value of such adjudication, assuming that a machinery is set up for this purpose, without a sanction behind its award? These are very pertinent questions which cannot be shelved or trifled with. Nor can they be dismissed as merely academic or pedantic. In the absence of an effective sanction of the treaties and agreements which Mr. Jinnah contemplates, "self-help in its most licentious form" will be the only remedy left to the peoples of the States of Hindusthan and Pakistan, for the enforcement of their terms, in the event of disobedience by either party. That is to say, these two States will have, from time to time, to take resort to "war, the litigation of States." Thus, if there is no common political superior in the form an efficient central authority for the whole of India, we shall be compelled to have, from time to time, the arbitrament of the sword, and that means frequent civil war in this country, with all its accompanying miseries and

6 See his statement to a foreign correspondent, dated at Bombay 6th October, 1941.—A.P.J. message.

7 See his views above and also his letter to Gandhiji, dated 25th September, 1944.

8 Sind, Baluchistan, the N.W.F.P., and the 'unjab.

9 Bengal and Assam.

sufferings, together with the danger of an effective foreign intervention and the re-conquest of India by a foreign power. This is the lesson of historic experience, rightly characterized as "the best oracle of wisdom" and "the least fallible guide" of human action.

There is, it must be remembered, a fundamental difference between an Alliance, or even a Confederation, and a Government proper. As Alexander Hamilton rightly pointed out¹⁰ long ago, in reference to the views of those of his countrymen, who, like the Muslim separationists in India, had been opposing the proposed creation of the Federation of the United States of America :

"Government implies the power of making laws. It is essential to the idea of a law, that it be attended with a sanction; or, in other words, a penalty or punishment for disobedience. If there be no penalty annexed to disobedience, the resolutions or commands which pretend to be laws will, in fact, amount to nothing more than advice or recommendation."

And advice is not command. In the absence of a competent central authority, the tie of the proposed alliance between Hindusthan and Pakistan will be too feeble to bind either. It will be a mere rope of sand.¹¹ As the same American sage¹² further pointed out :

"There is nothing absurd or impracticable in the idea of a league or alliance between independent nations for certain defined purposes precisely stated in a treaty regulating all the details of time, place, circumstance, and quantity; leaving nothing to future discretion; and depending for its execution on the good faith of the parties. Compacts of this kind exist among all civilized nations, subject to the usual vicissitudes of peace and war, of observance and non-observance, as the interests or passions of the contracting powers dictate. In the early part of the present century¹³ there was an

epidemical rage in Europe for this species of compacts, from which the politicians of the times fondly hoped for benefits which were never realized. With a view to establishing the equilibrium of power and the peace of that part of the world, all the resources of negotiations were exhausted, and triple and quadruple alliances were formed; but they were scarcely formed before they were broken, giving an instructive but afflictive lesson to mankind, how little dependence is to be placed on treaties which have no other sanction than the obligations of good faith, and which oppose general considerations of peace and justice to the impulse of any immediate interest or passion."¹⁴

The importance of this statement will, it is hoped, excuse its quotation at length. Another observation of this great American statesman is particularly worthy of note in this connexion.

"To look", said he, "for a continuation of harmony between a number of independent, unconnected sovereignties in the same neighbourhood, would be to disregard the uniform course of human events, and to set at defiance the accumulated experience of ages . . . But notwithstanding the concurring testimony of experience, in this particular, there are still to be found visionary or designing men, who stand ready to advocate the paradox of perpetual peace between the States, though dismembered and alienated from each other."

On the other hand, he warned, "weakness and divisions at home would invite dangers from abroad." Those who advocate the partitioning of India into two or more sovereign and independent states as a solution of our communal problem, may not be put in the category of "designing men" as contemplated by Alexander Hamilton; but they are certainly Utopian visionaries if they think that they will thereby bring peace, harmony, goodwill, and prosperity to this country. No; their policy will, even if we somehow succeed in gaining freedom from foreign control, ultimately spell red ruin to it. It may be true that they have had some legitimate causes of resentment at the treatment they received from the Congress High Command, or from some Congress Ministers, in the past; and I am one of those who believe, as I have shown in another connexion¹⁵, that when in 1937 the Congress decided to accept office, it committed a political blunder in not offering, of its own free will, to form, in co-operation with the Muslim League coalition governments in the six Governors' Provinces in which it then commanded a majority of votes in the local legislatures. But does all this justify the attempts now being made to inflict a mortal wound upon our common motherland?¹⁶ I put

¹⁰ See *The Federalist* (Lodge's edition, 1888), No. XV.

I would very respectfully request every Muslim separationist in India to go through the pages of *The Federalist*, and, particularly, of *The Federalist*, Nos. I-XVI.

Also see Woodrow Wilson, *The State*, 1919, pp. 237-83.

¹¹ All the arguments set forth in this article against any kind of alliance between Hindusthan and Pakistan will apply equally well to a Confederation of India, as proposed by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar and some other persons.

Referring to the inherent weakness of the Confederation of the United States (1781-89), Woodrow Wilson has observed : 'It (i.e., the Confederation) was given absolutely no executive power, and was therefore helpless and contemptible . . . its only power to govern was a power to advise. It could ask the states for money, but it could not compel them to give it; it could ask them for troops, but could not force them to heed the requisition; it could make treaties, but must trust the states to fulfil them; it could contract debts, but must rely upon the States to pay them. It was a body richly enough endowed with prerogatives, but not at all endowed with powers. The United States in Congress assembled' formed a mere consultative and advisory board.—*The State*, 1919, p. 238.

¹² See *The Federalist*, No. XV.

¹³ i.e., the 18th century.

¹⁴ The italics are mine.

¹⁵ Also see F. E. Smith (*Lord Birkenhead*), *International Law*, pp. 9-11.

¹⁶ See *The Federalist*, No. VI.

¹⁷ See my paper on "The Problem of Party Government in India", read at the Third Indian Political Science Conference, held at Mysore in December, 1940, and published in *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Conference Number, April-June, 1941.

¹⁸ Also see Beni Prasad, *Communal Settlement*, 1944, pp. 27-33.

this question in all humility and seriousness to the protagonists of separationism in this country. And it must be borne in mind in this connexion that the Congress is not going to be a perpetual organization. As a matter of fact, all the existing political parties may be *functus officio* with the attainment of freedom by India, and there may come into being, and signs are not wanting even now, new parties on altogether different bases.

III

I shall now refer to another aspect of the question, namely, the logic and equity of the position taken by Mr. Jinnah.

In recent years Mr. Jinnah has repeatedly asserted that he is opposed to any kind of Federation of India, even though it might be so devised as to ensure all "adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards," to quote the words of the Lahore resolution itself, for the legitimate interests of minorities in India, as, he fears, it will mean, in effect, a "Hindu Raj". This apprehension of his is based on purely imaginary grounds. Because, along with the statutory safeguards, the Federal Constitution will provide for an independent federal judiciary which will act as the guardian, as it were, of the interests of the minorities as provided for in the Constitution. Let us assume, however, for the sake of argument, that his apprehension is well-founded, and see what follows.

Now, what is the percentage of the total Muslim population in India? Roughly speaking, according to the census of 1941, out of a total population of 389 millions living in India, 92 millions are Muslims and 255 millions are Hindus. This means that the Muslims constitute about 24 per cent of the population of India, say, about one-fourth. Let us now see the position in Bengal and Assam. According to the same census, out of a total population of about 60 millions in Bengal, approximately, 33 millions are Muslims, 25 millions are Hindus, and 2 millions the rest. Similarly, out of a total population of 10 millions in Assam, only 3.4 millions are Muslims, and the rest, including 4.2 millions of Hindus, are non-Muslims. These figures mean that the percentage of the Muslim population in Bengal is 55 and that of the non-Muslim 45; and that the percentage of the Muslim population in Assam is only 34 and that of the non-Muslim 66. And if we take Bengal and Assam jointly, as is the idea of Mr. Jinnah, then we find that out of a total population of about 70.5 millions, including fractions, living in these two provinces, 36.4 millions are Muslims. And this means that in these two provinces taken together, Muslims constitute only 51.6 per cent of their total

population, say, 52 per cent,¹⁹ and non-Muslims comprise the rest, i.e., at least 48 per cent.

Mr. Jinnah objects to an All-India Federation because, according to him, it will be a "Hindu Raj" over the Muslims of India who constitute only 24 per cent of its total population. But the same Mr. Jinnah will have no hesitation and scruple in imposing, without even their consent and against their declared will, a Muslim Raj over 45 per cent of the population of Bengal, and, what is still more ridiculous, over 66 per cent of the population of Assam, and, jointly speaking, over 48 per cent of the population of Bengal and Assam, who are non-Muslims. Are these non-Muslims mere herds of cattle, or slaves in a plantation? This is neither logic, nor reason, nor equity, nor even commonsense. If 24 per cent of the population of India has a right to object to the establishment of an All-India Federation because it will mean, according to Mr. Jinnah, a "Hindu Raj", then certainly 45 per cent of the population of Bengal, 66 per cent of the population of Assam, and 48 per cent of the combined population of Assam and Bengal have a far greater right to object to the establishment of a Muslim Raj over them.²⁰ And, be it remembered that these non-Muslims of Bengal and Assam comprise a community which is far more advanced than the Muslims of these areas, educationally, economically, and politically, and this is admitted by Muslims themselves both by their words and by their action. Further, if there has been any political progress in India during the last sixty years, it has been largely due to the activities, sufferings and sacrifices of the members of this very community. And what I have said above in regard to Bengal and Assam will, in essence, also equally apply to the case of the Punjab.

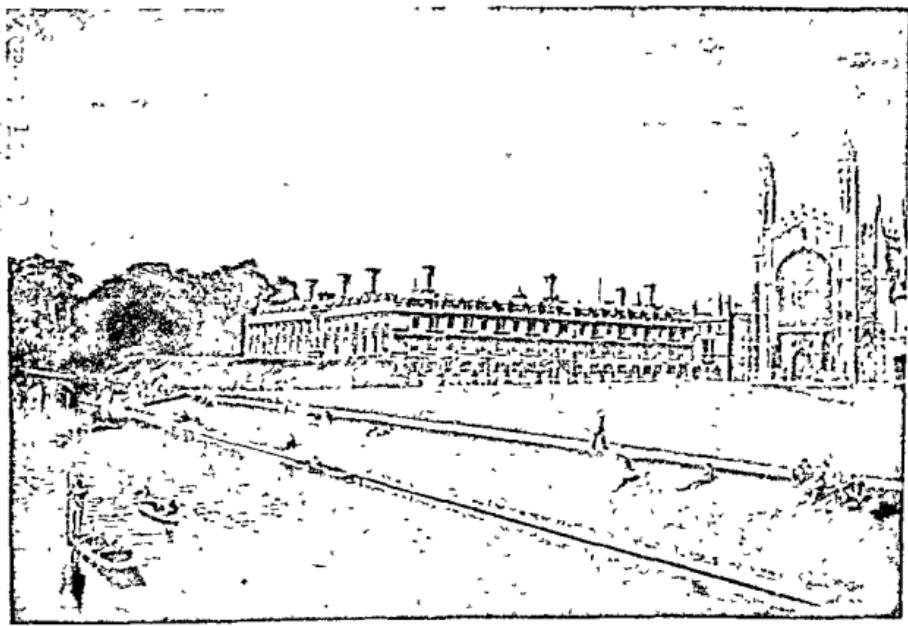
Again, if it is a question of fear of each other, which community, the Hindu or the Muslim, has greater reasons to be afraid of the other? Admittedly, some Congress Ministers committed some errors of judgment during the brief period (1937-39) in which they were in office. But the British Governors of the Provinces concerned, were also partly responsible for this, as they had power, under the Government of India Act, 1935, to prevent such errors of judgment if they were really serious. Moreover, compare the record of this short Congress rule in India in relation to Muslims, with the

19. This percentage will further go down if the Province of Bengal is reconstituted on the linguistic basis and the Bengali-speaking population in the adjoining districts to its west, is included within it.

20. In regard to the two-nations theory of Mr. Jinnah, which is a myth, I shall deal with it in my next article in this series. There is no space for it here.



Chinese troops cross the Salween River in rubber assault boats



This is a typical Cambridge scene showing students on King's Lawn, and boating on the river Cam. In the centre of the picture is Clare College (1330) and its bridge, and on the right is the famous King's College Chapel



Chine-e guerrilla

Courtesy : USOWI



Marshal Wei Li-Huang, Commander of the Chinese Expeditionary Forces, and Lt. Norman J. Dau, U.S. Photo Officer, Task Force IIq.

THE NEGOTIATIONS AND AFTER

record of the long period of Muslim rule in India, encouragement which some British politicians in relation to the Hindu community, Hindu culture, Hindu religion, Hindu temples, and the images of Hindu deities. I would not refer to those unpleasant things here. During his negotiations with Gandhiji, Mr. Jinnah once quoted Dr. Ambedkar as an authority on a point. I would only invite, in this connexion, his attention to what the same Dr. Ambedkar has said in Chapter IV of his book entitled *Thoughts on Pakistan* (1941). - Nor do I propose to refer, partly for want of space and partly for avoiding bitterness, to the record of some non-Congress Ministries in India since 1937. The best thing is that we should all forget the past and build our future on a new foundation of inter-communal good-will and harmony, which, however, is impossible so long Mr. Jinnah persists in his present attitude.

It has also been argued that if, in a divided India, the Muslim minorities can agree to live in Hindusthan, why the Hindu minorities should object to living in Pakistan. The answer to this point is very simple. In the first place, the Muslim minorities may have faith in the sense of justice of the Government of Hindusthan; but the Hindu minorities may not have the same faith in the sense of justice of the Government of Pakistan. Secondly, who have asked the Muslim minorities to accept the position to which it is proposed to relegate them in Hindusthan? Certainly, not the Hindus. It is some of their own leaders who are toying with their destiny, thinking perhaps that the Hindu minorities in Pakistan will be held as hostages for them in Hindusthan. Thirdly, to be a part of a common whole in an undivided India is one thing; but to be a part of Hindusthan in a divided India is a different thing. Now, knowing all this and the risks involved therein, if the Muslim minorities in the proposed Hindusthan areas, deliberately, or misled by their leaders, want to commit their political suicide, does it follow that the Hindus elsewhere should also do the same? It is like arguing that because A wants to commit suicide, therefore his neighbour B must also commit suicide. Fourthly, why will these Hindus allow themselves to be cut off from the rest of Hindu India and from its immemorial, cultural and religious associations? They look upon the whole of India as their Motherland and they must remain her nationals and citizens. They consider this to be their birthright; and they will never agree to forgo this right, just for the sake of placating a few unreasonable communalists.

In conclusion, I should like to say that Mr. Jinnah should be well advised by his followers to give up the wild goose chase of Pakistan. It will prove a veritable *fata Morgana*. It will, and can, never materialize, notwithstanding all

the given to it, under the impulse of a sinister motive. It is no use ploughing the sands. Mr. Jinnah should also realise, if he has not already done it, that his movement has created enough bitterness in this country, and spread a miasma of hatred throughout the land. Hatred begets hatred and communalism begets communalism. Even people who had never any trace of communalism in them before are being gradually infected with its virus. It is such a terribly infectious poison.

Mr. Jinnah often pleads for realities. He should himself face some realities. With talks of pan-Islamism in the air and the declaration, from time to time, by many responsible Muslim leaders that a Muslim's first loyalty is to Islam and that his loyalty to his country comes afterwards, Mr. Jinnah would be in a dream-land if he ever expected that the Hindus and the Sikhs would agree to the partitioning of India and to the creation of two sovereign Muslim States on its North-Western and North-Eastern frontiers.²¹ Even if Gandhiji, misled by another Mephistophelean move, persuades himself to agree to his terms, nothing will follow. With all his influence, Gandhiji will not be able to deliver the goods to him. He will be simply repudiated by Hindu and Sikh India. And Mr. Jinnah surely knows the history of the partition of Bengal. This is a fundamental point. The sooner Mr. Jinnah realizes it, the better for all of us. Next, even a large section of the Muslim community of India is definitely opposed to partition. Thirdly, the Princely Order in India is against it.²² Only a bedlamite can believe that any satisfactory reconstruction of the future governmental system of this country is possible, with the Indian States out of it. Fourthly, other minority communities in India have unequivocally declared their adhesion to the principle of the unity and integrity of India. And lastly, there are the very weighty pronouncements of two successive Viceroys of India, Lord Linlithgow and Lord Wavell, on the question of the geographical unity of India and its implications. Many people do not appear to have realized the full significance of the present Viceroy's statement that "no man can alter geography". Unfortunately, we often forget in our enthusiasm that Government is neither poetry, nor romance, nor demagogery, nor, again, stump oratory. Much of our trouble will disappear if Muslim separationists will kindly feel that reason cannot be on

²¹ See in this connexion Stanley Rice's article, "India : Partition or Unity," in *The Asian Review*, January, 1913.

²² See the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawanshera's article, "The Future of India and the Princes," *Ibid.* Also see Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's recent speech.

their side alone, and that they are not infallible. Most of them are so wedded to their own opinions as to be quite unable to see any other point of view. They have promised "adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards" to minorities in Pakistan. If that be all, why should they object to an All-India Federation, in which also they can insist on, and can easily have, similar safeguards for the Muslim community?

Not long ago Mr. Jinnah played a great role in the politics of India as a nationalist. Let him go back to that role again, and lead his countrymen to their cherished goal of a Free and United India—a United States of India, composed of autonomous units, joined together in a but which can be imagined by all sensible federal union, with adequate statutory safe-

guard, for all racial or religious minorities in respect of their language, religion, culture, traditions, and other rights. He will be remembered by our posterity as one of the Makers of Modern India. But if, unfortunately, he persists in his present attitude, he will do real good to none—neither to his Motherland, nor even to his own community. He will only succeed in creating more bitterness in this country. Federation is the only solution of our problem. Partition will lead to our annihilation. Persistence in unreason will provoke unreason. And if unreason is pitted against unreason, it will ultimately lead to consequences which I had better not describe here.

INDIA AS DEPICTED BY AN ENGLISH LADY

BY ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

From the Cambridge University Press one expects a tome—not a "tabloid." At least an old hand at reviewing, like myself, does. Many, indeed, have been the books bearing its imprint that during the last 35 years, have been sent to me for review by one publication or another or "with the compliments of the Syndics." I cannot recollect, however, that there ever was among these an "outline."

Since H. G. Wells, however, set the fashion with his "Outline of World History" (or some such title) the tempo of our life has been jazzed. Only high notes—and not too many of them—stand now a chance of being heard. I am, therefore, not a whit surprised to receive from the Cambridge University Press a slight volume bearing the simple but (at least to me) suggestive title: *INDIA IN OUTLINE*.^{*}

Though there are only 110 pages of text, including the appendices and index but not the preliminaries, and though the *format* is small enough to go into the pocket, the book is worthy of the Cambridge University Press. The type is clear, well set and passed by a lynx-eyed proof-reader. The photographs and the single painting have been successfully processed, though one is crowded against the other and the juxtaposition is not always pleasing to the eye. I like the feel of the paper and the look of the print. Even the binding is not flimsy. Is there a war on in the land where this amazingly well-run press is located?

II

The book is by Lady Mabel Hartog. Beyond the fact that she is "no stranger to India," the

publishers tell nothing about the author (I hate the word "authoress": why should sex-differentiation be shoved into literature's domain?). Nor does she herself provide a glimmer into her personality, through the preface, not quite a page in length. But then, she was brought up in the tradition of reticence that the *blare* of the BBC and Britain's other noisy propagandist organs of this war-erased period are fast destroying.

In her own country books of reference are always handy, even in a small, private library, and readers are in the habit of consulting them. In the United States of America the "handle" to the author's name would, in itself, be more than enough to make her book seem worth while. In that Republic homage flows to a "Lady's" feet as monsoon water pours down from Himalaya's heights, in the shadow of which I am writing.

In our land we are not in the habit of dipping into reference books, even if we have the money and the heart (this is more important) to purchase them. So let me give a little "background information"—a phrase much in evidence just now.

When I met the author of *India in Outline* her husband—Philip Hartog—had not been Knighted. At the time I first contacted him, he was the External Registrar of the London University. Later he served on the Commission appointed to suggest ways to unscramble the Calcutta University and to re-scramble it so as to serve Bengal's needs more efficiently. That "U" was fortunate in its omelette-tosser—the vigorous-bodied and still more vigorous-minded, lion-hearted Ashutosh Mukerji. Some time later Hartog was placed in administrative control of the Dacca University—one of the enter-

* *India in Outline* by Lady Mabel Hartog (Cambridge University Press) 6/- net.

prises conceived by Lord Curzon while we constituted for him "the white man's burden."

Mrs. Hartog was to my wife and me a perfect hostess during the two or three days we spent with her at the Vice-Chancellor's bungalow in Dacca in (I believe) 1923, and her husband all attention. Before going there she had had some "Indian background." Her uncle, Kisch (a Jewish name, I believe), had spent the best part of his life in India and retired. If my memory serves me aright, as the head of the Post and Telegraph Services. His son—her cousin Cecil—preferred the "Home" to the "Indian" Civil Service. I encountered him at the India Office in my early Fleet Street days. He accompanied Edwin Samuel Montagu to India in 1917 and was much "dined and wined" by Britons in the "Indian" services, as Graham Pole—a shrewd Scots solicitor and devotee of Annie Besant, then also in our country, told me on his return to London. Kisch's rise at the India Office was rapid and he always was pleasant and interesting to talk with.

This little lady, I could see, was much more than Philip Hartog's wife in that Vice-Chancellor's mansion at Dacca. She had a nimble wit and behind it, as her conversation showed, was much reading and shrewd observation of men and matters. She had intellectual interests of her own. I am delighted that she, upon her return to her native land, adventured into literature. Her success seems to have been immediate. Deservedly so, judging by this Outline.

III

The character of her book, lying beside my typewriter, is indicated by the reading matter on the jacket-flap. It is "about a country of 400 million inhabitants." These are, the publishers tell us, "of several religions, of many conflicting customs, of long and distinguished history, of many climates, soils and geographical forms, of many states and governments."

I wonder who fabricated these words for the Press. To him we must be a veritable Zoo, in fact. A visitor is expected to arm himself at the Zoo gate with a hand-book, if he is at all minded to know something more of the caged animals than his eyes and ears will tell him. So, I suppose, an "outline" is needed for "India," with all these diversified specimens of *homo sapiens*, soils, climates and what not. These have yet to pass into undivided Indian control.

Lady Hartog herself intended her small book "to serve as an introduction to India, and to provide a background for further reading." So she says in the preface. It is good to know from the author about the purposes she has in view.

IV

Not till I seriously took to photography and learnt something of both its science and art, did I realize the function that a "background plays in creating an effect or of destroying it. If it is over-bright or garish in colour, or complicated or curious in design, it will attract attention to itself, rather than serve to focus it upon the main subject. If the tint has been selected by a person who has not understood Nature, the figure painted or photographed will sink into it, instead of standing out cameo-like against it.

Lady Hartog is, judged by her 109 pages of text, illuminated by 31 photographs, of which one has been used with my "compliments," is the happy possessor of the secret of "back-lighting." It has that neutral tint which makes the object limned against it detach itself and seem almost to walk out of the canvas or the printed page.

The figure she had drawn, with a rare economy of strokes, is really Britannia—or is it only—"Englishia"? She is depicted as India's trustee. Her robe is made of *camkhab*, or, perhaps as Lady Hartog would write it, "cincob." The most skilled spinners and weavers in the Motherland have toiled at it. The decorations are done by the most competent needle-wielders gathered from distant points in India. The rose of England constitutes, however, the main motif. The thistle of Scotland, too, appears here and there, but not too obtrusively. Even the shamrock of Ireland—not Eire's, pray note the difference, for Eire has been misbehaving during this war in the vigorous successful prosecution of which Lady Hartog (judged by her book) is keenly interested—has not been left out. Nor, for that matter, has the star that, for some reason beyond my *moti agal* (clodhopper's brain) is associated with India. Then, too, you find gold tissue that must have come from a Benares loom and has just a touch of purple, wrapped round the heroine's figure with the artlessness of supreme art, transfiguring the short, snow-white locks.

The background is not without charm. It has bright spots strewn over it—like stars lost in a mass of almost formless rain-cloud foaming against the firmament. The bathroom of Mohenjo-daro (p. 21), for instance, shines out: but remember, Britannia's back is turned towards it—she does not betray even by a look that she, herself, in those remote days, had not even heard of such an institution. Not far from it is "Asoka, one of the two greatest monarchs of Indian history, the other being the Mogul Emperor, Akbar, contemporary of Queen Elizabeth." (Pp. 22, 25). The "nine Gems" of the "Gupta kings" are worked in with a single deft stroke of the brush (p. 23). The

horsemen from Ghor (Ghur is, I think, the modern spelling) and the chevaliers from Chitor (p. 24) are to be seen making the dust fly—seen of course in the distance. Near by is stencilled the legend that our mathematicians and astronomers, even in the age that we regard as golden, "show an intimate acquaintance with the work of the Greeks." (P. 23). "As borrowers and imitators we must be in a class without peer.

England "made her first contacts with India through the sea route discovered by the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama in 1498." (P. 26). Warning to her task, Lady Hartog discards the sombre hues. With rich—but not gaudy (reader, mark the difference) colours she quickly and cleverly gets on with the portrait.

Britannia appears as Queen Elizabeth and gives "the monopoly of trade with the East" (p. 26) to her merchants leagued together in 1600 as the East India Company. The word "Hon'ble," so often correlated with this body, she wisely eschews. Wise'y I think.

Britannia of Lady Hartog's creation is a composite figure. Part of her is "Job Charnock, who married a Hindu lady after rescuing her from her first husband's funeral pyre." (P. 26). Sir Thomas Roe is shown in the act of proclaiming: "Do not waste your money on military adventures." (P. 27). Robert Clive—"a junior c'erk" in the fateful days of Anglo-French warfare—knew how to manage affairs and "the battle of Plassey therefore marks a turning point in the history of both Britain and India." (P. 28).

To the author's credit be it noted that she indicates by a heavy sable dot "the black period of misrule in which" the English traders, "ill-suited" for "political and administrative" responsibilities, used "their power to enrich themselves and to push their own private interests." (P. 29). Sent back to put matters right Clive "accepted over a quarter of a million pounds from Mir Jaffir" (*Ibid*). His explanation that "such action was no more than the usual Indian custom" saved him from punishment: but did not silence comment that hounded him to "tragic death by his own hand at the age of forty-nine." (*Ibid*).

Warren Hastings is represented as the builder of "a system of government which should be just and fair to all," and as the encourager of "the study of Indian languages." With a push from him "the period of exploitation" passed "into the period of trusteeship." Over this detail the Lady's brush lovingly lingered. According to her:

"The period of exploitation was passing into the period of trusteeship. The great 'humanitarian' movement, as it was called, was gathering strength in England and British (mark the proximity of England and British) conscience was being awakened to the rights

of men all over the world, regardless of colour or creed. The first campaign of the humanitarians was against slavery; the next resulted in the taking over by Parliament of the supervision of the East India Company's administration in all but commercial affairs. All political power which is set over men," said Burke, "ought to be exercised ultimately for their benefit. Its use is in the strictest sense a trust. By the Act of 1784, introduced by the younger Pitt, that trust in India was in future to be exercised through a Board of Control, whose president became something like a Secretary of State." (P. 30).

And so on down to our day. "In October, 1943, Lord Linlithgow laid down the heavy burden of office as Viceroy, which he had borne for seven difficult years." Since then Field Marshal Lord Wavell has been at work, we are allowed to gather, assisting "India to full freedom." (P. 90).

V

Lo ! these Indians, however. Gathered round Britannia's skirts they look like so many little imps Not a bit grateful to her for the "sweat blood and tears" that the shouldering of the burden of "trusteeship" through 200 years has involved. They even spurned the gift that Winston Spencer Churchill had sent by his beloved comrade at arms—Sir Stafford Cripps, whose father, Lord Partnoor was among the first batch of acquaintances I made in my early days in Fleet Street. (Pp. 94-95). What can any one back in Britain do for these urchins, who snarl and snigger at one another? Vigorous indeed, are Lady Hartog's brush strokes depicting the bear-garden that the "Congress, the Moslem League, the Hindu Untouchables, the Depressed classes the Sikhs" (and the rest) have made of India.

I am disappointed that Lady Hartog, with the means at her disposal, has not checked a statement wickedly attributed to the Mahatma Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Having "lost faith in a British victory" he "regarded the Cripps offer, to use his own words, as a post-dated cheque on a crashing bank?" So she writes. Before giving still wider currency to them, and in so positive a fashion, she should have found out if they were really "his (Gandhi's) own words."

These they were not, as we know from Mr. Horace Alexander—a member of that humanitarian group known to themselves as "the Society of Friends" and to others as Quakers. Mr. Gandhi was too high-souled to protest. Such a fiction does harm to our cause, especially in the United States of America. There because of its imaginative trappings, it would catch the eye.

The sombre effect given to Britannia, in the freedom-bestowing attitude, is, however, offset by certain Indians painted in the foreground. They loom large. The colour and circumstance surrounding the rulers of Indians and their

servitors, the romance that forms a nimbus who have no first-hand knowledge of India, round each fighter and, in this machine age, learn from this "tabloid"? Little, I fear, to each worker in India's war-factories, have raise us (Princes, shell-makers and shell-moving her even more than the exploits of the slingers excepted) in their estimation. Even less Empire-builders and Empire-maintainers. The likely are they to be moved by it to take tints used by her in the foreground show off all enthusiastic interest in our effort to shake the more because of the restraint with which the political burden off our backs. We shall, her hand has restored to the palette for filling nevertheless, walk erect with our heads held as in other portions of the picture.

What will Americans and other foreigners, globe.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

BY PROF H S. BENNETT

Or Britain's two most famous universities Cambridge is slightly the younger. The foundation of the University of Cambridge took place about 1225, and was probably due to one of those periodic migrations which were a

the first college was established at Peterhouse in 1284. This was followed by successive foundations in that and the next two centuries: by 1596 there were 16 colleges, and since then only one men's college (Downing, founded in



Cambridge has two women's colleges—Girton and Newnham. Here is a woman undergraduate studying archaeology among the plaster casts of Greek statues.

feature of medieval student life—in this case, to a migration from Oxford. Whatever the causes, the 13th century saw the gradual creation of a University at Cambridge. The congregation of Masters willing and able to teach gradually attracted students, and before long



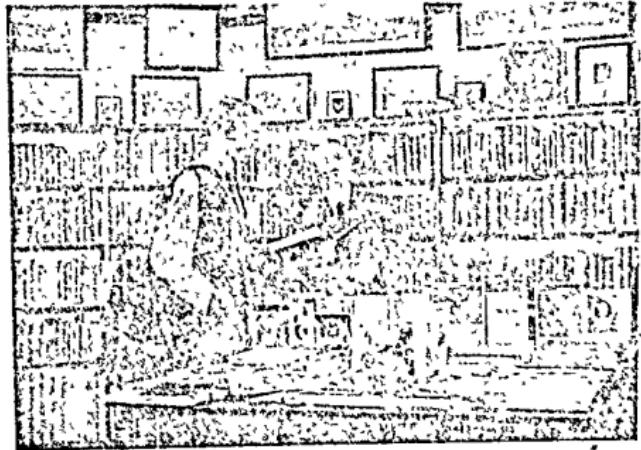
The new Cavendish Laboratory for physical research was founded in 1874. Sir William Lawrence Bragg, Cavendish Professor and a Nobel prize winner, is seen standing beside a lend-lease microscope. The laboratory is at present a centre for war research.

1800) has been established and incorporated into the University.

Unlike the other Universities of Great Britain, Cambridge has not allowed women to become full members of the University,

although two women's colleges (Girton and Newnham) were established in the 19th century, and members of those colleges attend University lectures.

while the colleges concern themselves with all the arrangements for housing, feeding and looking after the undergraduates' daily life and routine.



Said to be the oldest book shop in England, Bowes of Cambridge has been in the same building for 340 years, and has supplied countless generations of students. Cambridge shopkeepers are frequently scholars.

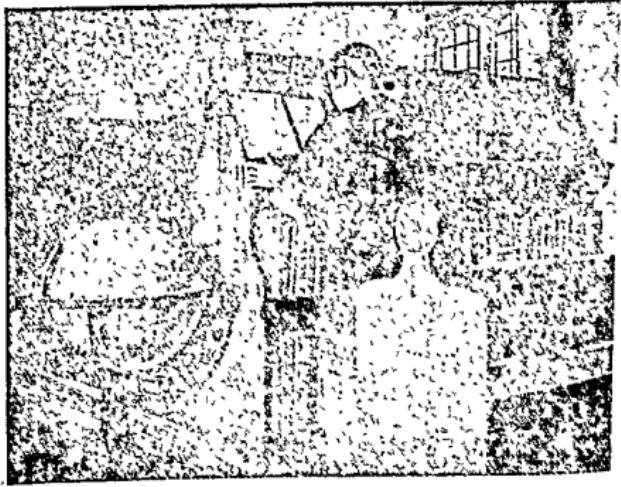
The medieval University of Cambridge, however, consisted not only of colleges, but in addition there were innumerable hostels or lodgings which provided the undergraduate with tuition, society and a common purpose.

Little by little, however, the disciplinary problems provoked by considerable numbers of undergraduates necessitated central control and authority, and the Masters of Art (the teachers) combined to provide this by means of such officials as the Chancellor and the Proctors. As colleges came into being, they naturally supported the forces of law and order, as well as insisting on their own rules and conventions within the college walls. So has grown up a dual system of University and college discipline, authority and privilege.

As a result of successive reforms, the University is now mainly responsible for the of lectures which the University provides provision of lectures and formal instruction in for his instruction. By this dual all subjects—both theoretical and practical—system of lectures and individual tuition,

To this end the college authorities see that every undergraduate is under the personal care of one of its members who stands in *loco parentis* to him. To such a man the undergraduate turns for advice in trouble, or before such a man he is summoned if his conduct causes any reason for comment by the authorities, either of his college or of the University.

The college also appoints one of its members to advise and help the undergraduate with his studies. To this end the two meet together for about one hour each week, when the pupil reads to his master some essay which he has prepared, receives comment and criticism of his effort,



This picture shows the chained medieval books in Trinity Hall Library. Trinity Hall is the only Cambridge college to keep the old name of "hall".

and can discuss at length any point that arises. At the same time he can ask for help concerning the programme

of lectures which the University provides for his instruction. By this dual system of lectures and individual tuition,

he is enabled to carry on his studies to whatever extent his energy impels him.

The University lecturers are a select body of men and women who are highly proficient in their subjects, and most of whom are actively engaged in research. As a result, there is an ever-present sense of life in most subjects—especially on the science side, where investigators of world-wide renown work in close contact with their students.

Besides the formal professional studies, the University provides incomparable facilities for a more general education. The college buildings, in which all undergraduates live for part at least of their three years' residence, throw men together as they assemble in Hall for dinner, or meet in one another's rooms for hospitality and friendly talk.

This rubbing together of a number of men, all reading different subjects and coming from a wide variety of homes and families is an invaluable educational experience. From these daily contacts and innumerable conversations—grave and gay—something emerges which is not easily expressed in words, and is even less easily evaluated in terms of the market place, but which is the special gift made by Cambridge to her sons.

Out of college, again, there is much to be gained beyond the formal lectures and classes. Cambridge is only little more than an hour

from London, so that term-time sees a constant coming and going of Cabinet Ministers, Members of Parliament, leaders of industry, of religion, of trades-unions, etc., who are always ready to come to address meetings of undergraduates. Such meetings may take place at the famous undergraduate Society's headquarters—the Union Society—or may be held under the auspices of one of the many societies which exist to promote various causes. At these, and at other gatherings of a more purely social character, the undergraduate has remarkable opportunities of hearing many leaders of the day in every field of politics, literature, art and the like. He is encouraged to put forward his own views, to help organise societies and meetings, and to make his first efforts at taking a responsible place in society.

In all these activities, the fact that he is living away from home, and as little hampered by the controls of his elders as is compatible with an ordered existence, helps to promote in him an independent and adult attitude which makes residence at the University so much more, than a mere acquisition of technical or professional knowledge. On leaving Cambridge, a man who has taken full advantage of these opportunities and of those which are provided by the innumerable sports and games which are available, goes away with an attitude to the world developed in many other aspects than the purely intellectual.

THE PLACE OF INDIAN ART IN THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

By O. C. GANGOLY

The topic that has been chosen for me—I should say, thrust upon me by well-meaning friends—for discussion this evening, viz., Indian Art in the Indian Universities is a very embarrassing one. For, the position of Indian Art in most of the universities of India is much that of snakes in Ireland—a very precarious and dubious one. For, excepting in two Universities, Indian Art is not a recognized culture-subject, either as an elective or optional course. And, consequently, the factual data connected with the topic that I am called upon to set forth before you are very few and can be enumerated in a few minutes.

The recitals of these facts are very bald and uninteresting and do not bring credit to our educational experts who plan or carry on the syllabuses of studies at our Indian universities.

I have had the privilege of delivering lectures on Indian Art in most of the universi-

sities of India, and I have had some opportunity to study at close quarters the attitude of our universities towards Indian Art—an attitude of a general boycott of the subject and a refusal to recognize any manner of culture-values in the manifestations of Indian Art *qua* Art. In some universities, as in the Benares Hindu University and in the Madras University—there are chairs provided for lectures on Ancient Indian History and Culture, such as the Maharaja Manindra Chunder Nundy Chair of Ancient Indian History and Culture, and the Myers Foundation in the Madras University. But these chairs, like the Carmichael Chair of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the Calcutta University, have almost nothing to do with Indian Art—and are confined to discussions or researches on Dynastic and Political History, Chronology, or Numismatics—and have nothing to do with the History of the Development of Indian Art or

any contact with the aesthetic phases of Indian Ancient Monuments or Masterpieces.

In the Madras University, there is an actual Faculty for the Fine Arts but it has not functioned in the teaching of the Visual Arts—either as a practical subject, or as a theoretical one—in the presentation of the History of Indian Art. It has, however, pro-

nological data or periods of history does not involve any intimate contact with the aesthetic phases of Indian Art—and our History students, with some rare exceptions, are proverbially insensitive to the beauties of Indian Art *qua* Indian Art and never develop any love for Indian Art in any of its phases. For, the consideration of Dynastic History does not give any opportunity to visualize the aesthetic expressions of the periods in representative masterpieces of the Fine Arts.

As a rule, dates, estampages, and digging-film the aesthetic judgment of our history-students, and prevent any aesthetic appreciation of any phase of Indian Art.

There is a faculty of Fine Arts provided in the Travancore University. Though some extension lectures on some phases of Indian Art have been delivered sporadically, no systematic study of the subject has yet been developed.

In the Punjab University, there are provisions for practical lessons in painting for the Intermediate and Graduate courses, but there is no provision yet for any teaching of Indian Art.

In the Benares Hindu University a syllabus has been planned for imparting lessons in painting and sculpture generally, and for some acquaintance with the History of Indian Art, but no practical steps have yet been taken to implement the syllabus planned.



The Principal, Sarada Ukil School of Art,
New Delhi

vided Diploma courses in the teaching of Music—both in its practical and theoretical aspects.

Music is also a subject of teaching and Diploma in the Annamalai University at Chidambaram.

In Bombay there is a very efficient Department of Sociology where occasionally some phases of Indian Art receive attention in the shape of researches. As for instance, a lady graduate is engaged in writing a History of Costumes as gathered from the evidences of the Monuments of Indian Art.

In some of the colleges at Poona, affiliated to the Bombay University, some phases of Indian Archaeology receive attention, but nothing like a systematic History of Indian Art has yet found a place in the courses of study.

It might be claimed that in the courses of study of the General History of India, provided in most or the Indian universities, some acquaintance with ancient monuments or the data of Indian Archaeology may be said to be implied, but the mere acquaintance with chro-



Members of the staff, Sarada Ukil School of Art, New Delhi

In the Visva-Bharati University at Santiniketan, there is a special Department for the study of Indian painting and sculpture under the direction of Mr. Nanda Lal Bose, one of the leaders of the modern movement in Indian Art, and artists are given practical training in the principles of Indian Art and their applications in modern forms of expression. But this does not involve any direct contact with the

masterpieces of ancient Indian Art, or any not yet formulated its policy as regards the acquaintance with the systematic development attitude it should take up towards the study of the history of the various branches of Indian Art.

The Calcutta University has the unique distinction amongst the fourteen Indian universities of providing not only a special chair for the study of Indian Art—known as the Bagisvari Chair of Indian Fine Arts—but also of providing systematic class teaching in the history of Indian Fine Arts through various specially qualified readers and lecturers. And, the history subject for M.A. course in the Calcutta University provides courses of study of Indian Iconography or the science of image-making, painting, sculpture, and architecture as special phases of ancient Indian culture on the same footing as the study of Indian philosophy and of Sanskrit literature. Students, taking their M.A. degree after the study of Indian Art, sometimes continue their study as Research scholars in Indian Art, taking some special phase of Indian Art for research-thesis. Thus, one student is actually engaged in studying the development and the evolution of various types of Indian pillars as illustrated in the history of Indian architecture, and, another Research-scholar is engaged in studying the significance of the designs of ancient Indian pottery.

The Calcutta University can also claim credit for introducing in its Matriculation syllabus as an optional subject, open to boys as well as to girl students, an appreciation course for the visual arts with special emphasis on Indian Art. It has prescribed a syllabus and also published a text-book setting out the general principles of Art, and the basis and standards of Art appreciation. The same university has also inaugurated a diploma course of art-teaching which include a course of lectures on the general history of Indian Art.

Such is the tearful tale of the position of Indian Art in the history of the Indian universities. On the whole, we must confess, it is, indeed, a dark and dismal picture, unrelieved by any ray of illumination.

I have refrained from any reference to the University of this Imperial city. It has recently been overhauled and re-constituted. But, it has

masterpieces of ancient Indian Art, or any not yet formulated its policy as regards the acquaintance with the systematic development attitude it should take up towards the study of the history of the various branches of Indian Art. And the patronage that the Moghal Emperors lavished on Indian Art are brilliantly recorded on the shining pages of history. The great traditions which princely patronage and glorious art-practises have helped to build up in this city, appear yet to hover over the spirit of this great city, and seem to be crying for an honoured place in the University of Delhi.



The writer talking to the members of the staff of the School

In the meantime, a word of warm praise is due to this humble Institution founded by a talented artist, the late lamented Mr. Sarada Charan Ukil—for keeping alive the flame of Indian Art burning in the great city of its birth. The resources of this Institution is very limited, but courageous workers whose kind hospitality we are sharing this evening, have bravely kept burning the torch of Indian art—the spiritual principles of which have made rich and original contributions to the art of the world, and which are yet destined to make richer contributions to the new art of to-day, and to the newer art of to-morrow. For it must be remembered that the principles of Indian Art are eternal verities and belong not to India alone—but to the whole of humanity.

* A lecture delivered at the Sarada Ukil School of Art, New Delhi, on 22nd October, 1941.



conditions of modern life, that system being suitable (if at all) to medieval conditions. I have no knowledge as to what extent the Matriarchal system is incapable of adapting itself to modern conditions of life. But presuming that it suffers to some extent from such a defect may it not be possible to modify the old system to the extent of its unworkability under modern conditions and maintain its essential features? On the other hand it might have become totally unfit to keep pace with modern times. If that is really so there is no use hugging an institution which has out-lived its usefulness and then the Malabarians will be certainly justified in discarding it off as unsuited to their present-day needs. But if that must be done, I believe, it can be done without either giving it (the system) a bad name or without imputing to Nambudiris evil and dishonourable motives. In other words, if it must, let the Maabar Matriarchy go, but let it go with good grace, if evidence of history shows that it is deserving of that grace. That historical evidence is in its favour has, I believe, been shown in the foregoing pages. If then it is still found necessary to abolish the Matriarchal system of Malabar because it no longer serves any useful purpose, let not its past achievements be slighted or overlooked because of its inability to cope with the present-day world and its complex problems. If it is dead, it must be buried, but can it not demand a decent burial?

(Concluded)

DESTITUTION AT CONTAI THANA, MIDNAPUR

By RAMKRISHNA MUKHERJEE, M. Sc.

INTRODUCTION

This note is the outcome of an investigation of the problems of destitution at Contai Thana, Midnapur. The statistical data are presented here in the simplest way possible for the general readers. The Friends Ambulance Unit which is carrying on relief work admirably at Contai since the Midnapur eve'one in 1942 approached Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyay Head of the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta University, in the beginning of this year to conduct an enquiry at Contai to give them an idea of the condition of the people and the type of relief necessary as well as the major problems to be faced in any rehabilitation scheme. They were supervising and managing a few destitute camps at and near about Contai and so were in urgent need of such data for proper relief work and successful rehabilitation of the destitutes. Prof. Chattopadhyay requested the Calcutta Statistical Laboratory to spare me for a short period to conduct the survey and he Laboratory very kindly consented to the proposal.

METHOD OR FIELD WORK

So in last February we conducted an enquiry in the two destitute camps at Mahisgot and Bisantia, two small villages within six miles of the Contai town, managed by the Friends Ambulance Unit. The field work was done by me with the help of four college students from Contai town. These gentlemen were properly trained up by me beforehand. We collected information from all the destitutes staying in the camp excepting a few who being very young children could not give reliable information and they had no relations or neighbours in the camps who could speak for them. However, they were about only ten in number and neglecting them we have studied 216 destitutes who well remember the property they have lost and also the details of their past life. Hence our data may be regarded to be fairly representative and also reliable.

DESTITUTES IN CONTAI

The destitutes came to the camp in a variety of ways. Some came from the neighbouring villages voluntarily; in some cases families completely stranded and thrown out in the streets came to the camp from a great distance; some again were collected by the military authorities and handed over to the destitute camp.

From the tabular statement of the destitutes it will be seen that they have come to the camp from 79 different villages, all of course within 15-20 miles from Contai town. Table 1 gives an account of the families and the number of villages they came from. This grouping shows that while generally speaking the majority of the villages were represented by not more than two in normal times.

families there are 9 villages which were represented by more than 5 families each, the largest number being from a village called Patapukuria which is represented by 17 families. This grouping however does not give us any idea as to the intensity of distress in the different villages. Contai has become one vast destitute camp and very little can be inferred about the distress in a certain village by visiting one camp. It may have just happened that these villages were represented in large numbers being nearer to the camps than the others.

Since the destitutes came to the camps from a considerable number of villages any bias regarding any particular village must have been eliminated. Therefore, our study may be considered to be a fairly good sample survey of the destitutes of Contai Thana area.

THE DESTITUTES

The destitutes we studied were 216 in number. Table 2 shows that out of 240 destitutes studied 159 or 66 per cent were below the age of 15, and of the rest of the population 74 or about 30 per cent were adult females, of whom again nearly half were widows. Thus 95 per cent of the destitutes in the camps are either women or children. This preponderance of women and children, as we found out from the destitutes, is mainly due to two reasons.—(i) families who lost their male members came to the camp. (ii) in many cases the male members who could not provide for their wife and children sent them off to the camp while they themselves stuck to the village or moved about here and there in search of food.

We cannot find the cause of destitution and suggest rehabilitation measures unless we study the destitutes in relation to their family and the rural life they lived, that is, their position in the society. So the account of the destitutes we give henceforth will always be in relation to their family and village which will incidentally give an indication of the deterioration of rural life during the period.

THE DESTITUTES IN RELATION TO FAMILY AND SOCIETY

The 216 destitutes we studied belong to 159 families, some families being represented by more than one of its members. An analysis of the destitute families by age and sex (Table 3) reveals that 150 families covered a population of 657 men, women, and children. It means, on the average, a family of 4 to 5 members. Of this 657, 55 per cent are males and 45 per cent are females. The composition of various age grades are : children (male) 25 per cent, children (female) 20 per cent, adult (male) 20 per cent, and adult (female) 23 per cent. These are the proportions in the sample before cyclone.

How far will this sample survey give us any idea about the general population? We do not know what percentage of the population became destitutes. All we can say is that the destitutes form the most affected strata of the population in the villages. As our sample is an unbiased sample it will give us some idea as to the general condition of the destitutes and an index of their suffering. Further we shall try to show that the destitutes came from a strata that can be more or less defined from several angles,—(i) their economic position, (ii) their social position, (iii) their place in production.

POSITION OF DESTITUTE FAMILIES IN VILLAGE SOCIETY

Our first attempt at defining this strata of the population is by an analysis of their caste. Caste it is true does not give us an idea of the real social position now as accurately as it used to do but a caste analysis is useful for several reasons.

1. Generally speaking, even now professions are allotted to people in the village by caste.

2. The economically lower strata of the population not always but generally belong to the socially lower castes.

In table 4 we give an analysis of the caste of the destitute families. The higher castes like Brahmin, etc., are practically unrepresented. The overwhelming majority of the families studied belong to the castes which are generally associated with agriculture, craft and manual labour. Thus Mabishyas or Kaibartas, who form 54 per cent of the whole list are agriculturists. The bulk of the remaining families belong to castes like Hari, Muchi, Tanti, Teli, Jugi, etc., who are village artisans or labourers. The higher castes of the village are not usually associated with this strata which by reason of their caste form the lower strata of society.

Table 5 gives us an analysis of the destitute families by classifying them according to the cultivable land they possess. This is justified since the rural life in Bengal is based on agrarian economy. It can be seen from the Table that 64 per cent of the destitute families owned no land even in normal times (September 1942). The Kishans who owned an insufficient quantity between one bigha (0.5 acre) and 3 bighas (1.5 acre) constitute 30 per cent of the destitute families. Those owning more than 1.5 acres but less than 2.5 acres form 4 per cent and above 4 acres but less than 5 acres of land was owned by a bare 1 per cent. Only one solitary case was that of a man who owned 14 acres. Thus the conclusion we can draw from this is :

1. That the large majority of rural families who turned destitutes generally belong to that strata of the village which owns no land or very little land.

2. Quite a number of Kishan families who own 5 to 6 bighas (about 3 acres) of land and so may be classed as middle peasantry have been severely affected and forced to turn into destitutes.

3. As a group, none of the rural families holding land above 3 acres or so have been affected. It shows that they are immune to the food crisis.

4. The average land owned by the Kishans who turned destitute is 1.2 acres or 2 bighas if we exclude from the average the large number who did not possess any land. Including them the average comes down to .39 acres, a little above one bigha.

Considering the importance of land in village economy this analysis, more than the caste, confirms our opinion that the destitutes came from the lowest and to some extent from the middle strata of the village people.

Our third attempt at identifying this group is by their profession in normal times. From table 6 it is clear that it is a part of the working population we are concerned with. The most essential primary activities in village life are listed in the table. Labour (which in practically all the cases means agricultural labour) and

agriculture, that is farming in one's own land, combined with any other are the two chief occupations noted down. In normal times (September 1942) they claimed 160 of a total of 248 productive earners. Thus 64 per cent of the men in productive occupations among the destitute families were engaged in the primary occupation of agriculture and of the rest 28 per cent engaged in crafts, 5 per cent in domestic service, and the rest 3 per cent in other forms of work, like laundry, etc. Among the professions mentioned "liberal arts", "shopkeeping," etc. are not represented at all. Both liberal arts and shopkeeping or other jobs of middle men require either more capital to start the job or to learn the professions, like teaching, etc. and the strata that became destitutes could not afford these amenities.

It may be mentioned here that Table 6 gives us another glimpse into the economic condition of those who became destitutes :

1. The huge number of labourers sharply differentiated from those who combine agriculture and labour shows the acute land crisis.

2. The huge army of unproductive earners, quite a number being men. This also points to the extremely desperate condition of these people even in normal times.

We can now briefly summarise our position.

Our caste analysis of the destitute families, property classification, and analysis of profession, all prove that these destitutes did not come from all classes of people in the village but from a distinct stratum of village population.

This stratum is the poorest and most hard-working; even normally this stratum of the people lives in extremely poor conditions.

This stratum includes both agriculturists and artisans. It includes both the rural proletariat and the next upper grade, the lower, and to some extent the middle peasantry.

These people are placed in the most important position in village life—production.

Can we have any idea as to what portion of the rural population they comprise of? This we can get from the Floud Commission Report of Bengal according to which 54 per cent of the rural families in the Midnapur district hold up to 3 acres of land which indicates that our study covers more than half the village population and so the intensity of their distress and the problems of their rehabilitation in consequence will surely be a good pointer to the estimation of the distress in the villages as a whole. Since the destitutes have come from a good many different villages the data may be accepted as fairly representative of Contai police station area as a whole with regard to the effect of the food crisis on the rural population.

FACTORS LEADING TO DESTITUTION

Loss of Property: To measure the intensity of suffering of these people we may start with the loss of property they sustained. Loss of property is selected as an index as it will give us the best idea of the condition through which they passed and the condition they have arrived at. A word here is necessary as to the significance of different forms of property to a rural family. The most valued property is the homestead land, the dwelling site. So long as there is a piece of land the family is sure of shelter. Next in importance is the cultivable land. Being the only principal source of income it is valued only second to dwelling site. Third comes the livestock which supply essential animal labour without which the principal occupation—agriculture—will stop. After these there comes utensils and ornaments. These two are generally the little reserve in hand which is used in emergency. A peasant who has lost ornaments and even livestock still entertains some hope of recovery through strenuous labour. One losing land slips into the class of day labourers and one losing his homestead becomes a pauper.

A rough glance through the table 7 which gives us a record of the property they owned and have lost now is enough to establish several facts.

1. Ornaments, utensils and livestocks have been lost by practically all the destitutes.

2. 23 per cent have lost all their cultivable land and another 32 per cent lost part of their land (Table 7B). 19 per cent have lost even their homestead and are now beggars with no shelter. (Table 7A).

3. The loss in livestock is most appalling. While formerly 115 families or 72 per cent owned cattle now only 20 or 17 per cent own cattle and total number of cattle now is 14 per cent of its former strength.

4. Thus while all of them lost their liquid asset about half of them lost their land. While average possession of these families was 1 acre, now it has become 0.6 acre. While formerly 58 in 159 or 36 per cent owned land now 39 or 25 per cent owns some land and 10 per cent of the total number of families have lost all land. Thus both in total acreage and in the number of families holding land considerable change has taken place. The periodical analysis in table 5 shows how class range of land holding gradually grew smaller and more and more peasants joined the rank of landless labour. The middle peasants having from 0.5 to 2.5 acres suffered very acutely regarding loss of land. Thus while the landless peasant could not sell because they had none those who had land were forced to sell and join the former class. The former class in the meanwhile could only submit to the natural consequences of want.

Indebtedness: Economic loss to be properly measured must include the standing debts which may be assumed to be a charge on the remaining assets. Table 8 gives a list of the debts of the families. It shows 42 families still in debt and the extent of debts is Rs 2,599 in February 1944 which to be paid must swallow a considerable amount of land or any other form of property still left over. The table on debts however apart from being a supplement is not to be taken as a good index. It does not correctly represent the needs and real liabilities of these families because,

1. There is an obvious underestimation. Many destitutes being children or women could not give us accurate information regarding the amount of debts incurred by the male members of family.

2. Money-lenders being afraid of the interference of the Debt Settlement Board sometimes refuse to give loans to the villagers specially when the debtor is poor and has not enough assets to repay the loan.

Change of Occupation: Table 9 which gives us a three period record of the occupation of the destitutes, shows how the cyclone and food crisis affected their occupations.

We have already mentioned that in the period before cyclone that is even in normal times generally speaking the landless labourers and along with them the agriculturists who having very little land were forced to seek employment were the largest majority. Out of 196 (adult and old) male population 130 or 66 per cent were always crowding the village market offering their labour.

In the period immediately after cyclone, that is in February 1943 the number of earners in the Labour group increased by 11 per cent, while the groups with agriculture as the only or one of the occupations and craft came down by 87 and 61 per cent, and the number in the unproductive group swelled up by 100 per cent from 18 to 37.

Similarly after the food crisis, in February 1944 though the 'Labour' group shows a considerable decrease in strength in comparison to the period before, yet this is the group which represents the greatest number of productive earners. The number of unproductive earners has risen to a staggering height, it being nearly equal in proportion to all the productive earners put together. The number of earners in the agricultural groups and craft have come down still more.

How did this happen? We have already noted that in our sample regarding the agricultural groups we are mainly concerned with the lower peasantry. These people to avert the natural consequence of the cyclone and the food crisis sold off the little land they had and thus tried to save themselves by slipping over to Labour or the unproductive group, or by emigration to try their luck elsewhere. If they could not thus save themselves they died. The people in other occupational groups also behaved similarly. When their usual occupations, like craft, became temporarily obsolete in the abnormal condition they either tried to save themselves by taking up Labour or Unproductive occupations (that is, begging) or emigrated, or died. Thus the total number of earners have come down from 216 in September 1942 to 123 in February 1944, a reduction of 54 per cent, 23 per cent being due to cyclone and 31 per cent due to food crisis.

By trying to measure their distress we found that the destitutes who formally were poor hard-working peasants have lost their property to a large extent, and simultaneously lost their occupations. Out of 248 working members only a poor 69 remains. We shall try now to show the effect of this economic loss on them and in the village society where they occupy a key position.

Physical Extinction: The destitutes, in our previous analysis we saw, came from a stratum that carried on hand to mouth existence and have very little resources to fight any emergency or disaster. To such a group the loss of their sole source of income—their labour power through ill-health translated from economic to human terms mean one thing only—Death.

Table 9A gives us record of all the deaths that took place between September 1942 (after cyclone) and February 1944. In all 95 families were affected by death (not shown in the Table) and the total death was 191. It means therefore that 60 per cent of the families suffered the loss of one or more of its members, and there was on an average two deaths per family. Table shows that death-rate for the period of cyclone disaster (September 1942–February 1943) was 12 per cent. For the food-crisis period, (that is, Mar. 1943–Nov. 1944), it was 15 per cent, and for the epidemic period (December 1943–February 1944) which is the shortest period of the three it was 7 per cent. Thus the average annual death-rate is 22 per cent.

A closer analysis of the death-rate reveals the following facts:—

1. Death-rate of children below 5 was 38 per cent for the whole period of one year five months, being higher by 9 per cent from the general death-rate. (Table 9B).

2. Death-rate for adult male was 11 per cent higher than the general death-rate.

3. Death-rate for adult women was considerably lower being a little less than the general death-rate.

4. Generally speaking death-rates were higher during the food-crisis than at any other time.

If we analyse this staggering figure more closely we can to some extent separate the deaths directly due to cyclone and its after-effects from deaths in the last food-crisis. It is of course difficult to do so as the cyclone has deeply upset the normal balance of the villager. Any way of the 191 deaths 79 or 41 per cent took place during September 1942–February 1943 which may generally be called the cyclone period. But even during this period as seen in Table 9(C) the majority of deaths was due not to cyclone but to epidemic and under-nourishment. It fully reveals how inadequate was the help that was given after the cyclone. During this period Malaria was raging already as an epidemic here. Starvation deaths was already entering the field and carried off 6 directly and 5 through Drosopy which often is a case of starvation, and bad food. But when food crisis became more acute (March–November 1943) starvation became enemy No. 1 and directly carried off 31 per cent of those who died in this period. Drosopy was also on the increase and malaria and other diseases may be said to be half starvation and half disease.

With the harvest that came in December 1943 the situation temporarily improved but the explosive situation was not abolished. This is proved by the 3rd period table where malaria, cholera, etc., have broken out while starvation figure is dropping.

The effect of the large number of mortality among adult males meant a further crippling of these families economically. Table 10 shows that out of 159 families 64 families, that is 40 per cent, were badly hit by a direct reduction of their earning capacity. Of these 12 families or 7 per cent were completely crippled, and 41 or 26 per cent were almost wholly crippled. Thus 53 per cent of the families lost their leading earners through death. Therefore death aggravated the problem hundredfold and more and more families were forced on to the streets.

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The total effect on the villages of the food crisis can now be assessed from several facts. The table on occupation clearly shows how the centre of gravity of village life was for a time completely upset and people who normally earned on the productive life of the village first crowded the village market and then as their health became worse and the village market failed to employ them they became semi-paupers. As semi-paupers they could not get a living inside the villages and therefore they started roaming from village to village in search of food or job. Table 11 gives us a picture of the destitution. It shows that out of 657 persons 253 (39 per cent) had to come out of their village in search of food, of whom 216 are in the destitute camps. Those who died outside the villages (as far as that could have been ascertained from the destitutes questioned) are not included in this. Thus from the original population of 657 persons a poor 216 or 33 per cent remained in the villages (Table 12). This picture again shows how social life was torn apart by the food crisis. Of this emigrating population 141 were under 15 and 69 were adult women. Thus generally mothers left the villages with their children while the fathers and adult men stuck on. This disruption of family life has created another big social problem for our people.

The desperate position to which a peasant arrives when he decides to leave the village or break up the family can also be appreciated from the table 11. It shows that the largest number left the village during December 1943–February 1944 period and not when the trouble started. While after the cyclone only 50 in all left the village during March–November 1943 68 left and during December 1943–February 1944 as many as 135 were outside the village. The table on loss of property shows that by this time they had completely exhausted their assets and found no other way but the road before them. The reluctance of people in Bengal to stay in hospitals or Homes is well-known, and we often found cases where even half starved villagers refused to leave his hut. But when the alternative was death they had to leave.

PROBLEMS OF REPATRIATION AND REHABILITATION

We stated earlier that the aim of the enquiry was to clarify the problems of repatriation and rehabilitation. The destitute camps cannot be run for all times and so the destitutes must be repatriated and this should be done as soon as possible. Table 13 shows that out of 159 destitute families studied the members of 53 in the camps, that is, 34 per cent think that they may be repatriated by their nearest relatives, like father, brother, husband, etc., while of the rest 101, that is, 61 per cent are not very hopeful regarding repatriation. For those women and children who can not be repatriated the following measures may be suggested:

1. The children should be sent to the Orphanages.
2. The women are to be trained in some rural occupations, so that, they can go back to their villages and live without depending on any one.

As we found out, husking paddy and preparations of grains from other agricultural produces, like pulse, etc., are the most familiar form of occupation for these women. So centres for husking paddy, milling pulse, etc., may be opened to provide the women with different forms of work in different agricultural seasons. Besides that, there are many women belonging to the castes of weaver and tailor. These women may be trained up in the respective professions, if they are not acquainted with it already and weaving and tailoring centres may be opened. We came to know from the destitutes that preparing nets from cotton thread is also a popular occupation in this locality, so this work can also be taken up. It is a profitable occupation with enough demand in present times in the form of camouflage nets and fishing nets. Over and above, other cottage industries, like spinning, paper-making, basketry making, etc., may be taken up which are of considerable importance in present times. One word of caution is here necessary as to the employment of the destitutes in particular occupation. The destitutes should always be employed in that form of occupation which is either the traditional one or which she does not mind taking up, otherwise, she will never stick to it and will give it up at the first chance she gets when little better off. Thus, basketry making is an occupation carried on by the low caste Hindus, like the Bauris, the Bagdis, etc. Women belonging to other Hindu castes may learn it in the destitute camps but it is very doubtful whether they will carry it on in the village.

In this way the problem of women and children who cannot be repatriated may be solved. But the rehabilitation measures will not be successful, neither in case of these nor in case of those repatriated unless proper relief in food and medicine be carried on simultaneously for the following reasons:—

1. The destitutes who cannot be repatriated have no stock of food. Besides these individuals, even those who will be repatriated cannot carry on. Because, as we have already found out the strata of the rural population from which the destitutes have come were affected by the food crisis in the last year mainly due to the fact that they had never a sufficient reserve of food in their own possession. Usually they buy rice from the market or get advances of paddy from the Jotedars and zamindars. But last year they could not get any advance from these people and bought food at an absurd price. This year also they face the same problem. This stratum is bound to come to the market or to the remittance after exhausting their meagre produce.

The distress is further intensified by the fact that 50 per cent of their land remained fallow last year as shown in Table 15 and therefore their stock position is worse than of last year. Last year was a bumper year for whole of Bengal but the rural poor did not get much benefit out of it in Contai. Out of 24.72 acres which is the total holding for these 159 families 12.78 or more than 50 per cent remained fallow due to various reasons (Table 14).

2. The destitutes and also the family members of those who will be repatriated have all been de-vitalised to a great extent by the crisis and epidemic is raging in various forms. So if proper medical relief is not run the death rate will be even higher than in the last year.

Repatriation is not like establishing a new colony but putting back a people to its former position. This means that destitutes must go back to their former place in rural life. But unless rural life itself is revived such a repatriation becomes a farcical procedure. Rehabilitation of rural life becomes therefore a precondition for successful repatriation. Unfortunately this study cannot suggest the rehabilitation measures in details for the obvious reason that the villages have not been studied.

However, from our analysis it is clear that the food crisis did not come all on a sudden at an act of God. It is really speaking an intensification of the acute state of the rural economy, specially with regard to the position of land distribution. The annual consumption of rice for 4 to 6 members in a family, the usual size of a simple biological family in Bengal, are 20-25 mds. (4.5 mds. per capita) approximately. To produce that amount a peasant family must have at least 2.5 acres; and we found that in our sample only a few persons possess 2.5 acres or more land. Further he has other bare necessities to manage. In normal years they manage it partly by being on semi-starvation level for several months, partly by working as a day-labourer and partly by taking land on a share-basis from some rich Jotedar who rents out land on a basis of 50 per cent crop for the peasant and 50 per cent for the landlord. Towards the end of the season the landowner advances some crop also as a loan to the hard-pressed cultivator and gets it back with 50 per cent interest from the next crop.

On such a highly strained system the food crisis and cyclone of last year came. It broke up the little stability that this system had by further increasing the landless and making the land distribution more top-heavy. From our table we saw that over and above those who never had any land 25 per cent lost all lands they possessed and another 25 per cent lost part of their land during the crisis. This means that a chronic famine will affect this stratum of the rural population and wipe them out every year unless at least the old balance is brought back again. This is bound to happen because we will have now an even larger majority of the villagers going without any land to till and they will not be able profitably to employ themselves as day labourers for more than two or three months during harvest time and the period of cultivation. Having no land of their own they will have no stock from which to support themselves for the rest of the year. They have also sold their last reserve property long ago. They will therefore be forced to starve unless they get back their land. Thus famine or no famine, black marketing or none, they will be forced to remain unemployed or a long period on starvation diet. Therefore the problem of real rehabilitation must answer boldly this crying need.—transfer of land, otherwise the moment charity is stopped the peasants or at least a big part of them will have to starve.

There are other problems to be faced with the agrarian crisis; such as (i) there is a considerable shortage of plough cattle, (ii) the men have not got the health for strenuous jobs and without adequate food they will not be able even to till their soil thus

producing a chronic famine. Hence relief in food is all the more necessary for them.

Our occupation table revealed earlier that along with the lower strata of Kishans, the village artisans—weavers, carpenters, teli or oil-pressers, etc., are steadily being wiped out by the food crisis. The problem for these people are:

(1) They have lost part of their market as the growing impoverishment of the peasants have forced them to spend as little as possible on anything else.

(2) During food crisis last year they also had to give up their liquid assets, their capital and their implements. The result is that they are not only being physically annihilated but the little self-sufficiency that villagers had regarding clothes, etc., is being destroyed.

Our table on occupation revealed that while formerly 21 per cent of earners were artisans now a bare 8 per cent eke out a miserable existence on their craft. This class also must go back to their normal occupation and relieve the land from extra pressure which they must be giving to it now. By withdrawing from cultivation and day labour they will not only ease the acute condition existing there but fulfil some essential needs of the village. For them restoration of their implements and some advances from time to time till they are settled down is essential before they can pull up.

These are the big problems which face us in any serious scheme of rehabilitation. These are urgent problems that must be faced and that quickly. Or else this time this entire stratum of the village population will be literally annihilated. And Contai cannot survive if this stratum dies. Annihilation of this working peasantry of Contai will mean the end of Contai.

Table 1. Showing the number of villages from which the members of the destitute camps have come.
(The destitutes have been considered under the family units they formed in each village)

Number of villages	Number of family-units	4
1	17	
1	10	
2	7	
3	6	
2	5	
1	4	
3	3	
7	2	
59	1	
79	159	

Table 2. Showing the sex, age, and civil condition of the destitutes in the camp.

Age-grade	Sex and civil condition						Total	p.c. of total destitutes (246)		
	Male			Female						
0-15	Single	Married	Widowed	Single	Married	Widowed	Male	Female	Total	Male Female Total
16-30	86	65	6	2	86	73	159	35	65	
31-50	7	4	1	40	34	12	74	86	5	30 35
above 50				1		1	1	1		
Total	93	4	1	65	46	37	98	143	246	40 60 100

Table 3. Showing the sex, age and civil condition of the destitute families in normal times, September, 1942
(before cyclone).

Age-grade	Sex and civil condition						Total	p.c. of total population (657)		
	Male			Female						
0-15	Single	Married	Widowed	Single	Married	Widowed	Male	Female	Total	Male Female Total
16-30	168	111	17	3	106	131	207	25	20	45
31-50	48	107	16	81	70	171	151	322	26	23 49
above 50	23	2	2	11	25	13	38	4	2	6
Total	214	130	18	111	100	84	302	205	657	55 45 100

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Table 4. Distribution of destitute families by community, caste and sect.

Community	Cast or sect	Family	Range of land in					
			acres	lies	(159)	lies	(159)	lies
MUSLIM	Shiah	1						
"	Sunni	3						
HINDU	Brahmin	1						
"	Shakra (Goldsmith)	2						
"	Sutradhar (Carpenter)	1						
"	Napit (Barber)	2	0	101	64	111	70	121
"	Dhubi (Washerman)	4	0-0-5	27	17	30	19	28
"	Teli (Oilmillier)	2	0-5-1	10	9	10	6	8
"	Muchi (Leather worker)	1	1-0-1-5	7	4	4	3	5
"	Hari	12	1-5-2-0	1	1			
"	Jela (Fisherman)	4	2-0-2-5	5	3	2	1	1
"	Malai (Gardener)	1	2-5-3-0					
"	Tanti (Weaver)	22	3-0-4-0			2	1	
"	Mahisya (Kaibarta)	86	4-0-5-0	2	1			
"	Other low castes	17	Above 5-0	1	1			

Table 5. Showing the range of cultivable land owned by the destitute families in different periods.

		Sept. 1942	Feb. 1943	Feb. 1944	Sept. 1942	p.c. to total	Famili- es	p.c. to total	Famili- es	p.c. to total

Table 6. Showing the source of livelihood of the members of the destitute families in the three periods.

Source of livelihood	Earners						Total number of earners			p.c. total productive earners			
	Sept. 1942	Feb. 1943	Feb. 1944	Male	Female	Male	Female	Sept. '42	Feb. '43	Feb. '44	Sept. '42	Feb. '43	Feb. '44
Agriculture	12	4	1					12	4	1	5	2	1
Agriculture & labour	17	2	3					17	2	3	7	1	4
Agriculture & others	18							18			7		
Labour	109	4	115	11	44	1		113	126	45	45	75	65
Craft	32	37	15	12	8	2		69	27	10	28	16	15
Domestic service	8	4	4	2	7			12	6	7	5	4	11
Miscellaneous	6	1	3	1	3			7	4	3	3	2	4
Productive total	202	46	143	26	66	3		248	169	69	100	100	100
Unproductive	5	13	16	21	26	28		18	37	54			
Grand total	207	59	159	47	92	31		266	206	123			
p.c. of unproductive occupations to grand total								7	18	44			

Table 7 (A) Showing the assets of the destitute families in different periods.

Assets	Family units concerned			Particulars of assets			p.c. of loss (Sept. 42-Feb. 44)	
	Sept. '42	Feb. '43	Feb. '44	Sept. '42	Feb. '43	Feb. '44	Families	Assets
Cultivable Land (acreage)	58	48	39	63	29	25	33	60
Homestead Land	110	99	89	27	15	14	19	48
Livestock (Number)	115	28	20	231	43	32	83	86
Ornaments (wt. in tols)	99	42	24	1863	721	172	76	90
Utensils (Number)	124	46	23	1079	372	151	81	86

Table 7 (B) Showing in details the loss of cultivable land by the destitute families.

Families holding land in Sept. '42	Families losing in toto Sept. '42-Feb. '43 Mar. '43-Feb. '44	Families losing in part Sept. '42-Feb. '43 Mar. '43-Feb. '44			
Sample Percentage	58 —	5 9	11 19	13 22	6 10

Table 8 Showing the outstanding loans of the destitute families.

Nature of debt	Indebted families			Amount of loan in Rs			Loan per indebted families		
	Sept. '42	Feb. '43	Feb. '44	Sept. '42	Feb. '43	Feb. '44	Sept. '42	Feb. '43	Feb. '44
Secured	3	6	7	55	105	130	18	68	19
Unsecured	15	35	40	1354	2274	2469	90	65	62
Total	18	39	42	1409	2379	2399	78	61	62

Table 9 (A) Showing the death rate of the population among different age-grades in different periods.

Period	Population in the beginning				Incidence of deaths				Death rates per 100 of the population			
	Child Adult (0-15)	Child Adult (15-50)	Old Male	Total Female	Child Male	Child Female	Old Male	Old Female	Child Male	Child Female	Old Male	Old Female
Sept. '42-Feb. '43	297	171	151	33	657	26	27	19	7	79	9	16
March '43-Nov. '43	218	134	117	29	523	22	32	17	10	81	9	24
Dec. '43-Feb. '44	214	101	99	16	429	14	9	5	3	31	7	15
Sept. '42-Feb. '44	297	171	151	33	657	62	68	41	20	191	21	50

Table 9 (B) Showing the infant mortality in relation to the average death during the whole period of Sept. '42-Feb. '44.

Age grade	Population in Sept. '42			Incidence of deaths			Average death rate			Total		
	0-5	5-10	10-15	0-5	5-10	10-15	0-5	5-10	10-15	0-5	5-10	10-15
0-5	60	23	33	3	13	20	—	—	—	41	26	—
5-10	125	22	18	2	9	29	—	—	—	11	7	—
10-15	112	22	20	2	5	29	—	—	—	12	7	—
Total	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	64	40	—

Table 10 Showing deaths of the earning members in the family.

Economic position of the earners dead	Family unit concerned			P.C. of all families (159)			P.C. of all concerned families (159)			P.C. of all families (159)		
	Child	Adult	Total	Child	Adult	Total	Child	Adult	Total	Child	Adult	
Leasing carter	41	—	41	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Working dependant	11	—	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Leasing partner and working dependant	12	—	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	64	—	64	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 9 (C) Showing the cause of death in different periods under different age-grades.

Cause of death	Sept. 1942-Feb. '43				March 1943-Nov. 1943				Dec. 1943-Feb. 1944			
	Child	Adult	Old	Total	Child	Adult	Old	Total	Child	Adult	Old	Total
Starvation	1	5	—	6	8	5	5	18	2	2	5	16
Malaria	15	21	4	46	58	12	13	2	3	1	14	45
Diarrhoea	3	2	—	5	6	1	5	1	2	4	6	19
Cholera	—	2	1	9	11	2	8	1	14	3	4	13
Others	4	7	2	13	17	2	5	1	8	10	—	—
Total	26	46	7	79	100	22	49	10	81	100	14	14

Table 11. Showing the emigration of the members of the destitute families in the three periods.

Period	Population in the beginning				Number of emigrants				Rate of emigration per 100			
	Child	Adult	Old	Total	Child	Adult	Old	Total	Child	Adult	Old	Total
Sept. '42-Feb. '43	207	171	151	33	657	23	10	15	2	50	8	10
Nov. '43-Dec. '43	214	134	117	29	523	35	11	16	6	68	14	8
Dec. '43-Feb. '44	211	101	99	16	429	83	12	33	2	135	39	12
Sept. '42-Feb. '44	207	171	151	33	657	141	33	69	10	253	47	19

Table 12. Showing the total loss of population during September 1942 (before cyclone) and October 1942 (Total loss).

Period	Population in Sept. '42				Deaths				Emigrants			
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0-15	166	131	297	34	28	62	78	65	141	110	93	203
15-50	171	151	322	63	41	109	33	69	102	101	110	211
50-Up	25	13	33	13	7	20	3	4	7	16	11	27
Total	363	295	657	115	76	191	112	141	233	227	217	441

Table 13. Population in Feb. 1944.

Period	Population in Feb. 1944.				Deaths				Emigrants			
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Feb. '44	56	33	89	7	6	13	25	8	33	41	111	156
Total	135	81	216	23	21	44	2	11	25	64	85	131

Table 14. P.C. of loss.

Period	P.C. of loss				P.C. of loss				P.C. of loss			
	Feb. '44	Feb. '44	Feb. '44	Feb. '44	Feb. '44	Feb. '44	Feb. '44	Feb. '44	Feb. '44	Feb. '44	Feb. '44	Feb. '44
0-15	63	74	71	68	66	94	56	8	63	71	68	60
15-50	59	73	73	69	56	94	41	7	59	73	69	60
50-Up	25	26	26	27	29	21	135	131	25	26	26	27
Total	135	81	216	23	135	217	135	21	135	81	216	23

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Table 13. Showing the willingness and ability of the relatives of the destitutes to repatriate them.

Particulars	Family units concerned	p.e. of totals
Relatives willing but unable	55	34
" unwilling but able	3	2
" " and unable	101	64
Total	159	100

Table 14. Showing the extent of cultivable land lying fallow in different period.

Crop Season	Families concerned	Acreage of all families	Total cultivable holdings of all families	
			p.c. of total holding	p.c. of total holding
Aman 1942-43	1	0.54	63.30	1
'Aus 1943-44	46	29.04	36.54	79
Aman 1943-44	32	12.78	24.72	52

ANOTHER UNDECLARED WAR AGAINST CHINA

BY A STUDENT OF CHINESE AFFAIRS

Since the middle of October, every one has noticed the barrage of Anglo-American press propaganda against China. Almost all the leading and influential papers in the U.K. and U.S.A. and even in Russia have made the most violent and wildest accusations against the Chinese Government. Of these charges the most outstanding are : 1. The Central Government's army has been virtually out of war ; 2. many so-called Chinese victories had never occurred ; 3 the only army showing any fight is the Chinese Communists ; 4. both Generalissimo Chiang and the Kuomintang are reluctant to make use of their armies and lend-lease materials, as they want to save them intact for use against the Communists after Japan has been defeated ; 5. trading in contraband has been going on between occupied and free China ; 6. official corruption, profiteering and inflation have become increasingly acute ; 7. democracy does not exist in China, or to put it more strongly, China is heading for fascism, etc. Whether these charges have any connection with the Churchill-Stalin meeting which came before, or the recall of General Stilwell which came after, or the Communist propaganda campaign which has been undertaken recently to overshadow the Central Government for a further expansion of their military power and international prestige, or the utter ignorance of the foreign correspondents of the historical background of China, it is not the intention of the present article to discuss. However, the allegations that have been made by responsible journals against a country which is not only considered as an ally and one of the big four, but also has fought the hardest and the longest against one of the big powers with ridiculously inadequate arms are unfortunate and distressing at a moment when it is suffering severe losses as a result of overstrained exhaustion. Furthermore, the public in the allied countries are bound to feel extremely pessimistic and disheartened and consequently susceptible to any rumour that the fifth-columnists may take advantage of the situation to spread.

1. Central Government's army virtually out of war: This indictment throws a dark hint that the Central Government's army is having an armistice with Japan with a view to coming to an agreement. "The War and Working Class" of Russia openly stated that there is armistice on many fronts in China. It is hardly conceivable how China who has never had the minimum requirements of war to wrest the initiative from the enemy can be expected to launch expeditions on all fronts and at all times. As a matter of fact, even the enemy could not afford to dissipate his strength on all fronts at the same time. At any rate, the mere fact that fighting is not going on on all fronts in China cannot blot out the 5,000 raids, skirmishes and guerrilla warfare which were carried out by the Central Government's troops in 1943 alone (or 31,165 operations from July 1937 to May 1943). It has been more than a year

that the Allies started their offensive in Burma. The fighting there has been spasmodic and fitful. At times, there is no fighting for days and months, then suddenly it flares up in one sector where the Allies have the initiative or vice versa. Does that suggest, in any way, that there has been an armistice between the allied and the Japanese forces ? The latest scene of battle in China is around Kwangtung. Its historic city and capital, Kweilin, which has fallen to the Japs lately, was captured by them once before but they had to give it up after the persistent blows of the Chinese defenders. This capital city has been threatened time and again, and this time the enemy is more determined than ever because of the uncomfortable situation that has been created in the Pacific by the onward push of the Allied forces. These defenders are part of Central Government's army, and the same old Chinese soldiers who have fought for over seven years. They are fighting the Japanese, who are attempting to establish overland communication, in order to cut the latter's contact with the South Seas via the Asiatic continent. If the Central Government's army was virtually out of war, the Japanese should have established their overland communication long ago. The fact that they have not been able to do so is sufficient proof that they have encountered a very stiff and determined resistance from the Central Government's troops. The Japanese are quite desirous about it and so are the Chinese, so much so that the Japanese have mobilized an unprecedented number of troops, particularly from Manchuria, with a view to achieving this objective in a short period of time, while the Chinese, on the one hand, builds up "man-walls" throughout the most strategic points in China and on the other rushes to complete the link between the Burma and the Salween Fronts against monsoon. The sacrifice falls undoubtedly heavier on the Chinese than on the Japs. But at the historic hour of the momentous decision to enter into war with Japan, the Chinese Government had repeatedly assured the people that regardless of whatever reverses, losses and sacrifices, the war would go on even if the Government should be forced to move into Sinkiang or Tibet. In these seven years of war, the Government has moved its capital from Nanking to Hankow and from Hankow to Chungking without for a minute budging a single point from its first decision. To charge, therefore, that China has concluded an armistice or carried on peace negotiations with her enemy on account of the recent reverses exposes nothing but the ignorance of the journalists.

2. Many so-called Chinese victories had never occurred : This charge is not only a malicious libel, but a crude piece of mendacious propaganda usually heard over the enemy radio. The Chinese, though poorly armed and organized in comparison with the Japanese, have nevertheless earned their hard-fought victories in the course of the seven years. One of the

ANOTHER UNDECLARED WAR AGAINST CHINA

to live as well as to fight. They must get these things from wherever they can. Is it not politically, economically and strategically advisable to secure them from occupied territories, whenever possible? It is denying the enemy and helping the Chinese war effort at the same time. And it was solely on this score that the Government has not prohibited the importation of all necessary articles and war materials from Japanese occupied areas.

6. Official corruption profiteering and inflation have become increasingly acute: These three evils are interacting and cumulative in effect. Once the inflation is started, profiteering follows. And when the people's livelihood is threatened, corruption becomes almost inevitable. It may be recalled that during the first four years of war, the official corruption in the free China areas had never presented much of a problem. But with the fall of Hongkong and later the blockade of the Burma road, the skyrocketing prices in the interior have continued to foster corruptions and profiteering very much to the discomfiture of the Central Government. The leaders of the country have done and are doing their best to grapple with the situation. Personal appeals, severe measures of control and capital punishments seem to be ineffective in putting an end to all the ill-practices, when people's daily livelihood is endangered. The upward revision of salary scales has only served to push the price-level higher and higher, leaving in its wake a gap between them wider than ever. President Chiang in the opening session of the People's Political Council this year said: "The difficulties we face are not surprising since we had not in the past 30 years, laid a solid foundation for military, political, economic and scientific development. A formidable enemy attacked us at a time when our reconstruction had not fully begun. Upon a country little developed in light and heavy industries the ravages of war have naturally had telling effects. Furthermore, our communications have been cut and we have had neither time nor wherewithals for making repairs and replacements. Consequently we have experienced shortages in military supplies and materials. Added to all these difficulties has been the fact that we are loosely organized socially... Whereas we have remained strong in spirit after a prolonged war, our resources have been reduced as time went on. During recent months these weaknesses have become particularly apparent. This we should not try to conceal but endeavour to correct." It is very clear, therefore, that all these things are only the natural consequences of circumstances which are rather beyond the control of the Chinese Government. The only sensible and constructive contribution which China's allies can make now is not just to criticize but to open up a sea route to China as soon as possible.

7. Democracy does not exist in China: Some of the journalists uttered that Stilwell's recall was a political triumph of the moribund anti-democratic regime that was more concerned with maintaining its political supremacy than driving the Japs from China; that there is no freedom of speech, etc., etc. These commentators seemed to have overlooked that the revolutionary aim of the Chinese Government has always been to build a democracy in China. President Chiang once reminded us: "Our revolution and reconstruction aim at the realization of a San Min Chu I democratic government. Only the day the constitutional government is realized may be regarded as the day when the work Dr. Sun handed down to us is completed. There would have

been no revolutionary sacrifices and struggles during the last 50 years if we had not worked for the realization of democracy." It is a great misfortune that China was stopped short in her march toward democracy by the cruel hand of Japan. However, the Government has not been disappointed and has repeatedly promised to institute the democratic form of government one year after the war. It has also set about feverishly educating and organizing the people in order to prepare them for a real democracy.

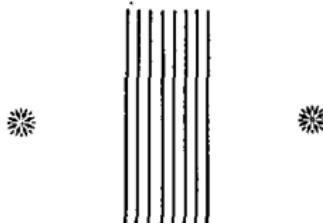
It is necessary to add that the Chinese people are essentially democratic, individualistic, and liberal. By their very nature, they will never choose the fascist or the communistic pattern of government, nor will they allow it to have a lasting foothold except under military compulsion. The present Chinese censorship system is far more lenient than that in the Chinese Communist area, because while the Kuomintang newspapers have always been prohibited in the Chinese Communist area, the Communists can freely publish their newspaper in Chungking. It is also more rational than that in the U.S. or Great Britain in that it only discriminates against the destructive criticisms either against China or her allies, and for this reason the scandalous and libellous accusations against the allies can appear in abundance in the newspapers in the U.S. and Great Britain but not in those in China.

It is also interesting to note that although the Chinese Government has never claimed to have attained any degree of democracy, it nevertheless is the most democratic form of a coalition government ever known in history. Men of all political shades and parties are represented in the present government and have co-operated well beyond expectation. Men like Gen. Fan Yu-hsiang, Gen. Yen Hsi-shan, Gen. Li Tsung-jen, Gen. Pai Chung-hsi, Gen. Chen Chi-tung, Mr. Tsou Lu, Admiral Shen Hung-lieh, Mr. Sun Fo, Mr. Liang Han-tsao and hundreds of others are holding responsible positions either in the cabinet or in military fields. Even the Communists have their representatives in the People's Political Council. With the present cabinet reshuffle, it is hoped that the Chinese Communists will once and for all relinquish their traditional policy of ever-inflating their demands and submit themselves to the united military command under Generalissimo, thereby getting themselves entitled to a full and active share of all the government and military responsibilities. Through this sincere mutual concession and cooperation it is also hoped that the bitter days of fighting may be shortened and the democracy may be achieved in China at an earlier date.

In conclusion, it must be stated that as far as the military situation is concerned, it has never been more alarming than during the fall of Nanking. It was in those days entirely due to the extreme calmness and firmness of the Chinese leaders that had stopped the blitzkrieg advance of the Japanese and thus saved the complete collapse of China. Unfortunately enough the persistent exposure in recent months of the weakness and seriousness in the Chinese military situation by the British and American correspondents commentators and political leaders has achieved nothing but to stimulate the bold attempts of the Japs on the one hand and to undermine the morale of the Chinese army on the other. Should such ridiculous action be allowed to continue unabated, it is obvious that not only the Chinese would have to suffer more heavily than ever before, but the British and Americans would have also to stand a greater loss of life in this theatre of war.



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BOOK REVIEWS

D.V.

FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF MARXISM : world so that the arrows of affliction may be transformed into flowers of felicity." The poet's artistry of expression and intensity of emotion are too well-known to need any comment. *Visva-Vedana* is humanity's heart pulverized with pain, but with its undying phoenix-like faith in the radiance and reality of ultimate joy.

G. M.

This is a reprint of Eden and Ceden Paul's translation of Plekhanov's famous book on Marxism. Plekhanov was the political guru of Lenin about whom he wrote : "No one can become a conscious, real communist without studying—precisely studying—every-thing written by Plekhanov on philosophy; it is the best of all the international literature of Marxism." Plekhanov's *Fundamental Prob'ems of Marxism* is mainly concerned with the philosophical and historical aspects of scientific socialism. This is his last and most mature writing. It is the most brilliant and systematic exposition of Marxism and dialectic materialism. The publication of this book in India has now brought Plekhanov's masterpiece within easy reach of those who desire to gather an authentic knowledge of the fundamental principles of scientific socialism.

D. BERNAN

BENGALI

ISLAM GAURAB (The Glory of Islam) : By Prof. Brajendranar Roy, M.A. Published by the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.

At a time when the relations between Hindus and Mahomedans are daily becoming more and more strained, and the growing bitterness between the two communities is being fanned by various sinister influences threatening the unity of India, the publication of this book will be welcomed by all lovers of this great country. The author seeks to give an account of the salient events of Mahomet's life along with the main principles of his teachings. Besides describing the characteristic features of the Muslim faith, as promulgated by its founder, the author also relates the story of the Caliphates of Medina and Baghdad. A perusal of the book will show that the author has succeeded in his enterprise in a singular manner by producing a work written in clear and graceful Bengali and within the compass of only one hundred pages and in an attractive and handy form. It supplies a real want as very few books in Bengali are available on the subject.

Khan Shahab Ataur Rahman, M.A., Assistant Director of Public Instruction, Assam, who has contributed a short Foreword, states that "the book is undoubtedly a genuine appreciation of Islam, offers a refreshing reading and bears the impress of an unbiased and sympathetic mind." It is an instructive and useful publication and will certainly be of help in dispelling the widespread ignorance on the subject that generally prevails among Hindus and Mahomedans alike, and in allaying the growing ill-will between the communities that prejudices progress as well as peace and prosperity.

SUDHIR KUMAR LAHMI

INT AUR RODE : By Shyamu Sannayasi. Published by Sahayogi Prakashan, Hirabagh, Bombay. Pp. 86. Price Re. 1-4.

This book contains twenty-four short stories and sketches written in a simple language and lucid style. The themes are mostly taken from the lives of poor, illiterate and suffering people which make reading both interesting and informative. The treatment appears to be rather of a progressive trend, but is more of an emotional nature instead.

M. S. SENGAR

TELUGU

NARAYANA RAO : (The Andhra University Prize Novel). By Adavi Bapiraju, Kulapettham, Guntur. Printed at Laxmi Power Press, Tenali. All rights reserved by the author. Pp. 300. Price Rs. 2-8.

The novel is predominantly moralistic in tone. Varied topics of general interest are dealt with in this volume. Even though they contribute little to the development of the story or incidents, they are highly informative and educative. And as such, they have a value of their own. The main theme—the marriage, separation and re-union of Narayana Rao with the heroine of the book is interrupted several times most unceremoniously by minor love episodes. Of the numerous characters, Narayana Rao is the most lavishly portrayed one. But Sarada, the heroine, is more subtle and interesting from the psychological point of view. In spite of its elaborately worked out descriptions which give an air of reality throughout, the book suffers a good deal from lack of essential dramatic touches. Even the 'purple patches' fail to give the necessary momentum to the story.

K. V. SUBBA RAO



INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Bengal Famine

If the famine of 1770 has been described as a blot on the escutcheon of British rule in India, the famine which appeared in Bengal in 1943 must be regarded as a thick coat of tar on that escutcheon, as it appeared after British rule in India had been left unhampered to do its work for just a little less than two centuries. In the course of an article in *The Calcutta Review* Hemendra Prasad Ghose observes :

The denial policy was responsible for aggravating the situation and the outside world was kept in ignorance about the grim ordeal of the people of Bengal because of a famine which was not the result of the caprice of the clouds but was man-made.

An analysis of the causes of the terrible famine in Bengal would go to show how it was the result of the action of man. We can summarise the causes as follows:

(1) In Bengal we had an unsympathetic head of the province who declined to consult the collective wisdom of his Ministers—one of whom resigned in disgust. A man who hoped to muddle through somehow and used the war to justify his autocratic action, was at the helm of affairs in Bengal. He had not the experience and efficiency to anticipate things nor the courage to view them in their proper perspective and realise the poignant possibilities.

(2) In the Centre we had a Governor-General whose Cabinet descended to that depth of degradation where newspaper correspondents are not allowed to send out exact news and true accounts of a famine in the country. He declined to take the advice tendered by eminent men like Sir N. N. Sircar and Kunwar Su Jagadish Prasad, who had been Members of his Executive Council, to visit Bengal, make quick decisions and take prompt action. On the 29th August, 1943, these two gentlemen issued a joint memorandum in which they exposed the hollowness of the statements of the Bengal Ministers and said :

"A large number of famished men, women and children are migrating to Calcutta from the interior in search of food. It is a common sight to find emaciated people, some in the last stages of exhaustion, lying on the pavements without any shelter. Over 60,000 of such persons are resorting to Free Kitchens daily. Dead bodies are picked up daily from the streets. We have no information as to the number of reported deaths from starvation in the districts, but according to fairly reliable reports, cases of death exceed many thousands in such districts as Noakhali and Midnapur. This is highly probable, as in Calcutta alone 763 collapsed bodies were removed between August 16 and August 21, followed by large numbers of cases on each subsequent day. This does not include cases of death, 23 to 50, on each day in the month of August, 1943."

After visiting one of the East Bengal districts, Su Jagadish Prasad issued a statement on the 10th September, 1943, in which he wrote as follows :

"At one of the kitchens in Faridpur I noticed a man lipping up food like a dog. I saw abandoned men lying in the last stages of emaciation; men and children who had been without food for so long that women who could now be fed only under strict medical supervision. Dead bodies are being daily picked up and also

those who had fallen by the wayside through sheer exhaustion. A man after vainly wandering for collapsed on the door-steps of the Collector's Court Room. As the body was being removed, a woman huddled in a corner pushed out a bundle and cried 'take that also.' It was her dead child. At a kitchen a woman had been walking every day more than a dozen miles to and from her home to take gruel to her sick and famished husband."

Even such descriptions failed to create any impression on Lord Linlithgow, who cleverly compounded with his conscience by thinking that the responsibility for providing food for the famished was not the Central Government's.

(3) A heartless Secretary of State for India was established in the India Office who denied his responsibility and gave to the House of Commons figures which were absolutely unreliable and created an impression in India which is that his ideas of responsibility militate against humanity.

(4) In Bengal the people were at the mercy of a Ministry created by a Governor who is no more—a Ministry which evidently thought that mere communique could combat famine.

On the 17th May, 1943, there was a meeting at the foot of the Monument on Calcutta Maidan where (1) Sir Nazimuddin referred to the serious rice situation in the Province and expressed the hope that with the co-operation of the people of Bengal the new Ministry would be able to solve the problem. He pleaded for time and (2) Mr. T. C. Goswami said that he believed that the hard days through which the people were passing on account of the soaring prices would not last more than two or three weeks.

No wonder they did not consider it necessary to collect figures of death due to starvation, and have not made necessary arrangements for the medical treatment of the people suffering from diseases due to starvation and malnutrition.

Who will be able to give reliable figures of death due to the famine in Bengal?

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East-European Front*The New Review* observes :

The tempo of operations increased in Russia and the Balkans, but their character was not quite clear from the information available. Soviet attacks, and Nazi withdrawals were all mixed up; but on the whole most of the movement was due to Nazi withdrawals which the Soviet armies hustled here and there. The submission of Finland and the volte-face of Rumania and Bulgaria had vitiated the former distribution of forces and compelled the Nazi High Command to fall back on the perimeter of the *Deutschland Festung*. East-Prussia was invaded at several points, satellite Hungary was caught between the Soviet troops rushing into Slovakia and the Soviet, Rumanian, and Yugoslav columns advancing from the west and the south. Movement warfare is in full swing in the Balkans, and military discretion keeps the communiques deliberately out of date.

Politics may have come in to complicate strategy. Countries along the Baltic and in the Balkans are organised politically as well as militarily. The Moscow press cautions simple Soviet soldiers against the dangerous attractiveness of fashionable goods in invaded countries, and the Soviet army remains quiet in the Warsaw suburbs, which it reached in July and where it waits for the final composition of the future Polish government.

Further south, British troops have captured several islands of the Mediterranean and have landed in Yugoslavia and Greece in the rear of the Soviet lines to organise Greek relief and British security.

War and Oil*Science and Culture* observe—

The old slogan that an army cannot march on empty stomach now stands corrected as that an army cannot march on empty oil tank. Speaking of the Allied victory in the last war, Lord Curzon said that the Allies swam to victory on the wave of oil. The part played by oil in the present global war of three dimensions, in which highly mechanized units are carrying on relentless campaigns on land, at sea, and in air need hardly be overestimated. In his article in a recent issue of *Technology Review*, Roland F. Beers quotes some figures relating to military requirements for oils of various descriptions, which make interesting reading. The U.S. armed forces require approximately 50,000,000 gallons (250 gallons=1 ton) of gasoline, fuel oil, lubri-

cants, and other products of petroleum every day. The U.S. Navy consumed over 1,000,000,000 gallons of oils in 1942 and twice this amount in 1943. Figure for the current year, although not quoted, will doubtless indicate a much greater amount. A mechanized Army division on the move operating with a total horse-power of about 200,000 consumes nearly 18,000 gallons of gasoline per hour.

We have recently heard a good deal about 1,000 planes air raids over Germany. A single air raid on such a scale calls for a consumption of more than 1,000,000 gallons of gasoline and 30,000 gallons of lubricating oil. Every Flying Fortress requires not less than 500 gallons of gasoline. It has further been estimated that 3 pounds of gasoline are needed to deliver one pound of bombs filled with petroleum explosives.

The demand for petroleum in the military has become so heavy and exacting of late that even U.S.A., with her vast resources of petroleum, is increasingly finding it difficult to cope with it. In 1943, the total consumption of oil in U.S.A. amounted to 1,500,000,000 barrels (46 gallons=1 barrel). At the beginning of the present year she has been producing at the rate of 4,000,000 barrels a day. Her present production rate is estimated at 4,500,000 barrels a day, which is, however, being maintained with great difficulty. Some operators foresee that in 1945 her daily requirement of petroleum may develop into 5,000,000 barrels a day. For the last few years U.S.A. failed to equalize her output rate with consumption rate and had to draw upon her reserve stocks, which are being steadily depleted. In January 1941 U.S.A. had in storage above the ground approximately 263,000,000 barrels of crude oil which declined to 239,000,000 barrels by January 1944. During the same period, her heavy fuel oil stocks dwindled from 96,000,000 barrels to 54,000,000 and gasoline stocks from 90,000,000 to 78,000,000 barrels. Only her stocks of light fuel oil indicated a slight increase from 37,000,000 to 39,000,000 barrels. For this growing deficit U.S.A. has at present to depend on foreign sources of oil and on the possible discovery of new oil fields in her own territory. The article describes how intensively the search for new oils is now going on in U.S.A. for which the services of wildcatters as well as competent scientists, including geologists, physicists, chemists, electrical engineers, mathematicians, bacteriologists, biologists, paleontologists, mineralogists, petrographers etc have been requisitioned on a large scale. Three hundred and fifty of these crews, numbering up to 15 per crew, are now engaged in their search for oil throughout the United States. The total annual outlay for exploration work is now reported to exceed \$350,000,000.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Employment of Negroes in United States War Industries

The exigencies of wartime production and the claims upon manpower have effected a marked change in the status of the Negro in war industries in the United States. Robert C. Weaver, Executive Director, Mayor's Committee on Race Relations Chicago, writes in the *International Labour Review*:

There are many accounts of the impediments to the employment of Negroes in war industries of the United States. All the available material reflects the fact that at the outset of the defence effort local white male and female labour was absorbed and outside white workers were imported in centres of early defence activity at the same time that the local Negro labour supply was not tapped to any appreciable degree. Few Negroes were trained for defence employment and the majority of semi-skilled and skilled jobs remained closed to them. Certain industries aircraft and machinetool in particular, were openly discriminatory. Other industries, such as shipbuilding and ordnance, restricted coloured workers to the unskilled heavy dirty occupations. Long after white women were widely employed in war plants Negro women were generally excluded.

It was, however, in 1942 that the beginnings in the trend towards Negro participation in war industries of the United States took place. In January 1942 non-white workers (of whom 95 per cent are Negroes) contributed only 3 per cent of the labour force in war plants; a year later they were 6·4 per cent of the total. Since that time they have made up approximately 7 per cent of the war workers. The really significant gains in employment and training were made in the second half of 1942. From July to December 1942 inclusive, approximately 60,000 Negroes entered pre-employment courses and 12,000 entered supplementary courses. The registration rate of Negro trainees trebled in the 18-month period from July 1941 to December 1942. Most significant is the fact that Negro pre-employment trainees were concentrated in machine shops, aircraft and shipbuilding—occupations from which they had been almost entirely excluded in the earlier phases of the defence effort. In 1943 over 112,000 Negroes enrolled and completed war production training and related courses.

Because of the earlier barriers to Negro employment coloured workers did not participate in the

mass migration to industrial centres in the earlier phases of the defence effort. When, however, relaxations occurred, there was a wave of Negro migration to urban communities. In some respects, it was similar to the earlier movement during the war of 1914-1918 although it differed in two significant features. This time a large number of coloured men and women went to the west coast in response to the mounting demands for war workers in that region, and thousands of rural Negroes moved to southern cities. The movement of Negroes into industrial centres is continuing and seems destined to keep up as long as there are manpower shortages in our northern and western centres of production.

Today there are over 1,000,000 Negroes in war plants. Although the majority are concentrated in unskilled jobs, a sizable proportion are in semi-skilled jobs and occupations calling for a single skill only. Negroes have entered many new occupations some are in young industries, such as aircraft; others are in established industries which had traditionally been closed to them such as machine tool production; a large number are in industries in which it had been traditional to limit Negro employment to unskilled and a few undesirable semi-skilled jobs. In this latter category iron and steel, shipbuilding, and automobile manufacturing constitute the most important examples. While the most significant development incident to Negro employment is the rise in the number of coloured single-skilled and semi-skilled workers in industry, it is important to observe that some Negroes have achieved jobs as skilled workers.



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These over-all trends indicate that just as the Negro emerged from the first world war with a foothold in unskilled jobs in heavy industry, so he will probably emerge from the present war with a foothold in semi-skilled jobs in many industries and with a place as a worker in a wide variety of industries and plants. But this development has been and is spotty. The relaxation of the colour bar in southern industry has been slow, and, as far as occupational advancement is concerned, there has been little general change during the war. In other sections of the country, there are many occupations, numerous firms, and a few industries which still remain closed to Negroes. Equality of opportunity for upgrading is still the exception rather than the rule. And Negro women are still discriminated against in many war plants where female labour has been accepted. From the point of view of establishing new racial patterns in employment much progress has been made in the last four years; from the point of view of equality of opportunity without colour distinction, much remains to be done. The process of change continues in response to economic forces, and as long as the labour market remains tight, there will be additional relaxations in the colour line. Today, when there is virtually full employment of Negroes in our industrial centres, the problem is one of securing in-plant training and upgrading for Negroes already in war plants, transferring trained men from less essential work, and expanding employment opportunities for Negro women in industrial employment.

Underground Waters

E. B. Bailey observes in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*:

It is interesting to give a thought to the natural history of the underground water of which we are speaking. Like the water of our surface streams and lakes, where, of course, we readily see or can imagine movement, underground water functions as portion of a mighty current leading from sky to ocean. No part could maintain itself indefinitely above sea level if cut off from replenishment. It is true that in certain basins, walled and floored with impermeable material, underground water might linger stagnant for what, to mankind, might seem, eternity; but eventually it would be dissipated by subterranean evaporation, more slow, but no less sure, than the suberial evaporation responsible for dissipation of desert lakes at the surface.

There are some who think it dangerous to compare the circulation of underground and surface waters.

because the differences are so important. Except in caves of limestone districts, there is scarcely an underground stream or like into which a man could dip his finger. Usually the underground analogues surface streams and lakes are enormously tended bodies of water, minutely distribute throughout the substance of situated permeable rocks; the streams ooze very, very slowly in some direction or another; the lakes stand practically stationary—until relief of pressure, such as is furnished by the pumping of a borehole, gives local opportunity for escape. A slightly closer approach to surface conditions is afforded in cases where the underground flow is conducted, not indiscriminately through the main mass of the containing rock, but along an interesting set of fissures. Erosion may in such a case give local mastery to some particular fissure, or sequence of fissures, thus concentrating discharge into a spring rather than a seepage zone. In the special case where the country rock is limestone, soluble enough to be etched but strong enough to resist collapse, concentration may extend far underground, and fashion for itself a lengthy cavern.

An underground lake in a permeable formation is often confined beneath a cover of impermeable rock which may, in places, descend far below the water table established in the permeable formation where this latter communicates upwards freely with the surface. To match this condition in connection with a surface lake, one is driven to small-scale analogies. If one sails on Lake Windermere, the water level on either side of the boat corresponds sufficiently closely with the water table of the underground lake in its unconfined portions; while the water beneath the boat is in a position analogous to that of the underground water where confined beneath impermeable cover. If now a juvenile experimenter bores a hole through the bottom of the boat, water will spurt upwards in an attempt to reach as high as the free water surface alongside the boat. Similarly, if a borehole be drilled through impermeable cover into a confined underground lake, water will tend to rise in the borehole to the level of the water table alongside the cover. If the surface of the ground, where the bore is sunk, is lower than the adjacent water table, the water in it will gush out into the air at the top exactly as it gushes out into the air within the boat. A gushing well of this type is called artesian, after early examples in the province of Artois, northern France. Wells in which water rises from a permeable formation through an impermeable cover part way to the surface are classed as subartesian.

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